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CONTENTS OF VOL. XXXIII

| | PAGE |
|----------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|----------|
| THRENODY: ALFRED, LORD TENNYSON. By <i>Algernon Charles Swinburne</i> | 1 |
| SIGNS OF THE TIMES: | |
| (1) FALSE DEMOCRACY. By <i>W. S. Lilly</i> | 4 |
| (2) SHAM EDUCATION. By <i>Professor Mahaffy</i> | 19 |
| (3) TRAINED WORKERS FOR THE POOR. By <i>Miss Octavia Hill</i> | 36 |
| IRVING'S 'KING LEAR': A NEW TRADITION. By <i>Edward R. Russell</i> | 44 |
| THREE WEEKS IN SAMOA. By the <i>Countess of Jersey</i> | 52, 249 |
| 'ARCHITECTURE A PROFESSION OR AN ART'? By <i>Lord Grimthorpe</i> | 65 |
| HAPPINESS IN HELL: A REPLY. By the <i>Rev. Father Clarke, S.J.</i> | 83 |
| MODERN POETS AND THE MEANING OF LIFE. By <i>Frederic W. H. Myers</i> | 93 |
| URMI, A POISONED QUEEN. By <i>Miss Cornelia Sorabji</i> | 112 |
| THE SILVER QUESTION AND INDIA. By <i>General Sir George Chesney</i> | 116 |
| A REFORMATION OF DOMESTIC SERVICE. By <i>Mrs Lewis</i> | 127 |
| THE PRIEST IN POLITICS. By <i>Michael Davitt</i> | 139 |
| OÙ ALLONS-NOUS? By <i>Mons. Yves Guyot</i> | 156 |
| ASPECTS OF TENNYSON: | |
| II. A PERSONAL REMINISCENCE. By the <i>Editor</i> | 164 |
| III. THE REAL THOMAS BECKET. By <i>Miss Agnes Lambert</i> | 273 |
| IV. THE CLASSICAL POEMS. By <i>Herbert Paul</i> | 436 |
| V. TENNYSON AS A NATURE POET. By <i>Theodore Watts</i> | 836 |
| 'PASSING THE WIT OF MAN.' By <i>Henry Jephson</i> | 189 |
| AN EXPERIMENT IN FEDERATION AND ITS LESSONS. By <i>Sir Robert Stout</i> | 203 |
| SHALL UGANDA BE RETAINED? By the <i>Rev. J. Guinness Rogers</i> | 219 |
| WHAT IS 'FASHION'? By <i>Miss Ada Heather Bigg</i> | 235 |
| MEDICAL WOMEN IN FICTION. By <i>Dr. Sophia Jev-Blake</i> | 261 |
| THE TAXATION OF GROUND-RENTS. By <i>J. Powell Williams</i> | 293 |
| THE DOOM OF THE DOMESTIC COOK. By <i>George Somes Layard</i> | 309 |
| THE HAPPINESS IN HELL: A REJOINDER. By <i>St. George Mivart</i> | 320 |
| COMMERCIAL UNITY WITH THE COLONIES. By <i>Lord Augustus Loftus</i> | 339 |
| THE REVIVAL OF WITCHCRAFT. By <i>Ernest Hart</i> | 347 |
| THE HOME RULE BILL. By <i>Justin McCarthy</i> and <i>Thomas Sexton</i> | 369 |
| THE FINANCIAL CAUSES OF THE FRENCH REVOLUTION. By <i>Baron Ferdinand Rothschild</i> | 375, 652 |
| INACCESSIBLE VALLEYS. By <i>Professor Alfred R. Wallace</i> | 391 |
| ARCHITECTURE—A PROFESSION OR AN ART. By <i>T. G. Jackson</i> | 405 |
| THE INNER HISTORY OF THE WATERLOO CAMPAIGN. By <i>Archibald Forbes</i> | 416 |
| A CONTEMPORARY LETTER ON THE BATTLE OF WATERLOO. Communicated by the <i>Duchess of Leeds</i> | 430 |
| THE DISLIKE TO DOMESTIC SERVICE. By <i>Miss Clementina Black</i> | 454 |
| JEWISH WIT AND HUMOUR. By the <i>Chief Rabbi</i> | 457 |
| HANSOMS AND THEIR DRIVERS. By <i>W. H. Wilkins</i> | 470 |
| THE DECREASE OF CRIME. By <i>Sir Edmund F. Du Cane</i> | 480 |
| A BRITISHER'S IMPRESSIONS OF AMERICA AND AUSTRALASIA. By the <i>Earl of Meath</i> | 493 |
| THE RUPEE AND THE RUIN OF INDIA. By <i>Ameer Ali</i> | 515 |
| ALFRED DE MUSSET. By <i>Leopold Katscher</i> | 525 |
| ENLARGEMENT OF THE HOUSE OF COMMONS. (<i>With Plan and View.</i>) By <i>Charles Barry</i> | 541 |
| A BILL FOR THE WEAKENING OF GREAT BRITAIN. By <i>Joseph Chamberlain</i> | 545 |

| | PAGE |
|-----------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|------|
| SECOND THOUGHTS ON THE HOME RULE BILL. By <i>J. E. Redmond</i> | 559 |
| LORD CREMER AND THE KHEDIVE. By <i>Wilfrid Scawen Blunt</i> | 571 |
| THE LIVES AND LOVES OF NORTH AMERICAN BIRDS. By <i>John Worth</i> | 586 |
| THE BEHRING SEA QUESTION. (<i>With a Chart.</i>) By <i>Vice-Admiral Sir Michael Culme Seymour</i> | 606 |
| THE ART OF BREATHING. By <i>Major-General Drayson</i> | 611 |
| BIMETALLISM ONCE MORE. By <i>Leonard Courtney</i> | 619 |
| 'ARCHITECTURE—AN ART OR NOTHING.' By <i>Lord Grimthorpe</i> | 631 |
| CARDINAL NEWMAN ON THE ETERNITY OF PUNISHMENT. By the <i>Rev. W. Probyn-Nevins</i> | 635 |
| LAST WORDS ON THE HAPPINESS IN HELL. By <i>St. George Mivart</i> | 637 |
| RECENT SCIENCE. By <i>Prince Kropotkin</i> | 671 |
| THE READING OF THE WORKING CLASSES. By <i>George R. Humphery</i> | 690 |
| THE LION KING OF SWEDEN. By the <i>King of Sweden and Norway</i> | 702 |
| THE UNION—A SONG. By <i>Algernon Charles Swinburne</i> | 725 |
| THE INVASION OF INDIA BY RUSSIA. (<i>With a Map.</i>) By <i>Captain Young-husband</i> | 727 |
| ST. WILLIAM OF NORWICH. By the <i>Rev. Dr. Jessopp</i> | 749 |
| ESOTERIC BUDDHISM. By <i>Professor Max Müller</i> | 767 |
| MY MAVERICK. By <i>R. B. Townshend</i> | 789 |
| THE AGRAM MUMMY. By <i>Mrs. McClure</i> | 796 |
| 'FALSTAFF' AND THE NEW ITALIAN OPERA. By <i>J. A. Fuller Maitland</i> | 803 |
| A WALK IN ALEXANDRIA. By <i>Alfred Raymund Dowling</i> | 813 |
| THE HAWAIIAN REVOLUTION. By <i>Theo. H. Davies</i> | 830 |
| AN IMPERIAL UNIVERSITY FOR WOMEN. By the <i>Rev. Canon Browne</i> | 857 |
| THE INFLUENCE OF CLIMATE ON RACE. By <i>John W. Fortescue</i> | 862 |
| COUNT CAVOUR ON THE REPEAL OF THE UNION. By <i>Lady Mary Wood</i> | 874 |
| NOTICEABLE BOOKS: | |
| (1) TOCQUEVILLE'S SOUVENIRS. By <i>Lord Acton</i> | 883 |
| (2) THE NATURALIST IN LA PLATA. By <i>Professor Romanes</i> | 886 |
| (3) LENA'S PICTURE. By <i>Sir M. E. Grant Duff</i> | 889 |
| (4) NATIONAL LIFE AND CHARACTER. By <i>Sir Alfred Lyall</i> | 892 |
| (5) JOURNAL DES PRISONS DE MON PÈRE, DE MA MÈRE ET DES MIENNES. By <i>R. E. Prothero</i> | 896 |
| (6) THE POETRY OF LORD DE TABLEY. By <i>R. Le Gallienne</i> | 899 |
| THE GOSPEL OF PETER. By the <i>Rev. Dr. Martineau</i> | 905 |
| ULSTER AND THE CONFEDERATE STATES. By <i>Prince Camille de Polignac</i> | 927 |
| SIX HUNDRED YEARS OF ENGLISH POVERTY. (<i>With Diagrams.</i>) By <i>Gustav F. Steffen</i> | 932 |
| RARE BOOKS AND THEIR PRICES. By <i>W. Roberts</i> | 952 |
| AN IMPOSSIBLE CORRESPONDENCE—1892. By <i>R. F. Murray</i> | 966 |
| THE ROTHAMSTED EXPERIMENTS. By <i>Mrs. Creyke</i> | 970 |
| THE POLDI-PEZZOLI COLLECTION AT MILAN. By <i>Charles L. Eastlake</i> | 981 |
| POST OFFICE 'PLUNDERING AND BLUNDERING.' By <i>J. Henniker Heaton</i> | 994 |
| HABITUAL DRUNKARDS. By <i>Dr. John Batty Tuke</i> | 1009 |
| ESOTERIC BUDDHISM. By <i>A. P. Sinnett</i> | 1015 |
| HOW TO ATTRACT CAPITAL TO THE LAND. By <i>Lord Vernon</i> | 1028 |
| A NATURALIST'S VIEW OF THE FUR-SEAL QUESTION. By <i>P. L. Sclater</i> | 1038 |
| THE CRAVING FOR FICTION. By <i>Sir Herbert Maxwell</i> | 1046 |
| PROTECTION AND THE EMPIRE. By <i>Walter Frewen Lord</i> | 1062 |



THE
NINETEENTH
CENTURY

No. CXCI—JANUARY 1893

THRENODY

Alfred, Lord Tennyson, October 6, 1892

I

LIFE, sublime and serene when time had power upon
it and ruled its breath,
Changed it, bade it be glad or sad, and hear what
change in the world's ear saith,
Shines more fair in the starrier air whose glory
• lightens the dusk of death.

Suns that sink on the wan sea's brink, and moons
that kindle and flame and fade,
Leave more clear for the darkness here the stars that
set not and see not shade
Rise and rise on the lowlier skies by rule of sunlight
and moonlight swayed.

So, when night for his eyes grew bright, his proud
head pillowed on Shakespeare's breast,
Hand in hand with him, soon to stand where shine
the glories that death loves best,
Passed the light of his face from sight, and sank
sublimely to radiant rest.

II

Far above us and all our love, beyond all reach of its
voiceless praise,
Shines for ever the name that never shall feel the
shade of the changeful days
Fall and chill the delight that still sees winter's light
on it shine like May's.

Strong as death is the dark day's breath whose blast
has withered the life we see
Here where light is the child of night, and less than
visions or dreams are we :
Strong as death ; but a word, a breath, a dream is
stronger than death can be.

Strong as truth and superb in youth eternal, fair as
the sundawn's flame
Seen when May on her first-born day bids earth exult
in her radiant name,
Lives, clothed round with its praise and crowned
with love that dies not, his love-lit fame.

the old is everywhere giving way, or even to trace 'the baby figure of the giant mass of things to come at large.' But it may be possible to indicate, in the light of political science, what is true and what is false in this great democratic movement, and to point to the issues of life and death which it involves.

Now Modern Democracy is the direct issue of the French Revolution. So much will be admitted on all hands. But what is the essence, the inner meaning of the French Revolution? A chain of moral causation runs through the ages. No great event in the life of nations, in the history of the world, is isolated. Every present is necessarily the outcome of all the past. • Yes; there is a sovereign necessity issuing from the nature of things—*inexorabilis Fatorum necessitas*—which shapes the course of history irresistibly, irrevocably, not to be changed by any human power. This is not Determinism. It is the truth which Determinism veils. And it is a truth quite compatible with that other primary verity that the human will is free, not absolutely, but relatively, and largely guides the destined succession of events. The French Revolution then, not to ascend further the stream of time, was the inevitable reaction against the movement vaguely called the Renaissance, which we may take to have culminated between the years 1453 and 1527—the dates, respectively, of the fall of Constantinople and the sack of Rome. Whatever else the Renaissance was or was not—and it was much else—it most assuredly was a return to Pagan absolutism. This I have shown elsewhere¹ at length, and the exigencies of space compel me to refer my readers thither for a justification of what I here advance. The Renaissance cannot be summed up in the formula with which Mr. Symonds presents us, as 'a new birth unto liberty.' It might with far greater truth be called a new birth unto servitude. This it was assuredly, both in the political and economic order. The notion of irresponsible and unlimited lordship (*dominium*), whether in government or in wealth, was alien to the medieval mind. Let it not be supposed that I have any sympathy with the religious romanticism which paints the middle ages as a period of seraphic sweetness. I know too well the dark side of their history for that. But certain it is that civil authority and private property were regarded then as essentially limited and fiduciary: as subject to the moral law and the rights of the community. In politics and in economics the influence of the Renaissance was simply deethicising. It laid loose the reins upon the neck of monarchical despotism, and upon the neck of private cupidity. Kings throughout Europe, as military organisation advanced, cast away the cords of provincial and municipal franchises, which, throughout the medieval period, had more or less effectively restrained them: the rights and liberty of the subject were no longer heard of; the maxim of Pagan Cæsarism—'Quod

¹ See my *Chapters in European History*, vol. i. pp. 254-297.

principi placuit legis habet vigorem '—once more became the principle of rule. And as the world grew rich, and capital assumed a form and an importance quite unknown in the earlier ordering of society, the old belief that wealth was weighted with duties, that it was a trust rather than a possession, grew dim; and the wealthy asserted, ever more and more confidently, their right to do what they would with their own. The French Revolution was a protest for the natural and imprescriptible rights of man, political and economical, in an era when the very notion of right seemed to have almost disappeared from the public mind. It meant the death of Renaissance Absolutism, and the birth of Modern Democracy.

It is a pregnant remark of Mr. Mill that the *philosophes* usually saw 'what was not true, not what was.' And this saying is as applicable to the men who led and shaped the French Revolution, and whom the *philosophes* had trained. The immediate problem before them was the redistribution of political power. The great bulk of the people had been nothing in the *ancien régime*. That the Revolutionary legislators justly discerned to be wrong. Proceeding to 'mistake reverse of wrong for right,' they decided that the masses should be everything in the brand-new polity. Those long debates which occupied the mind of France for so many months before the meeting of the States-General, as to how the voting should take place in them, raised a question the real gravity of which none of the disputants, probably, perceived. How should they have perceived it, utterly unversed as they were in true political science, and crammed full of the sophisms of Rousseau and the Social Contract? The real issue was this: whether the legislature and the government should represent all the constituent elements of a nation, or merely the numerical majority of the inhabitants. The theory of the public order taught by the world's great thinkers who had preceded the Revolutionary era, from Aristotle to Aquinas, from Aquinas to Spinoza, is that due weight and influence should be given, according to their importance, to all the jarring elements of human society, the undue preponderance of any being obviated. In the Middle Ages this was done, roughly indeed, but perhaps as effectively as that stage of civilisation allowed, by the representation in the National Councils of the Estates of the Realm. It is perfectly true that in 1789 the nominal Estates of the French monarchy were no longer truly representative. The division of Spirituality, Nobility, and Commonalty by no means sufficed as a classification of the elements which then made up the combination and subordination of civil life in France. Hence, no doubt, the comparative ease with which, as Burke expresses it, 'the three orders were melted down into one.' The practical effect was to throw all political power into the hands of the *Tiers*, with its double representation. It was the victory of a merely mechanical or arithmetical prin-

ciple in the political organism: the principle of government by counting heads; the principle which has found most recent expression among ourselves in the shibboleths, 'One man one vote:' 'Equal electoral districts:' 'Every man to count for one; no man for more than one.'

And this principle is the very primary note of Modern Democracy. It is the characteristic which chiefly differentiates it from all that the world has hitherto known by that name, and which led Mr. John Stuart Mill to designate it 'false democracy.'² The fundamental principle of contemporary Radicalism is that all adult men—and perhaps women—in a country should be politically equivalent; and that supreme political power should be exercised by the majority of them—that is, by delegates chosen by the majority and paid to do its bidding. It is a doctrine which by no means commended itself to Radicals of the older school generally; or, to cite only one of the greatest of them, to Mr. Mill. To speak frankly—and it is always best to be frank—I cannot, for my part, pretend to be satisfied with the political philosophy of that eminent man. Like all his philosophy, it is vitiated by the Benthamism which dulled his fine intellect and darkened his generous heart. We cannot really know the nature of a thing without knowing its final end—*ἡ δὲ φύσις τέλος ἐστίν*, Aristotle well teaches—or, to put it in another way, the nature of a thing is the ideal which it is to realise. Now the State is not a mere utilitarian machine for protecting person and property, driven by the forces of public and private interest. It is an ethical organism, rooted and grounded in those eternal principles of right and wrong which constitute the moral law. Viewed relatively to the individuals who compose it, its office is to unite them by a moral bond; its end their moral perfection. I search Mr. Mill's pages in vain for any real apprehension of this primary verity, confessed by the world's greatest political teachers from Plato and Aristotle to Kant and Hegel. How should he have really apprehended it, when his ethical doctrine is purely empirical, based on calculations of profit and loss, on 'the conviction,' from which, as he tells us, he 'never wavered,' 'that happiness is the test of all rules of conduct and the end of life,'³ and devoid of the fundamental, aboriginal, indecomposable idea of right as a divine order ruling through the universe? But, however inadequate Mr. Mill's mechanical conception of the social organism, he saw clearly, and pointed out emphatically, that the Revolutionary conception, in which, as he expresses it, 'exclusive government by a class usurps the name of democracy,'⁴ is more inadequate still. He warns us that 'if the constituency were made co-extensive with

² *On Representative Government*, p. 146.

³ *Autobiography*, p. 142.

⁴ *On Representative Government*, p. 162. In the same page he speaks of 'the falsely-called democracies which now prevail, and from which the current idea of democracy is exclusively derived.'

But Mill is *vox clamantis in deserto*. The more cultivated of the new school of Radicals may honour him with their lips, but their heart is far from him. The three decades which have elapsed since the publication of his book *On Representative Government* have witnessed a complete transformation in the ethos of British Radicalism. Gradually it has become indoctrinated with the Rousseauan political philosophy. Consciously or unconsciously, its exponents think the thoughts and vent the verbiage of Jacobinism. In 1858 Lord Salisbury—then Lord Robert Cecil—wrote, ‘In politics . . . no one acts on principles or reasons from them.’¹¹ No doubt, that was then true of both the great political parties. It is no longer true of the party which follows Mr. Gladstone, and which, by the speech of its chief at Newcastle on the 1st of October, 1891—to say nothing of the professions of its subordinate orators—is formally committed to the doctrines of the New Radicalism. I know of no clearer, franker, or more succinct statement of those doctrines than that which is given in a little book, published a few years ago, and very largely circulated—*The Radical Programme*. The authors speak—and with reason—of the Franchise and Redistribution Acts of 1884 as having wrought ‘nothing less than a revolution, though a silent and peaceful one.’ They rejoice that ‘three-fifths of the electors of the House of Commons belong to the working classes.’ They pronounce that ‘manhood suffrage, equal electoral districts, and the payment of members are each, in their turn, indispensable.’ They add: ‘An equitable system of Parliamentary representation is absolutely inconsistent with the minority vote, and no sound Radical can acquiesce in such a device for minimising, and it may be nullifying altogether, the power of the majority.’ ‘*The power of the majority*.’ That is the keynote of the whole book. The postulate upon which it proceeds is the sophism against which Mr. Mill so earnestly contended—that a country should be governed ‘by a mere majority of the people, exclusively represented,’ that is, by their hired mandatories; that the foundation of the public order is a sum in addition.

I suppose that no one has done so much as Mr. John Morley to indoctrinate the Liberal party with these principles. And certainly nothing could more forcibly illustrate the low state of political science in England than that the Liberal party should have gone to school for it to Mr. Morley. A clear, cultivated, and conscientious writer he unquestionably is. That is evident upon every page of his works. Not less evident is the scantiness of his studies in statecraft, the poverty of his political philosophy. For him the French Revolution is ‘a new gospel;’¹² Robespierre is ‘the great preacher of the Declaration of the Rights of Man;’¹³ and the sophisms and sentimentalities of Rousseau

¹¹ *Oxford Essays*, 1858, p. 52.

¹² *Rousseau*, vol. i. 1.

¹³ *Diderot*, vol. i. 48.

are the Alpha and Omega of politics. The 'shallowness' and 'the practical mischievousness of the Social Contract, Mr. Morley of course admits, as, at this time of day, every man out of Bedlam surely must. But underlying it he finds what he calls 'the great truth' that a nation consists (the word is his) of 'the great body of its members, the army of toilers,' that 'all institutions'—*alibi*, note, without exception—'ought to have for their aim the physical, intellectual, and moral amelioration of the poorest and most numerous class. This [he adds] is the People'¹⁴ with a capital P. And by way of corollary to that proposition he lays down that, unless we have paid members of Parliament, 'we cannot be sure of hearing the voice of the People.'¹⁵ Mr. Morley must be accounted fortunate in the opportunity of his appearance on the public scene. A series of momentous changes, beginning with the Reform Bill of 1832, had been wrought in the political order of this country. It is not too much to say that, whether forced through the legislature by Whigs or by Tories, they were mere moves in the game of party politics, made for the one great object of acquiring or retaining place and power and of 'dishing' the other side: 'leaps in the dark,' recklessly taken without any reference to the primary positions of political science, without any heed of their natural and inevitable consequences to the nation. But man is so constituted that he is ever 'willing to justify himself.' And Mr. Morley appeared in an opportune time to reveal the principle implicit in the successive Reform Bills, whether brought in and passed by so-called Liberals playing for popular favour, or by so-called Conservatives trying to trump their opponents' best cards. The Rousseauan or Jacobin doctrine of the political equivalence of men—'any man equal to any other, Quashee nigger to Socrates or Shakespeare, Judas Iscariot to Jesus Christ'—supplies the only principle on which those measures can be justified. I defy any man to find in them any other principle, or simulacrum of a principle, than this. And it equally justifies the further 'reforms' which the New Radicalism demands, and which Mr. Gladstone promises. A principle is the strongest thing in the world. And this principle now dominates English 'official' Liberalism, which, by a law arising out of the nature of things, must follow where it leads.

In Mr. Morley we may perhaps see the St. Barnabas of the 'new gospel' which he has learned from Rousseau; a veritable 'son of consolation' sent to British Radicalism in its dire need of a *Credo*. Mr. Gladstone must assuredly be considered its St. Paul, for he is 'the chief speaker,' ever ready to let his 'voice rise like a fountain night and day' for its propagation. In all democratic government the influence of oratory is, and must necessarily be, great. Popular assemblies are instruments for the eloquent tongue to play upon. This would seem to be their final end. At all events, I can discover

¹⁴ *Rousseau*, vol. ii. 194.

¹⁵ Speech at Newcastle, Oct. 1, 1891.

no other. But the kind of oratory which is to command success in a democracy will necessarily vary with the moral and intellectual character of the demos. Pericles would, assuredly, be a failure in 'the false democracy' of these days, when the problem before the orator is to appeal successfully to the ignorance, prejudices, and cupidity of the least instructed and most numerous members of the community, or—to borrow words again from Mr. Mill—'to allow the class feelings of the Many to have full sway.' The idol of Modern Democracy is 'the excellent stump orator.' And certainly the world does not possess, and probably never has possessed, anyone who may so justly claim that title as Mr. Gladstone. Who, like him, 'in any occurrent set of circumstances, can stand forth, mount upon his stump, his rostrum, tribune, place in parliament, or other ready elevation, and pour forth from there his appropriate "excellent speech," his interpretation of the said circumstances, in such manner as poor windy mortals around him shall cry bravo to'?¹⁶ It is oratory of a kind admirably fitted to take captive the popular imagination; grandiose, turgid, denunciatory, unctuous and vague. And there is a peculiar vein of religiosity in it, potent to charm the ears of a certain variety of the British Dissenter. But his unrivalled mastery of this species of rhetoric is not Mr. Gladstone's only qualification for demagoguery. No man can reasonably hope long to retain the favour of the proverbially fickle populace without a changeableness of convictions, which will allow him to shape his utterances *arbitrio popularis auræ*. Mr. Gladstone possesses this invaluable gift in a superlative degree. It is not, of course, that his political professions are what the French call *opinions de circonstance*, lightly adopted, and as lightly put aside, to suit the exigencies of the hour. On the contrary, he is endowed with the rare faculty of holding, with intense fervour, the most contradictory views successively and, sometimes, simultaneously. This psychological peculiarity has greatly impressed the friends who have known him best. Thus Mr. Forster testified, 'Mr. Gladstone can persuade most people of most things, but above all he can persuade himself of anything.' And, to the like effect, Dean Lake observed, 'I think his intellect can persuade his conscience of anything.' 'Est-ce qu'il n'est pas tout naturel que vos convictions tournent avec votre intérêt?' asks the clever American lady in M. Sardou's comedy. 'Elles ne changent pas pour ça; elles se déplacent; voilà tout,' Rabagas replies. The answer would be quite as appropriate in Mr. Gladstone's mouth. Indeed he piques himself, in a curiously frank passage of one of his pamphlets, upon his skill in discerning the 'ripeness' of questions, and of thereby avoiding 'inconvenience in the race of life.'¹⁷ Certainly his long career exhibits a quite unique capacity for obtain-

¹⁶ *Latter-Day Pamphlets*, p. 161.

¹⁷ *The Irish Question*, p. 22.

lation in accordance with the will of the People—that is, the numerical majority of the population—represented by their paid delegates. That this consummation will assuredly be reached, sooner or later—let me rather say sooner and not later—who that has eyes to see can doubt? What is to hinder it? Will it be said that the Conservative party still exists, with the chance of office, from time to time? But what is it that the Conservative party wants to conserve? What *idea* is there behind the frightened, unintelligent opposition of the average Conservative to changes which, in his heart of hearts, he believes to be inevitable? The Conservative party is no less committed, implicitly, to the principle of ‘the false democracy’ than is the other party. And the only means by which it can obtain or retain office is by doing homage to that principle. What more curious irony of history than that we should owe to a Conservative Government the most revolutionary measure of the age? the creation for that vast inorganic congeries of streets and squares called London of a municipality elected by the numerical majority of those who dwell therein; a municipality certainly destined, at no distant time, to browbeat and overawe the House of Commons itself? But are we told that the House of Commons is only one branch of the legislature: that we have still a House of Lords? The reply is, No; we have but the ghost of a House of Lords, just as we have but the ghost of monarchy; and as little capable of offering any real resistance to ‘the false democracy.’ No doubt the House of Lords is far more truly representative of the nation—of the real elements of its greatness, its religion, its law, its culture, its wealth, its military and naval prowess, its august traditions—than the other House. No doubt it possesses commanding claims upon the respect of intelligent men, from the fact that its members owe their seats, not to the accident of popular suffrage, but to succession and selection: so that, in it, the two great forces of heredity and individuality have full play. But of what avail is this in a country where the falsely democratic principle is enthroned that the vote of the numerical majority is the sole source and fount of political power? The House of Lords exists merely by the sufferance of the other Chamber, for the purpose, chiefly, of correcting its legislative blunders: assuredly not for the purpose of thwarting the will of the Many. Can any man really doubt what is the real sovereign now in England? In the words of Victor Hugo, ‘C’est l’élément aveugle et confus, c’est le nombre.’ And as this sovereign becomes conscious of its power, the degradation of public life is doomed to proceed by leaps and bounds. It has gone far already. Compare the House of Commons as it is now with what it was when Sir Robert Peel or Lord Palmerston led it. And with every succeeding general election its character sinks lower. Nor can there be a shadow of doubt that, with the new devices which we are promised for assuring the unchecked domination

of the numerical majority, it will fall to a level not appreciably higher than that of the legislature of the United States, where, as Mr. Mill truly witnesses, 'the first minds of the country are as effectually shut out from the national representation as if they were under a formal disqualification.'²²

Such is the prospect before us as 'the constitutional machine' attains what Mr. Gladstone considers perfection. 'Incapable of seeing veritably any fact whatever,' was Mr. Carlyle's judgment of that eminent person.

Turpia decipiunt cæcum vitia, aut etiam ipsa hæc
Delectant, veluti Balbinum polypus Hagnæ.

To most intelligent men, whose eyes are not blinded by lust of place and power, what Mr. Gladstone accounts perfection will appear repulsive deformity. But there is a set-off to be made. No doubt one result in this country of the adoption of the ochlocratic doctrine will be the disappearance of the system of party government, which is even now crumbling away. The two traditional factions of English public life were once truly representative of principles. They have long ceased to be so. Even the new democratic creed of the right divine of mobs to govern wrong will not suffice as a bond of cohesion to Mr. Gladstone's followers. The odour of what a keen-witted Frenchman called 'la pourriture politique' is in the air. And as the old Parliamentary parties are decaying, new are arising with a true meaning and a real significance. This return to fact we may assuredly welcome. In the Liberal Unionists we have a group who have, at all events, shown that they care for something higher than office. The same may be said for the two Irish factions, whatever may be said against them. And who can be blind to the significance of the newest and smallest of our Parliamentary sections? In the Labour members, whom we can count on our fingers, there is the beginning of a party which must rapidly increase as the masses realise what they have become in the public order. This is the 'little cloud like a man's hand' which will in time blacken all the heavens.

For the quintessence of the Democratic movement is not political but social. Political power is not an end, but a means. What advantageth it to the mechanic, groaning under the forced labour of over-competition, to the agricultural labourer, as truly a mere animated tool—*ἐμψυχον ὄργανον*—as the slave in Aristotle's time, that he possesses an infinitesimal share in the election of one of the rulers of his country, unless his material condition is improved thereby? Equality of right is a mere barren notion unless it be wedded with fact. The matter is summed up with admirable terseness in M. Ledru Rollin's famous declaration: 'To arrive at social amelioration through the political question' ('passer par la question

²² *On Representative Government*, p. 164.

politique pour arriver à l'amélioration sociale')—'such is the course of the Democratic movement.' This is a truth to which Lazarus will no doubt request the attention of Dives. And Lazarus is now master of the situation, as Dives fully recognises when soliciting his vote in Parliamentary elections. Will he be any longer content to lie at the gate in his rags, watching through the bars the rich man within, clothed in purple and fine linen, and faring sumptuously every day, in the hope, not always gratified, that some stray crumbs may fall to him from that luxurious table? I think not. Between the two classes, of which these are the divinely drawn types, there is what Mr. Mill euphemistically calls 'complete opposition of apparent interest.' And well may that thoughtful writer proceed to inquire, Even supposing the ruling majority of poor

sufficiently intelligent to be aware that it is not for their advantage to weaken the security of property, and that it would be weakened by any act of arbitrary spoliation, is there not a considerable danger lest they should throw upon the possessors of what is called realised property, and upon the larger incomes, an unfair share, or even the whole, of the burden of taxation, and, having done so, add to the amount without scruple, expending the proceeds in modes supposed to conduce to the profit and advantage of the labouring classes? ²³

This inquiry of Mr. Mill's may, with advantage, be pondered a little. I shall observe upon it, first, that, as a matter of history, no fear of weakening the security of property has ever withheld the classes which possessed none from acts of arbitrary spoliation when they have had the power of bettering their condition thereby. Experience testifies to the truth of Grattan's *dictum*: 'If you transfer the power in the State to those who have nothing in the country, they will afterwards transfer the property.' And, secondly, I may remark that this very phrase 'the security of property' raises the gravest problems. Property, in its first idea, is the guarantee to individuals of the fruit of their own labour and abstinence; not of the fruit of the labour and abstinence of others. 'There is an instinctive sense, however obscure and yet inarticulate,' Emerson tells us, 'that the whole constitution of property on its present tenures is injurious, and its influence on persons deteriorating and degrading.' ²⁴ It is some half-century ago that this philosopher thus wrote. And the conviction of which he speaks has now become clear enough in many minds—and those by no means the least powerful of the age—and has found sufficiently distinct expression. Nay, the very man in the street is beginning to ask awkward questions, such as these: What is the final end of wealth, sale being obviously but a means? What is the real nature and what the right limit of private property? Are not the existing relations between capital and labour unjust to the toiling masses, and is not an economical revolution—call it transformation if you will—imperatively necessary?

²³ *On Representative Government*, p. 120.

²⁴ *Essays*, p. 471 (Macmillan's edition).

These are questions which will have to be faced and answered. One answer is proposed to them by Socialism. And of Socialism, in the judgment of the late M. Scherer—one of the clearest-headed and most far-seeing of French Liberals—the Democratic Republic existing in his country 'is bound, by the very law of its being, to make trial.' Whether or no he was right in so thinking, I do not undertake to say. At all events, his opinion on the matter is worth far more than most people's. I doubt much, however, whether we in England shall resort to that solution of the social problem. Socialism proposes to remedy 'the slavery of labour,' not by vindicating the liberty of the labourer, but by a universal system of servitude. Englishmen are not likely to barter their personal freedom for the promised fleshpots of a house of bondage in comparison of which Egyptian serfdom was light. But, short of systematic Socialism, incalculable mischief may be done by the madness of the Many, intent upon levelling down in the economic order, by legislation utterly opposed to the true principles of political science; upon achieving, at all events, an approximate equality, by way of abasement. The attempt is, of course, doomed to ultimate failure, because it is contrary to the laws of human nature. I do not know who has pointed out this truth with greater force than Aristotle in the Eighth Book of the *Politics*. Absolute equality, once attained, immediately begets a discontent with itself and a striving after inequality, and sooner or later leads thereto. Its usual issue, politically, is in Cæsarism, veiled or avowed, and, economically, in the usurpations of the usurer.

So much is certain. Equally certain is it that if the egalitarian doctrine of Modern Democracy is a lie, and a principle of death, there is also in it a truth and a principle of life. That principle is the sacredness and indefeasibleness of the rights of human personality. It is because man is a *person* that he has a right to political power, that is, to be considered in the legislation of his country—and in a high state of civilisation considered means consulted: he is not a thing which may be arbitrarily disposed of by the will of another. It is because he is a *person* that he has a right to property, for in this work-a-day world property is necessary for the full explication of personality. But to say that all men have rights, political and economical, is not to say that all men have the same rights to power or property. Personality is not only the source, but the measure of right. Again, when we speak of rights we imply duties by which they are conditioned, and without which they can no more exist than can the three sides of a triangle without the angles. Rights are not things which may be used by the arbitrariness of self-will. If so used they become wrongs. They are moral entities, and are strictly fiduciary in their nature. They must be employed for the good of the community in which they are realised, as well as for the good of those invested with them. This is, in briefest outline, the rationale

of political and proprietary rights. And as it is fatal to absolutism in power, so is it fatal to absolutism in property.

Of monarchical absolutism Modern Democracy has well-nigh made an end, although in the place of it we are threatened with the dismal domination of the dullest of despots—a mob which strikes and will not hear. Proprietary absolutism still exists, but its days are manifestly numbered. Slowly but surely the tyranny of capitalism is being broken down. The great verity that in the State, as well as in the Church, we are members one of another, is being effectually vindicated against the excessive individualism of which, I suppose, Mr. Herbert Spencer is the last prophet. That is the meaning of the long series of Truck Acts, Mines Acts, Factory and Workshop Acts, and the like measures, which have found place in our Statute Book. That is the meaning of the provision of free elementary education. That is the meaning of the demand—sure at no distant period to prevail—for the nationalisation of the railways, now the great high-roads of the country; for the acquisition and direction by the public authorities of other great public works and industries; for the regulation by law of the hours of adult male labour; for the establishment of industrial *bureaux*; for the modification of the fiscal system on the principle of equality of sacrifice. But this so-called ‘Socialistic legislation’ is one thing. The doctrine cogently condemned by Leo the Thirteenth, ‘that possession of private property ought to be abolished, that all things ought to be had in common and their administration entrusted either to the municipality or the State,’ is quite another. The great blot upon Socialism, as upon ochlocracy, is that it is just as unethical, just as materialistic, as the system against which it revolts. Both deny the essential rights of human personality. Both are fatal to that liberty which is identical with morality. Burke was well warranted when he called the French Revolution a deviation from ‘the high road of nature.’ The moral laws of nature are the moral laws of nations too. And if Modern Democracy is to prove a forward and not a retrograde movement in human history, it will have to learn the great truth, so long forgotten, that both politics and economics are branches of ethics.

We have reached (wrote Lamennais, in his prison of Sainte-Pélagie) a critical epoch, one of those solemn moments in which the problem of the future is being solved for humanity. . . . The world, having fulfilled one phase of its development, is about to be transformed. In the new age which is dawning the people are destined to hold a very different position from that which they held in the past. It is they who must form a more perfect society, more conformable to the ideas of justice and charity.

Such was the vision of the future—‘far off, in summers that we shall not see’—which floated before the inner eye of this ‘Apostle of Liberty.’ Will it be realised? There is only one way to it: and that is ‘the high road of nature,’ of which Burke spoke, and which is marked

out by the eternal principles of ethics. So Lamennais warned his day and generation.

You will not be able to leave the paths, bounded by those unalterable laws—the divine laws of creation and of your own being—without receding from the goal to which by an invincible natural impulse your desires tend; without finding, instead of the good you seek, the inevitable penalty of the violation of order.

W. S. LILLY.

II

SHAM EDUCATION

But when shall we lay
The Ghost of the Brute that is walking, and haunting us yet, and be free?
In a hundred, a thousand winters?

TENNYSON.

THERE is so much talked and written about education nowadays that any man who dislikes being a bore is almost afraid to say a word upon the subject. Not only do the vulgar who affect the title of being refined, the *dilettanti* who desire to pose as authorities, ventilate theories on this topic; a large number of honest and decent people, who would never trouble themselves or their children with more than the ordinary traditions, are now compelled to spend anxious hours reflecting upon its difficulties and possibilities. Practically, not one in a hundred thinks anything deeper under the term than cramming in the maximum quantity of stuff into his wretched children's minds; but in the few leisure hours which such people can devote to speculation on the question, they are dazzled and awed with the prospects boldly put forward by those who profess to be advanced thinkers and leaders of public opinion.

And what do these sanguine people promise the rising generation? Those whom I have met, being generally 'philosophical Radicals,' have in the first place insisted with Plato (though they had probably never read a line of his Dialogues) that vice is ignorance, that all the crimes committed by the masses are the direct result of ignorance, and of the poverty which is the usual concomitant of ignorance. They point triumphantly to the fact that since the establishment of Board schools in England the official catalogues of crime have sensibly diminished, and they promise us that this is only the beginning of a greater change, when the masses shall all be instructed in the sciences as well as in politics, and when enlightened public opinion will stamp out individual misconduct. For the same panacea will tend to reduce indefinitely the concomitant cause—poverty—which they cannot but admit to be sometimes the cause of crime, even in well-disposed people. When education is extended to all, and there is no privileged class in this respect, then places of emolument will be open to all, and if any man remain poor

he will have only himself to blame. An enlightened man will not suffer this self-reproach, and will cure it by turning his knowledge to account, and obtaining the good things attainable by public competition. Behind all this lurks their greatest hope, though they do not speak it out with the same assurance as the rest. Education will in due time destroy the hateful distinction of ranks which accentuates the difference of rich and poor by the fact that hitherto the rich, as a rule, become cultivated, and the poor do not. When the pauper becomes as educated as the peer, and the only plain distinction between them is one of inherited wealth, when the latter can only put the vague and unsubstantial influence of ancient traditions into the scale against a majority of votes, then all aristocracy will soon be abolished; even the privileges of ancient seats of learning will disappear, and if the hated word 'aristocracy' remain at all in the language, it will be applied only to the superior in intellect and character. Education therefore will cause crime to disappear, will open countless avenues to escape from poverty, and will ultimately reassert the equality of men, so long obscured by monopolies and privileges.

This is the theory in its most consistent—or shall I say its most relentless?—form. The majority of believers in it may not venture beyond the confident assertion that education *tends* to do all these things. But let the reader remember that, if at the same time men proclaim the indefinite progress of our race; if, instead of predicting cycles of growth and of decay, like the ancients, they look forward to irreversible conquests over the ills and weaknesses of men, then the statement that any cause tends to a great effect is a mere modest postponement of what is really inevitable. I propose now to review the practical steps actually taken for the realisation of this theory, and to estimate the actual gains or losses which these measures have entailed. We shall then be in a position to revert to the theory, and consider how far it is sound, and, if sound, how far it is likely to meet with irreducible obstacles.

* The last twenty years have been marked not only by the progressive nations of the Continent, but among the careless and dilatory English, who hate new theories, by great new systems of instruction, organised by the State, and imposed upon its citizens with little regard to that liberty of the subject which was once thought the goal of all civilisation. In the larger part of Europe compulsory schools have been imposed upon the people, taxes are levied to raise funds, and parents are coerced to send their children to be taught. The old Roman theory of the absolute right of parents to do what they will with their offspring has given way to a theory akin to Plato's, that all children, as possible citizens, are the wards of the State; and so we have come to this strange condition of things, that while the law is still very shy about interfering with physical cruelty in parents, the moral cruelty of having their

children ignorant is promptly punished. Nor is this compulsory instruction confined to the mere elements of knowledge: there are grades and standards; handbooks and compendiums of science which, if learned off by heart, will earn rewards for both pupil and teacher, and astonish the parents at home with the wonders of modern knowledge. In Ireland these primary schools are supplemented by a great Intermediate system, wherein the masses are prepared for higher instruction by examinations, prizes, and result fees, which, instead of coercing, now coax the growing child with bribes, and soothe any remaining qualms about overwork in the parent by exhibiting pecuniary returns, instead of outlays, as the result of acquiring knowledge. The edifice is crowned by the creation, not only of University Extension Lectures, which are supposed to bring all the benefits of the highest culture to the common man's door, but by the endowment and chartering of new bodies, called indeed universities, but only imitating the ancient seats of learning in that they give examinations and confer the titles of learning on those who have learnt some books, and can answer part of what they are asked about them. All this is now done for such small fees as make it possible for the poorest classes to call themselves Masters and Doctors, and consider themselves on an equality with the literary classes of a less enlightened generation.

But all this elaborate multiplication of examining bodies, these cheap titles and degrees, these reductions of the requirements in money, time, and residence, are as nothing in comparison with the opening of almost the whole civil and military service to competition, so that the old selection of young men of breeding or of influence has passed away, and our armies, offices, provinces—in fact, almost our whole public interests—are managed by young men of all sorts and conditions, chosen with little reference to good traditions, or fine physique, or attractive manners, but simply from the reports of examiners who have often not even seen the candidates, but who have laboured through their examination-papers.

These things are so familiar to us all that any detailed description is unnecessary. We may pass on at once to review the practical good attained by these great changes, as well as the reservations which may be necessary in our commendation. And, first of all, let us consider what seems the most obviously desirable of all, the compulsion laid upon parents to send their children to school. This is supposed to apply only to the very poor and ignorant. I can assure the reader that the law, if impartially applied, will punish a great number of people, calling themselves gentry, in Ireland, who allow their children to grow up to the age of twelve or fourteen without any instruction except, perhaps, learning to read. Even this and ordinary writing have to be taught in numerous cases to boys of fourteen, sent at last, after many postponements, delays, and

haggling about school fees, to Irish schoolmasters, who are severely criticised because these boys are found raw and ignorant when they attempt to enter colleges or professional schools at the age of seventeen. It is with the intellect as it is with the land of Ireland. A great part of both is lying waste for want of diligence and decent thrift. When both are fairly cultivated the wealth of the country will 'be astonishing.¹ When parents of the quasi-upper classes behave in this way, it is high time for the law to interfere, and teach them that they have duties towards their children.

But I greatly fear that, in Ireland at least, the stringency of the law will be shown to the very poor, and the police will hesitate to enforce school attendance upon the squireen, while they diligently coerce the peasant, to whom schools bring far less palpable advantages. For to the very poor in Ireland, and I suppose in England too, compulsory attendance upon schools often brings great hardships both on parents who send and children who go. I remember attending a Social Science Conference in Dublin some years ago, when I went into a debate in the Education section to advocate compulsory schooling for the poor. Before the debate was over I was persuaded that I was mistaken. The very poor in Ireland are often scattered thinly over large areas; their children are badly fed and clad; even the youngest of them can help their parents at home. The herding of cattle or goats, which must be kept from trespassing on unfenced crops, occupies many from the age of four years old. Unless, therefore, schools are within easy distance, unless the weather is fair, unless the children have a good breakfast before starting, there may be great sustained cruelty in such coercion, and in many cases the children only obtain the teaching of some older child, who knows nothing thoroughly, so that several years are spent in learning, and in the end neither reading nor writing has been acquired.²

And when the instruction is successful, to what does it lead? To the reading of the lowest and worst forms of ephemeral literature. I mean that which is distinctly intended to be inflammatory, to rouse passions, of which the political, which are bad enough, are, perhaps, the least reprehensible. Compulsory teaching of the poor is therefore less than a half-measure, if we do not provide the natural sequel—a good supply of reading. Local libraries should be attached to every school, and every poor child should be brought within reach of at least some of the books which make it worth while to learn to read. We shall consider the modern Intermediate systems in con-

¹ A very experienced Englishman, and, moreover, what we call a thorough Saxon, with no Irish sympathies, who was head of a large Dublin school for some years, assured me that while in any ordinary English class ten out of twelve boys were stupid and hard to teach, the same proportion in an Irish class were distinctly clever. He added that, as soon as the parents learned to begin soon enough, and the boys and their masters learned method, they would win all the competitions in the empire.

² I state this from cases under my own observation.

are deeply imbued with the spirit of family life are those who best help the poor; in this spirit they meet on the great human ground, older than theories of equality, safer than our imaginings of fresh arrangements for the world, and fitter to inspire the noblest and the simplest sense of duty.

Far be it from me to generalise, or to try to lay down a law as to what is best for anyone—let each see and judge for herself;—but this I will say, that the deep honour for home-life is essential to the best kind of work for the poor now. Thrift?—yes, if you like; education?—yes, if it be good; preparing girls for service, sanitary improvement, skilled nursing, country holidays, amusements, drill, open spaces, and fifty more things, all are valuable; but one spark of honour for and love of home, and sense of duty therein, if it were granted to you to fan it into life, would be a better gift, one more far-reaching in its influence, and bearing better fruit, *without* which all the other gifts are very poor—*with* which they will bring much good.

This belief of mine will very distinctly show what I feel with regard to deaconesses, settlements, and other groups of trained workers living apart from their homes. They may, and in many cases probably will, excel in what we may call the technical portions of their work, and will have, in certain ways, more weight in a district, from these being as a rule carried on more continuously; they form, moreover, a centre in many large towns where the poor live far from the rich. In such institutions will naturally be found those who have taken up work for the poor as their main duty in life, among whom will be, as a rule, probably, many of the more experienced workers and leaders; but whether, with all their technical advantages, residents in them can ever give the great crowning spiritual help in the home-life of the poor will depend on why and how those residents left their own homes: whether, on the one hand, they had any lurking belief that life in a community was holier than life in a family; whether they had shrunk from the discipline and humility of fulfilling duties *laid* upon them, and preferred *chosen* duties; or whether, on the other hand, no home existing for them, they entered into joyful service of the poor, and what reflex of family and household duty life with fellow-workers opened out; or whether the daily duties of home being done by others, the devotion to out-of-the-way poor districts seemed due from them, and, still remaining in near touch with, and full reverence for, home and family life, they, as it were, kept a foothold, too, nearer the most desolate districts; or again whether they were new workers going, as to school or college, to gather knowledge, hereafter to be used when they return home.

Since, in the autumn of 1891, I brought before the public in the pages of this Review the new scheme for district visiting in connection with the Women's University Settlement in Southwark, my thoughts

testant Parnellite was returned by a large majority over the Catholic Nationalist who had the active support of the priests of the constituency. South Roscommon, where the Catholics are probably 98 per cent. of the voters, was carried against the candidate of the Irish party, though supported by the local priesthood. In Dublin city and county, within the very heart of the diocese of Archbishop Walsh, not a single Nationalist candidate was elected, though many of them were men of reputation and experience in the popular cause, and had the active sympathetic support of the distinguished prelate whom it pleases Lord Salisbury to describe as the virtual governor of Ireland and main support of Mr. Gladstone's administration. If there is one thing more certain than another in the history of this unhappy struggle which has been going on in the Irish National movement since December 1890, it is this; that large numbers of Catholic Nationalists who blamed Mr. Parnell in their hearts for the dissensions which he created in the Home Rule movement adhered to his cause, nevertheless, in protest against the attacks which had been made upon a patriotic Protestant leader by large bodies of their clergy.

The most odious feature of this Unionist outcry against the Irish priest is its patent hypocrisy. That there is a good deal of sectarian hatred in it is, of course, obvious. But the chief sin of the clergy of Meath was not their religion, but their politics. Here is where the head and front of their offending is to be found. It is this which has earned for them the fierce diatribes of the anti-Home-Rule press. Who ever knew or heard of an attack upon a Catholic bishop or priest from a Tory or Unionist writer or speaker for, say, an altar denunciation of Fenianism, or for the support of a landlord candidate at an Irish election? There has been an Irish Catholic bishop in this generation who declared that 'hell was not hot enough nor eternity long enough' for the punishment of men joining the Fenian brotherhood, while numerous instances could be given in which priests have called upon voters from the altar to go to the poll for candidates who were landlords and Tories. But this 'clerical intimidation,' instead of exciting the political wrath of the *Times*, drew forth its warm commendation of such acts and language. Does any sane person in Great Britain or Ireland believe for a single moment that the language, threats, or 'intimidations' proved against the priests of Meath would have been morally or politically objectionable to Unionists, if used against the Home Rule cause, or in favour of the Union, or landlordism, or Parnellite factionism? The Irish priest is denounced because he is a Nationalist and an active foe to the landlord system. Lord Salisbury's favourite 'argument' in recent speeches has been that of declaring Home Rule would hand over Ireland to Archbishop Walsh. The Tory leader's antipathy towards or fears of Dr. Walsh are not on account of his being a Roman Catholic dignitary. The present Archbishop of Westminster is credited, rightly or wrongly,

with being an Ultramontane. The Archbishop of Dublin is not. He is as progressive as was Cardinal Manning. But Lord Salisbury has gone out of his way to pay public compliments to Dr. Vaughan, while he loses no opportunity of sneering at or offering insults to the Irish Archbishop. And why? Because Dr. Walsh is opposed politically to the Tory party, and is an able and formidable antagonist of the landlord system. He is not objectionable as a member of the Roman Catholic hierarchy, but as a Home Ruler and Radical land reformer. The statesman who tries to inflame the prejudices of Protestant voters against the Irish cause by accusing the Liberal party of furthering a policy which will hand over the government of Ireland to the 'nominees of Archbishops Walsh and Croke' is he who employed two Tory Catholics in an effort to commit the Vatican to an intrigue against the Irish movement a few years ago. The Pope himself is in no way objectionable to the Tory party, provided he will not take sides with the Irish people.

The attempt to fasten upon prelates like Dr. Croke and Dr. Walsh a design to make the political rights of the Irish Catholics subserve some sinister policy of the Vatican is a grotesque and palpable calumny. Every chapter of modern Irish history is a refutation of the notion that Rome can dominate in Irish National or secular matters. And English statesmen of both parties know this right well. England has more than once tried to exercise some political control over Irish prelates and priests, by means of those very Vatican interests which Unionists now allege to be the end and aim of the Catholic hierarchy in their support of Home Rule. The endowment of Maynooth was a bid for the political allegiance of the Roman Catholic Church in Ireland. The famous Quarantotti intrigue, in which it was sought to give to the English Government a right of veto upon the appointment of Irish bishops, not only failed ignominiously; it drew from O'Connell the historic declaration, in which he spoke for all Catholic Ireland, that 'he would rather take his politics from Stamboul than from Rome.' This unexpected anti-climax to the anticipated subserviency of Irish prelates to the needs of English rule in Ireland taught the Sovereign Pontiff the danger which was involved in any attempt upon the political independence of the Irish Catholic Episcopacy, and no further effort of the kind was made until our own day. The instances of the sensational letter from the Prefect of the Propaganda in 1883, with reference to the 'Parnell Tribute,' and of the Papal Rescript against the Plan of Campaign, in 1888, are later illustrations of the hopelessness of English endeavour to make use of the Vatican against Nationalist Ireland and the impotency of such interference when obtained. Here we have both Liberals and Tories trying their hands at exploiting the Pope in the interests of Dublin Castle and Irish landlordism.

The recollection of the letter '*Qualecumque de Parnellio*,' and the reception which was given to it in Ireland, ought to silence every

Parnellite and every Unionist who accuses the Irish bishops and priests of having gone against Mr. Parnell in 1890, for insufficient or unworthy reasons. Archbishop Croke had begun the testimonial. Nine bishops and two hundred priests followed with their subscriptions, when, as alleged, Sir George Errington, at the instance of Lord Granville, obtained by means of inaccurate representations as to the nature of the National tribute to Mr. Parnell a condemnation of its object. The result is too well known to need more than mere mention. The subscriptions to Mr. Parnell's testimonial doubled. A fund which was not expected to reach 20,000*l.* when started mounted rapidly to close upon 40,000*l.*, as a protest by a Catholic people against an unwarrantable interference on the part of Rome in the secular affairs of Ireland. This was the outcome of the Liberal intrigue against Ireland at the Vatican. The later Tory attempt fared no better, though the trick was more unscrupulously played in 1888 than in 1883. The facts are instructive, as they prove conclusively alike the fearless independence of the Irish Nationalist bishops and priests in the matter of Roman influence outside of religion, and the mean and shabby nature of Lord Salisbury's present conduct when considered in the light and purpose of his mission to the Pope four years ago. The object of this mission is well worth recalling, as it was viewed at the time. A writer in one of the monthly reviews of the period said :—

The Persico mission originated in the attempt made by the British Government to enlist the authority of the Holy See on the side of 'law and order' in Ireland. . . . Lord Salisbury had now fairly entered upon his policy of Coercion, and the opposition of the Irish priests and bishops was the chief obstacle which baffled his efforts to reach his goal. It was hinted, not obscurely, that, as Job did not serve God for nought, so the English Government would handsomely requite the Holy See for any services it might render in muzzling the Irish priests. . . . While Monsignor Persico was preparing the ground in Ireland, his allies had not been idle. The Jubilee of Her Majesty had afforded an opportunity for an interchange of courtesies between the Vatican and St. James's, which it was determined to exploit to the uttermost. The Pope sent a special envoy to congratulate the Queen. What more natural and fitting than that Her Majesty's Ministers should send a special envoy to the Pope to return his compliments, and see whether, at the same time, anything could be done to bring about those closer and more intimate relations upon which the Pope had set his heart? The motive of Persico's mission was pretty well understood at the Foreign Office, and it was deemed advisable that a serious effort should be made to bring matters to a head, and commit the Pope to a policy of repression in Ireland. It was under these circumstances and with such hopes that the mission of the Duke of Norfolk was decided on. . . . His task was comparatively simple. In more or less guarded phrases he had to intimate that Her Majesty's Ministers were not indisposed to do a little business with the Holy See on the principle *Do ut des*. If the Pope could see his way to use his moral influence to restrain the Irish bishops and clergy within the limits marked out by the English Government, then, perhaps, the English Government might see their way to meet the cherished aspirations of the Holy See for the re-establishment of direct diplomatic relations between the Vatican and the Court of St. James's. . . . The Duke, it is believed, was further in a position to intimate that, besides the re-establishment of diplomatic relations,

something might be done in the shape of a substantial subsidy and Government patronage for Catholic education in Ireland.

It is a matter of history now that Cardinal Monaco's famous 'Rescript' followed the Salisbury mission to the Vatican, and that Mr. Balfour (either immediately before or following the Duke of Norfolk's journey to Rome) spoke in the House of Commons in favour of the endowment of a Roman Catholic University in Ireland. It is, however, equally a matter of historic fact that the 'Rescript' was practically ignored by 999 out of every 1,000 Irish Catholics, while Mr. Balfour's bait was not nibbled by the Irish hierarchy. The Tories and their Unionist allies lauded the Pope upon every platform for his opposition to the Plan of Campaign. The Irish people simply lamented the fact that His Holiness had allowed himself to be misled and used by the Tories, appealed in the Nationalist press and by public meetings against a wrongly formed judgment, and continued to support the principles and practices which had been hastily condemned in the light of a misrepresentation of the Irish movement. It is the statesman and party who attempted this diplomatic dirty trick, who tried their best to muzzle the Irish priest and to drive him out of the popular agitation by means of the spiritual influence of the Vatican, who now try to poison the minds of the Protestant voters of Great Britain with insinuations and broad assertions that the cause of Home Rule is to be made subservient to the intrigues and purposes of this same Vatican by means of its 'slavish instruments,' the prelates and priests of Ireland.

Those Unionist critics who now assail the priests of Meath for having exercised spiritual influence in support of a principle of morality were among the first to attack Mr. Parnell after the Divorce Court proceedings, and to reproach the Irish nation for the stained character of its leader. Had Mr. Parnell been allowed by the Irish people to remain in his old position, it would have been, according to these critics, a stigma upon the Irish cause which should damn it in the eyes of Englishmen. When he was superseded, they declared his deposition to be an act of base ingratitude which proved the Irish to be unworthy of liberty. Had the priests condoned his fault, they would have been charged in Unionist organs with having put a premium upon immorality. Having joined the vast majority of their fellow-countrymen in the painful task of deposing him, they were declared to be actuated by political ambition, narrowness of spirit, intolerance, priestly despotism! Such is the code of Unionist political morality. The only possible perfect priest in the Unionist dispensation is he who can buttress landlordism with the spiritual influences of his calling, or who helps by the same means to divide and weaken the National movement for Home Rule. Such a priest, when found, is the beau-ideal of a Christian (though Popish) minister. His opposite is the simple embodiment of all the political vices in jesuitical application.

The allegation that Bishop Nulty and the priests of Meath were actuated by unworthy motives in their opposition to Mr. Parnell from the split to his death, and subsequently to his followers, is altogether opposed to facts. It was this very clerical influence which first gave him a seat in Parliament. Up to the date of the unhappy Divorce Court proceedings he had no more faithful followers in Ireland than among the priesthood of the diocese of Meath. This diocese contributed 2,282*l.* to the Parnell tribute which was condemned by the Pope in 1883, the largest donation from any diocese in Ireland, with the exception of that of Dublin, and every penny of this sum was collected by the priests who were in opposition to the Parnellite candidates in the elections of last July. In fact, so devoted were the clergy of Meath to the Parnell leadership, that they were among the last of their calling in Ireland to declare in a body against him. This tardiness of repudiation has had a good deal to do with the unusual bitterness displayed between Parnellites and priests in the two elections now voided. The latter were accused of having declared in favour of Mr. Parnell even after the Divorce Court verdict. The plea of moral delinquency lost its force in face of the resolution passed at a Convention in support of 'the chief' and supported by a large body of Meath priests, subsequent to the decree nisi. On the face of it this appeared a strong argument against the contention of the clergy that they went against the popular leader on grounds of morality alone; and the strength of the position which this circumstance gave to the followers of Messrs. Dalton and Mahoney was such that it could only be assailed, from the point of view of the priests, by that zeal which invariably covers a recantation of opinions, or a desire to undo the consequences of a mistake. In justice to the priests of Meath it must be said Mr. Parnell and his followers had loudly declared that his side of the divorce case was yet to be put before the Irish people. Popular opinion in Ireland was appealed to in this sense, and asked to suspend judgment. It was early in this stage of public feeling when some Meath priests gave their assent to a resolution pledging their adherence to the leader whom Meath first elected to Parliament. No such promised exculpation occurred, however, and the Catholic clergy of Meath, with a few exceptions, joined in the agitation against Parnellite factionism.

Anti-Home-Rule politicians may squirm at the fact as much as they please, but the power and prestige of the Irish priest are the creation of those very systems which Unionists are resolved if possible to perpetuate, in the face of their utter and abysmal failure to serve the purposes for which they were established, or to benefit the people subjected to them. While the law of eviction remains the law of the land, and Dublin Castle supplies the instruments of its execution, the political bond which unites the Irish priest to the Irish peasant will never be broken. As the priest has not been afraid even to go against Rome when Rome went wrong on Irish questions, he is not likely to err

on the side of weakness towards Castle rule and landlordism while they are the embodiment of injustice to the people. And the people would be fools to listen to the voices of those who ask them to discard such allies. The Church, in a political sense, is a tower of strength to a popular cause when its ministers are heart and soul with the people's aspirations. Churches may be dangerous to liberty when they are rich and are trammelled by State obligations or by class influences. If the Catholic Church had been endowed by the English Government in Ireland, it would have lost every vestige of political power with our people. As it is, it has preserved an influence commensurate with the fidelity of its priests to the people's cause. It is only in their absolute devotion to the people's interests wherein resides their political strength. Whenever and wherever they have taken sides against the popular movement in this generation they have been beaten. Twenty years ago a Liberal and Catholic candidate who had the support of the priests of Meath was defeated by Mr. John Martin, a Protestant '48 man, who stood as the National representative. The organ of Irish landlordism of that day said of this Home Rule victory, 'The defeat of Mr. Plunkett in Meath indicates the growth of Federalism in Ireland. We believe the secret of Mr. Martin's return is that the people of Ireland are tired of priestly dictation.'

Few of the people of Great Britain, even among Home Rulers, except those who are fairly familiar with Ireland, form, or care to form, a true estimate of the real character of the Irish priesthood. The word 'priest' is enough to create a prejudice in the minds of millions of the British people whose religious beliefs or irreligious dispositions predispose their minds to an antipathy. This antipathy may be more anti-clerical than anti-Catholic with the mass of people who are themselves nothing more than passive Christians. But with those who influence what I will term militant Protestant religious opinion, the Catholic priest is the embodiment of error, and the cunning instrument, in everything, of a foreign spiritual power. In politics he is represented as a man who makes unscrupulous use of his sacerdotal influence over an ignorant and superstitious peasantry, with the sole object of upholding his own and the Church's domination and sway. This is the picture which Lord Salisbury now tries to hold up to the British electorate; insinuating that Archbishops Croke and Walsh have simply to put these all-powerful puppets in motion in order to secure the blind political obedience of the Catholic voters in the interests of some Vatican or Ultramontane purpose. I have shown elsewhere how Lord Salisbury tried to have these same puppets moved and controlled from Rome for the ends of his own party. No more untruthful picture of the Irish priest in politics could be drawn. In ninety-nine cases out of a hundred he is but the intelligent expression of popular feeling. He is a peasant's or a trader's son to begin with. His sympathies, prejudices, and aspira-

tions in secular matters are those of the class from which he has sprung. There is no country in the world in which there is so close an identity of feeling, of social relationship, of absolute solidarity of patriotic motives and of political purpose between people and pastors as exists in Ireland. The cause of a common country appeals to ideas and convictions of a common national sentiment. A heritage of mutual wrong and suffering welds this sentiment into concrete public action. 'Dublin Castle government' has tried to extirpate the priest in the past, as it sought to enslave and degrade the peasant. 'Landlordism' has been the enemy of both. Evictors thin the congregations when they destroy the homes of the people. The poverty born of an impoverished country and unjust rents affects the scanty income of the parish priest and curate. But, over and above all, the priest has been identified with every phase of the people's battle for their homesteads and their rights. He was above the suspicion of making the popular cause a stepping-stone to office. He had nothing to gain for his services or sacrifices but the gratitude of those for whom he laboured, and the hatred of those whose power for injustice or evil he sought to curb. The priests supplied the place in Irish popular movements which members of an intermediate class occupy in other countries where social and political antagonism separate the mass of a population from an aristocracy. Their leadership and political influence were determined by the character and consequences of English misgovernment and by the brutality and injustice of the Irish landlord system.

If the Irish priest is a potent factor in Irish politics to-day, who or what made him so? If his active influence is exercised in support of movements or agitations abhorred by Toryism, who is to blame? There is not in the whole political world to-day a class of persons who have a better traditional right to participate in political warfare than the Irish priesthood. Nor has any section of any people in any country under the sun a more consistent record as constitutional reformers than the men who are now hounded down by the party successors of the makers and administrators of the penal laws. For, what are the facts of history? It is not two hundred years ago since the same price was placed, by English laws, upon the head of a priest and the head of a wolf in Ireland. He had no sooner emerged from the bondage of the penal laws than he was forced to engage in the movement for Catholic emancipation. Thirty years' agitation were required before the most elementary civil rights were allowed by England to his co-religionists in a country overwhelmingly Catholic. Next he was compelled to wage a war against the imposition of tithes. Thousands of lives were lost in this horrible struggle for an obviously rational relief from an equally notorious and monstrous injustice. These were fights for the very elementary principles of civil and religious liberty. They were won through the loyalty of the Irish people to a just and righteous cause, under the leadership of men

whose very education had been made a crime by the infamy of English bigotry and intolerance. In every one of these movements, and in every subsequent popular agitation down to the present hour, the Irish priest has been on the side of constitutional right, and an advocate of progressive reform. It was said of him, so far back as sixty years ago, that he had imbibed the doctrines of Locke and Paley more deeply than those of Bellarmine and Bossuet. The political education of the last half-century has developed these ideas until, nourished as they have been by the social democratic movement of the past twenty years in a wider political atmosphere, the Irish priesthood of to-day are men of broad and tolerant views on all public questions, and are modified believers and followers of Cardinal Manning's Christian Socialism rather than of the political Ultramontaniam with which their enemies attempt to identify them.

The venerable Bishop who has been held up to public scorn and condemnation in the anti-Home-Rule press for a pastoral issued, injudiciously, in the interests of religion and morality, during a Parliamentary election, is the same Dr. Nulty who, twelve years ago—long before any but a very few English Progressivists demanded the taxation of ground rents for public purposes—wrote and declared :—

The essential and immutable principles of justice used certainly to be that everyone had a right of property in the hard-earned fruits of his labour; that he, and he alone, had a right to all the benefits, advantages, and enjoyments which the property yielded; and that if anyone else meddled with that property against his will, he was thereby guilty of the crime of robbery, which the eternal law of God, as well as the laws of all nations, reprobated and punished. But the principles which underlie the existing system of land tenure, and which impart to it its specific and distinctive character, are exactly the reverse of these. The principles on which that system are based are: that one privileged class do not require to labour for their livelihood at all; that they have an exclusive right to all the advantages, the comforts and enjoyments that can be derived from a splendid property, which exacted no patient, painful, or self-denying efforts of labour to create it or acquire it. That, being a singularly favoured race, and being all God's eldest sons, the rest of the world must humbly acknowledge themselves to be their inferiors in rank, lineage, condition, and dignity. That this superiority of rank gives them a right to sell out God's gifts as if they were purely the products of their own labour and industry. . . . I have already shown that the land of every country is the public property of the people of that country, and, consequently, that its exclusive appropriation by a class is a substantial injustice and wrong done to every man in that country whom it robs of his fair share of the common inheritance. Then the injustice of this appropriation is enormously enhanced by the fact that it further enables the landlords to appropriate a vast share of the earnings of the nation besides. They plundered the people first of God's gifts in the land, and that act of spoliation puts them under a sort of necessity of plundering them again of an enormous amount of their direct earnings and wages. . . . It would seem as if Providence had destined the land to serve as a large economical reservoir, to catch, to collect, and to preserve the overflowing streams of wealth that are constantly escaping from the great public industrial works that are always going on in communities that are progressive and prosperous. . . . But the great national property which Providence had destined for the support of the public burdens of Society has been diverted from its original purpose to minister to the wants and

extravagances of a class. The explanation of this extraordinary act of national spoliation will be found in the fact that hitherto this class could just do as it pleased : the government of the country lay for centuries exclusively in its hands, and, despite the combined influence of English Radicalism and Irish Obstructionism, it is practically in its hands still. . . . Even while they slept their rent rolls went on increasing. . . . The value continually imparted to the land by the industrial exertions of the community in the construction of houses, harbours, bridges, streets, roads, and railways ; in the erection of factories, mills, and warehouses, &c., has all been confiscated and appropriated by the owners of the soil. . . . If the English operatives could only retain for their own use and benefit the vast sums which, under the existing system of land tenure, go, on the one hand, to the owners of the soil, and the sums that an economical system of ground-rent taxation would save for them, on the other, their material comforts and enjoyments would be multiplied a hundredfold. . . . The great problem that the nations, or the government of nations rather, have to solve is—what is the most profitable and remunerative investment they can make of this common property (the land) in the interest and for the benefit of the people to whom it belongs? In other words, how can they bring the largest, and, as far as possible, the most skilled amount of effective labour to bear on the proper cultivation of an improvement of the land? How can they make it yield the largest amount of human food, human comforts, and home enjoyments, and how can its aggregate produce be divided so as to give everyone the fairest and largest share he is entitled to without passing over or excluding anyone ?¹

The attitude of all the Churches to-day towards the great social question of the hour is a justification of the past and present action of the Irish priests in Irish politics. Theirs has been the Church of the poor. They have always stood forth to vindicate the cause of the people. Their heartiest sympathy and assistance have been given whenever the downtrodden and oppressed have risen against the injustice and insolence of those who neither toil nor spin, but who have ground the faces of the labouring poor between the upper and nether millstones of landlordism and Castle rule. They have worked to secure protection for the fruits of the farmer's toil, to improve the conditions of social existence for the labouring and small tenant class, who comprise the greater part of the peasantry of Ireland. Whenever periods of distress have arrived, the first voice to be heard demanding State intervention by way of public works, the first subscription towards immediate means of relief, has always come from the Irish priest. These are well-known facts. They explain at one and the same time why he has an influence over a great proportion of the Irish people, and why Lord Salisbury, as leader of the Landlord Tory party, fears and hates him as a potent factor in the social democratic movement against landlordism and the class exploitation of parliaments and governments by which industry is unjustly taxed in the interests of monopoly. Every church or congregation, or great or small religious community, in Great Britain (under whatsoever name it goes) is trying, by some minister or member of its body,

¹ *Essay on the Land Question*, dedicated to the Clergy and Laity of the Diocese of Meath, April 1880, by the Most Rev. Dr. Nulty.

to reconcile the preaching of the Gospel with the social betterment of the working population. They recognise that political power is rapidly going from the classes to the masses; that the toilers are becoming conscious of this change, and are resolved to use their growing influence in the State for the amelioration of their lot, the brightening and sweetening of their homes, the general uplifting of their condition in the organism of society, and for the making of provision for the requirements of old age. To use a common expression, all these religious communities 'want to be in it' in the carrying out of these social democratic reforms. It is rightly recognised now that to sympathise with a change to rational and humane conditions of industrial society, which will not conflict with the teaching of the Gospel of the Sermon on the Mount, and which is proposed to be effected by peaceful and constitutional means, will be a wiser and better Christian duty than an indifference or an hostility that would help to precipitate a revolution which would win such changes even against the opposition of Churches and classes combined. In a word, as political power is to be with the people, the Churches are, prudently, wending their way in that direction also. In this they are only following in the footsteps of Archbishops Croke and Walsh and of the vast majority of the priesthood of Ireland.

What will be the position of the priest in Irish politics under Home Rule? I believe it will be largely modified under the circumstances of totally different political, and some change of social, conditions. There will be no Dublin Castle government inviting a common Nationalist hostility. Landlordism may share a similar fate of legal abolition after a time, when another challenge to combined opposition will cease to afford a bond of united action. The Education question may probably still further segregate former allies. Labour versus Capital, public as against private property in land, with other social contentions, will inevitably break up the unity of purpose and co-operation of political effort which have kept the priests and people in one camp in the dual fight for National self-government and land reform. New party combinations will be formed. A conservatism, new to Ireland, will come into the field of domestic politics when a Home Rule Constitution takes the place of Castle rule, and former lay and clerical antagonists of an alien administration must become the guardians and upholders of native law and order. The position of the Catholic clergy of Ireland under these altered conditions of government, of social change, and of party strife, will, I hope and believe, correspond with the attitude which Archbishop Hughes of New York defined on one occasion when he was asked to use his influence with American Catholics in favour of a certain candidate in a Presidential election. He said :—

The entire American people appear to be nearly equally divided in opinion as to which of these two will make the best chief magistrate. This fact seems to

indicate a general opinion that the country will be safe under the four years' Presidency of either. As to the Catholics, they have never been consulted as to the unlimited choice between these two. The probability is that, like their fellow-citizens of other denominations, they will be divided—some voting for one candidate, some for another. Like others, they are liable to err in their choice; but, under all circumstances, I should prefer that, voting honestly, each according to his own judgment, they should err with the minority, or, what is equally possible, with the majority of their fellow-citizens of all denominations, rather than see them guarded against such danger of erring in their choice of President by any ecclesiastical influence.

MICHAEL DAVITT.

OU ALLONS-NOUS ?

I

POUR bien comprendre la situation actuelle de la France, il faut remonter jusqu'aux élections de 1889. Elles se sont faites sans programme de gouvernement. Il s'agissait, pour les républicains, d'arracher le pays à l'entreprise du boulangisme. Les républicains ont refait contre lui ce qu'ils avaient fait, en 1877, contre le 16 mai, et qui s'est appelé la manœuvre des 363. Ils se sont groupés et réunis sans acception de nuances. La chambre, qui est sortie de ces élections, comprend environ 150 membres de la droite, dont une cinquantaine sont susceptibles de venir sincèrement à la République, 30 Boulangistes, 20 socialistes, plus ou moins hypocritement révolutionnaires ; aux Boulangistes et aux socialistes se joignent une cinquantaine de républicains qu'on pourrait appeler les Clémencistes, parce qu'ils votent, avec M. Clémenceau, contre tous les actes de tous les ministères quels qu'ils soient. C'est la négation systématique de tout gouvernement. Quelquefois ils entraînent avec eux les républicains, timides devant leurs électeurs, qui éprouvent le besoin de se montrer d'autant plus farouches à la chambre.

Le ministère Tirard tomba le 14 mars 1890 sous une coalition protectionniste. M. de Freycinet devint président du conseil, en se bornant à remplacer les ministres du commerce, de l'agriculture et des affaires étrangères. Au mois de septembre 1891, Bouffanger se tuait à Bruxelles. Le 31 octobre, M. Clémenceau recommençait ses attaques contre les ministères en s'écriant : 'Le pacte est rompu.' On réveillait les questions qui pouvaient diviser le plus les républicains, telle que la question religieuse. Le 18 février 1892, le cabinet de Freycinet tombait et était remplacé, le 28, par le cabinet Loubet. On pouvait prévoir dès lors que toutes les vieilles animosités, les vieilles divisions du parti républicain, plus ou moins anesthésiées, pendant les deux années et demie précédentes, allaient se réveiller et que nous allions assister au renouvellement des crises de 1887 et de 1888, qui avaient failli perdre la République.

M. Goblet et M. Clémenceau comprenaient que s'il n'y avait pas

de crises, les élections de 1894 donneraient une forte majorité gouvernementale et que leur rôle serait fini. Ils commencèrent alors à se lier avec les débris du boulangisme, sans oser le dire trop haut, et à proclamer hautement leur alliance avec les socialistes plus ou moins révolutionnaires.

M. Loubet commit une faute capitale. Il fut hypnotisé par les Clémencistes, les Boulangistes et les socialistes. Il leur sacrifia non-seulement la majorité républicaine, mais encore les principes les plus élémentaires d'ordre public et de gouvernement : c'est par déférence pour eux qu'il laissa pendant trois mois s'organiser l'anarchie à Carmaux. L'explosion de dynamite de la rue des Bons-Enfants fut l'apothéose de cette politique de faiblesse.

Depuis quatre ans, la liquidation de Panama était commencée. Une information judiciaire était ouverte ; mais aucun garde des sceaux n'avait donné l'ordre au parquet de poursuivre. L'article 405 du Code Pénal, qui punit comme escroquerie 'des manœuvres frauduleuses pour persuader l'existence de fausses entreprises,' n'est pas clairement applicable à M. de Lesseps, qui a cru au canal de Panama comme il avait cru au canal de Suez. Qu'il y ait eu de l'imprévoyance, des gaspillages, de la mauvaise administration, c'est possible ; mais il y a loin de là à une vulgaire escroquerie. De plus, M. de Lesseps est un homme dont la France s'est honorée à juste titre. Enfin, l'achèvement du canal n'est pas absolument chimérique, et un procès de ce genre ne peut contribuer à faire reprendre cette entreprise.

M. Loubet n'exerça pas sur M. Ricard, garde des sceaux, le contrôle qui appartient à un premier ministre pour un acte de cette importance. M. Ricard voulut poser pour le Caton antique, intègre et vertueux. Il annonça, un beau matin, au conseil des ministres, que les poursuites étaient ordonnées.

Alors eut lieu la manœuvre suivante. La loi de 1881 sur la presse permet bien aux personnes diffamées pour des faits se rattachant à la vie publique de poursuivre les auteurs des diffamations devant le jury ; mais la procédure peut durer neuf à dix mois et est assez onéreuse : de plus, il suffit de sept jurés pour acquitter le diffamateur qui tâche de les attendrir en plaidant la bonne foi, les bonnes intentions, &c. ; et s'il est acquitté, c'est la condamnation du diffamé, aux yeux de l'opinion publique. Cette absence de confiance dans la juridiction qui doit statuer fait qu'en réalité les diffamateurs peuvent s'en donner à l'aise.

Alors les journaux *la Cocarde*, journal boulangiste, *la Libre Parole*, journal antisémitique, *l'Intransigeant* furent lancés contre les membres du parlement pour faire une diversion dans l'opinion publique. Tous les adversaires de la République reformèrent leur coalition contre les républicains. Ils prétendirent que

si l'entreprise de Panama avait échoué, cela venait de ce que ses administrateurs avaient dû employer le plus clair des souscriptions des pauvres diables à acheter les votes des députés. Cette thèse était absurde : le parlement n'a eu à s'occuper du Panama qu'en 1888, lorsque la compagnie ayant absorbé déjà 1271 millions, n'espérait plus trouver de ressources qu'à l'aide d'un emprunt à lots, qui constituait une dérogation au droit commun et pour lequel il fallait une loi. Chose assez singulière, même, c'est que les frais d'émission de ce dernier emprunt ne se sont montés qu'à 4,3 pour cent, tandis que ceux des précédents étaient de 5 pour cent, ce qui prouve que la corruption parlementaire n'avait pas été très onéreuse. Les administrateurs du Panama, en voulant l'invoquer comme excuse, ont aggravé leur situation. Aujourd'hui, ils viennent d'être arrêtés, et sont poursuivis en vertu des articles 177 à 180 du Code Pénal qui frappent les auteurs de tentatives de corruption.

Au moment où l'instance judiciaire était commencée, on apprit la mort subite, le 19 novembre, de M. Jacques de Reinach, financier très connu, mêlé à toutes les affaires qui se traitaient sur la place de Paris, plein d'initiative, de ressources et d'entregent, beau-père et oncle du député, Joseph Reinach, qui fut un des plus ardents adversaires du boulangisme et qui est en dehors de toute affaire financière. Cette mort produisit une certaine émotion. Le 21, une interpellation fut adressée au gouvernement sur les affaires du Panama par un Boulangiste clérical, M. Delahaye, qui a subi sept condamnations pour diffamation. Il paraît que c'est son genre de polémique habituel. Il déclara qu'il y avait cent-cinquante députés qui avaient reçu de l'argent du Panama. On lui demanda : 'Des noms !' Il répondit qu'il donnerait les noms et les preuves devant une commission d'enquête, dont il demanda la nomination. Le gouvernement ne dit pas un mot, ne fit pas une réserve sur les pouvoirs et le rôle de cette commission d'enquête ; il ne fit pas remarquer qu'une poursuite judiciaire étant ordonnée, si la commission d'enquête venait exercer une action parallèle, il en résulterait une confusion inextricable. Pourrait-elle faire comparaître les administrateurs du Panama poursuivis ? Viendraient-ils devant elle comme prévenus ou comme accusateurs ? Le gouvernement resta muet. La commission d'enquête fut nommée sans attributions définies.

II

Composée de 33 membres, dont huit de la droite et un Boulangiste, elle commença ses travaux par entendre M. Delahaye, qui n'apporta ni noms ni preuves. Il lut un factum dans lequel il disait à la commission : 'Vous ferez venir . . . vous demanderez . . . vous interrogerez . . .' Puis il remit à la commission des plis cachetés

qu'elle devait ouvrir à tels et tels moments. La commission se laissa infliger cette lecture, elle reçut les plis cachetés, sans faire remarquer à M. Delahaye qu'il n'avait tenu aucune de ses promesses, et qu'il n'avait donné ni noms ni preuves.

La commission se mit à faire la besogne qu'il devait lui apporter toute faite. Elle fit venir les personnes qu'il lui avait indiquées : parmi elles se trouva un banquier, M. Thierrée, qui déclara qu'il avait vingt-six chèques tirés par le baron de Reinach au profit de diverses personnes. La commission fit saisir ces chèques. On en trouva deux d'un million chaque au profit d'un personnage qui a joué un rôle énigmatique en France, depuis une douzaine d'années, M. Cornélius Herz ; deux de vingt-cinq mille francs chaque, au profit de deux sénateurs, M. Albert Grévy et M. Léon Renault. Il fut constaté aussi qu'un député, M. Antonin Proust, avait pris part à un syndicat de garantie pour une émission antérieure, en 1886. Des explications fournies par les deux sénateurs et par le député, il est évident qu'ils ont été naïfs, légers, mais qu'on a surtout voulu compromettre le parlement en leur personne.

En fait de membres du parlement ayant reçu des sommes de l'administration du Panama, voilà à quoi se sont bornées les découvertes de la commission d'enquête. Il y a loin de là aux cent-cinquante députés, annoncés par M. Delahaye.

Cependant ce n'est pas la faute de la commission d'enquête si elle ne multiplie pas ses découvertes. Elle y met toute la passion possible. Les membres de la droite voudraient trouver des républicains compromis ; les membres républicains voudraient y trouver des membres de la droite et peut-être—la nature est faible—quelques adversaires personnels : tous enfin attachent leur honneur à dénicher des coupables. Ils sont humiliés de n'en pas découvrir davantage, comme des chasseurs qui reviennent *bredouille*.

M. Brisson, le président de la commission d'enquête, est un homme d'aspect austère, qui considère que le rire est l'ennemi de l'homme. Bien plus grâce à cette apparence vertueuse qu'à ses talents, il est devenu président de la chambre des députés et président du conseil des ministres. Ce fut pendant son passage au pouvoir qu'eurent lieu les élections de 1885 où il poussa l'impartialité jusqu'à favoriser les monarchistes et les Bonapartistes. Candidat à la Présidence de la République, en 1887, malgré le petit nombre de voix qu'il obtint, il ne se résigna que difficilement à se retirer devant M. Carnot. Une élection présidentielle doit avoir lieu en 1894. M. Brisson, en s'asseyant dans le fauteuil du président de la commission d'enquête, a vu la vertu montant, en sa personne, l'escalier de l'Elysée.

Du moment où il est devenu président de la commission d'enquête, il a dressé pouvoir contre pouvoir : le comité de salut public contre

le ministère. Ne pouvant trouver des coupables vivants, il a exigé le 28 novembre l'autopsie du cadavre de M. de Reinach. Que M. de Reinach soit mort d'une congestion cérébrale ou se soit empoisonné, nous ne voyons pas bien en quoi cela importe à l'honneur du parlement. M. Loubet et M. Ricard, par une inconséquence habituelle aux hommes faibles, après avoir laissé constituer, sans une restriction, la commission d'enquête, refusèrent avec énergie l'autopsie du baron de Reinach. Ils furent renversés. Pour leur honneur, ils auraient dû être renversés huit jours plus tôt.

M. Brisson était tout désigné pour former un cabinet. Le président de la République le fit appeler. Au bout de deux jours, il répondit qu'il ne le pouvait pas. Pour un homme grave, renverser un ministère, sans être capable de le remplacer, c'est bien léger.

M. Carnot, après plusieurs tentatives, s'adressa à M. Ribot qui refit un cabinet avec les anciens membres du ministère. Ce ne fut pas le ministère qui changea, ce fut seulement le président du conseil. M. Ricard fut éliminé et M. Jules Roche fut remplacé, parce qu'il était devenu gênant, à l'égard des protectionnistes, comme s'étant trop engagé en faveur du traité franco-suisse. En revanche, M. Ribot a eu l'insigne faiblesse de conserver comme ministre de l'intérieur M. Loubet, l'ancien président du conseil auquel sont dus et Carmaux et Panama !

Pendant ce temps, la commission d'enquête fonctionnait : elle ouvrait les plis cachetés. Trouvant dans l'un d'eux le cocher de M. Propper, qu'elle entendait, elle l'envoya chercher ; et le président 'interrogea brusquement,' comme l'avait prescrit M. Delahaye, dans son pli. Le cocher, du reste, répondit exactement le contraire de ce que M. Delahaye avait annoncé. La commission entendait tous les employés renvoyés et mécontents, des 'faiseurs de chantage,' des gens de toutes sortes qui venaient s'y prélasser et raconter tout ce que l'envie, la rancune, des humiliations plus ou moins méritées pouvaient leur dicter. Du titre d'un vaudeville, on a surnommé sa besogne '*le roman chez la portière.*'

M. Bourgeois, le remplaçant de M. Ricard comme garde des sceaux, accorda l'autopsie du baron de Reinach et communication complète de l'information judiciaire, quoique cette communication soit de nature à annuler toute la procédure antérieure. M. Quesnay de Beaurepaire, le procureur général, qui soutint les poursuites contre Boulanger devant la Haute Cour, fut remplacé et nommé président de chambre à la Cour de Cassation, parce qu'il avait refusé cette communication. Le nouveau garde des sceaux commençait à céder un peu plus que l'ancien à la commission d'enquête. C'était inquiétant. Resterait-elle donc le seul pouvoir ?

III

M. Pourquery de Boisserin, député d'Avignon, l'ancienne ville des papes, sentit se réveiller en lui le sang d'inquisiteur que lui avaient légué ses aïeux. Il déposa une proposition tendant à autoriser les membres de la commission d'enquête à faire faire toutes les saisies et perquisitions qu'il leur conviendrait en requérant directement les juges d'instruction. C'était remettre l'action judiciaire entre les mains d'une commission sans responsabilité directe. C'était enlever la responsabilité de l'action de la justice au ministre de la justice pour la reporter à la commission d'enquête. C'était ni plus ni moins qu'une violation de la constitution.

Cependant la majorité de la chambre était tellement 'emballée' que la commission, chargée d'examiner cette proposition, se composait de sept membres pour et de quatre adversaires. Le 15 décembre, la discussion de cette proposition est venue. MM. Ribot et Bourgeois l'ont combattue. M. Brisson l'a soutenue, oubliant tous les principes du droit; le ministère l'a emporté par 271 voix contre 266, soit une majorité de cinq voix dans laquelle il faut compter huit ministres.

Toutes les voix de la majorité sont républicaines; dans les voix de la minorité nous trouvons les Boulangistes, les socialistes, 130 voix de la droite, les Carmausistes, auxquels il faut ajouter un certain nombre de députés qui, quoique n'ayant rien à se reprocher, nous aimons à le croire, sont terrorisés par la commission d'enquête et sont prêts à faire à son égard toutes les lâchetés.

Cependant que serait-il arrivé si M. Brisson l'avait emporté? était-il plus en état, qu'il y a quinze jours, de former un cabinet? l'aurait-il fait à l'image de la commission d'enquête? aurait-il pris pour garde des sceaux son vice-président, M. Jolibois, ancien procureur général de l'Empire et un des derniers survivants des passions bonapartistes contre la République? Et si M. Brisson n'est pas capable de former un ministère, et si les ministères qui peuvent être constitués contre la commission d'enquête peuvent être renversés du jour au lendemain, où allons-nous—à une crise présidentielle? Un des membres de la droite disait l'autre jour: 'Nous sommes déjà à Viroflay'—on sait que c'est à Versailles que se réunit le congrès pour l'élection du Président de la République, et que Viroflay est une des stations du railway.

IV

Le danger est écarté au moment où j'écris ces lignes. Sera-t-il écarté au moment où elles paraîtront?

Il est difficile de prévoir ce qui peut arriver avec une chambre qui se partage ainsi en deux parties à peu près égales. Les républicains qui votent avec la droite obéissent à des considérations

complexes et personnelles contre lesquelles un gouvernement ne peut rien. Les uns sont peurs de leurs électeurs, les autres veulent pouvoir poser pour les chevaliers de la vertu; ceux qui sont soupçonnés d'avoir quelque chose à cacher sont les plus ardents à crier : 'De la lumière ! de la lumière !' Quel raisonnement peut tenir contre une métaphore ?

Cette campagne contre la République est si habilement menée qu'on la soupçonne d'être dirigée par les jésuites, qui agiraient, à la fois, contre les républicains et contre le Pape, qui a eu le malheur d'engager le clergé à se rallier à la République. Le fait est que la fondation du journal *la Libre Parole* suivit, à quelques jours près, l'Encyclique du Pape de février 1892. Les prêtres qui ont été des intermédiaires, des courtiers très actifs pour placer les titres du Panama, vont maintenant disant à ceux qu'ils avaient contribué à duper : 'C'est de la faute des républicains ! Marchez avec nous. Nous leur ferons rendre gorge, et vous retrouverez ce que vous avez perdu.'

Ces bons apôtres ne cessent de parler de l'intérêt des 400,000 porteurs de titres de Panama. Mais personne ne les avait obligés de les prendre. Séduits par le succès de Suez, ils avaient fait le rêve de la Perrette de la fable. Le pot au lait s'est cassé. C'est fâcheux pour eux ; mais si vous mettez à la loterie, personne ne vous doit de compensation si vous ne gagnez pas.

Sous prétexte de défendre leurs intérêts, les gens de droite, les Boulangistes, les républicains pris de vertige, arrêtent les affaires de tous, jettent la France dans la plus vive inquiétude, et la menacent de ce grand danger : une crise gouvernementale qui irait, au désir de beaucoup, au-delà d'un changement de ministres et même d'un changement présidentiel.

La campagne entreprise est la revanche de la coalition boulangiste, mais plus dangereuse. Avec le général, le danger était visible et palpable. Il a suffi de marcher sur lui. Il s'est effondré. Ici, nous nous débattons au milieu de microbes invisibles et insaisissables.

L'important est que la commission d'enquête finisse le plus tôt possible son rôle de comité de salut public. Elle fait une enquête sur une législature qui n'existe plus. Il n'y a pas de raison qu'elle ne veuille pas remonter jusqu'à la chambre introuvable et qu'elle ne prolonge pas indéfiniment ses travaux. Un pays ne peut vivre avec un comité de délation, tenant tout le monde en suspicion.

Le gouvernement vient de prendre le meilleur moyen pour mettre fin à ses travaux en arrêtant M. Charles de Lesseps, M. Sans-Leroy, ancien député soupçonné d'avoir reçu de l'argent pour changer son vote, et quelques autres personnages mêlés à ces affaires. La justice régulière suivra son cours, dans les formes prévues par notre procédure criminelle, avec la sanction du Code Pénal. Les députés n'auront plus 'de bouche de fer' faisant appel aux délateurs. Il n'y

aura plus un comité de salut public chargé d'épurer la chambre. Les députés devront voter le budget, de bonnes lois, si possible, en abroger de mauvaises, ce qui est plus difficile, exiger du gouvernement le maintien de l'ordre public et le respect de la loi dont ils donneront eux-mêmes l'exemple. Alors on oubliera cette bourrasque, comme tant d'autres. Les prétendants cesseront de s'agiter; et les élections de 1894, nous l'espérons, donneront une solide majorité gouvernementale de républicains.

YVES GUYOT,

Député, ancien ministre des travaux publics.

ASPECTS. OF TENNYSON

II

(A PERSONAL REMINISCENCE)

If in the following pages I can contribute a few touches to the portrait of Lord Tennyson which his contemporaries alone can paint, my object in writing them will be accomplished. Of Tennyson the Poet his Poems will remain a 'monument more lasting than brass' to the remotest future. But of the man himself 'in his habit as he lived' the likeness can only be portrayed by those who knew him personally, and only now, while their memory of him is fresh, and before it passes away with them into oblivion. What would the world not give for such a picture of Shakespeare by his friends as may now be made of Tennyson?

In a letter of his which lies before me he draws a distinction between personal things which may be told of a man before and after his death, and complains of the neglect of that distinction during his life. He recognised that after death a Memoir of him was inevitable, and left the charge of it in its fulness to his son. What follow are but slight contributions towards any such complete biography, for only upon the few occasions which are here recorded did I make any note in writing of all Tennyson's talk heard and enjoyed for nearly thirty years. His own words I have printed always in italics.

More than thirty years ago I had the happiness of making his acquaintance. I was about to publish a little book on King Arthur, chiefly compiled from Sir Thomas Malory, and, as a stranger, had written to ask leave to dedicate it to him—a leave which was directly granted.

For some time afterwards I knew him merely by correspondence, but being in the Isle of Wight one autumn I called to thank him personally for what he had written to me, and then first saw him face to face. I found him even kinder than his letters, and from that time our acquaintance grew gradually closer until it became intimate.

Before long he asked me to become his architect for the new house he proposed to build near Haslemere ('Aldworth' as it was

finally called), and the consultations and calculations which naturally followed as to his way of living, the plans, and the cost of building, led to much business confidence. This presently extended to the field of his own business transactions with his publishers, and from these in time to confidences about his Work and Art ; until at length he came to tell me of Poems not yet in being, but contemplated, and to talk about them and show me their progress.

Then, and for many years after, under his roof or under mine, it was my great privilege to see and know him intimately ; and the more he was known the more impressive were his greatness, tenderness, and truth. The simplicity, sensitiveness, freshness, and almost divine insight of a child were joined in him, as in no other man, to the dignity, sagacity, humour, and knowledge of age at its noblest. An immense sanity underlay the whole—the perfection of common-sense—and over all was the perpetual glamour of supreme genius.

Affectation was so alien from him that he spoke and acted exactly as he felt and thought everywhere and about everything. This at times would perplex and bewilder strangers. The shy were frightened at it ; the affected took it for affectation (for, as he was fond of saying, '*every man imputes himself*'), the rough for roughness, the bears for bearishness ; whereas it was but simple straightforward honesty, and as such of the deepest interest to all who could watch and learn in it the ways of Nature with her greatest men.

The little affectations and insincerities of life so troubled him, and his natural shyness, increased by his disabling short sight, so fought with his innate courtesy to all, that general society was always an effort and a burden to him. His fame increased the trouble, and he often told me how he wished he could have had all the money which his books had made without the notoriety. Even a single stranger was, as such and at first, always a trial to him, and his instinctive desire was to hide as much of himself as possible from observation until he found his companion sympathetic. Then he expanded as a flower does in the sunshine, and he never hoarded or kept back any of the profuse riches and splendour of his mind. When Frederick Robertson of Brighton—the great preacher, who had written much and admirably about his poems, and for whom he had a high regard—first called upon him, '*I felt,*' said Tennyson, '*as if he had come to pluck out the heart of my mystery—so I talked to him about nothing but beer.*' He could not help it ; it was impossible for him to wear his heart upon his sleeve.

The shortness of his sight, which was extreme, tormented him always. When he was looking at any object he seemed to be smelling it. He said that he had '*never seen the two pointers of the Great Bear except as two intersecting circles, like the first proposition in Euclid,*'

and at my first visit to him he warned me, as I left, to come up and speak to him wherever I next met him, '*for if not,*' he said, '*I shouldn't know you though I rubbed against you in the street.*' His hearing, on the other hand, was exceptionally keen, and he held it as a sort of compensation for his blurred sight; he could hear '*the shriek of a bat,*' which he always said was the test of a quick ear. Its real compensation, however, was in the quickness of his mental vision, which made more out of the imperfect indications of his bodily eyes than most men with perfect sight would see. I remember his telling me (in explanation of a passage in '*Maud*')—'*If you tread on daisies they turn up underfoot and get rosy.*' He could read a man through and through in a flash even from his face, and it was wonderful to hear him sum up a complex character in some single phrase. He told me that he was once travelling with an unknown person whose countenance he caught but for an instant from behind a newspaper, but whom he set down, from that flying glimpse, as a rogue. To his surprise he turned out to be somebody of the highest local standing and repute, but he nevertheless held by his impression and in the end was justified; for presently the man fled from justice and the country, leaving hundreds ruined who had trusted him.

His judgment of men was the more terrible because so naturally charitable and tender. Seldom, if ever, did he carry beyond words his anger even with those who had gravely injured him. '*I eat my heart with silent rage at ——*' he said one day of such a one. How different in this from Carlyle, whose open rage with mankind was so glaring! '*Ha! ye don't know,*' he cried out to me one day, '*ye don't know what d——d beasts men are.*' Tennyson, quite otherwise, had the tenderest thought and hope for all men individually, however much he loathed that 'many-headed beast' the mob. '*I feel ashamed to see misery and guilt,*' he said as he came out from going over Wandsworth Gaol; '*I can't look it in the face.*' Yet he had no love for milksops. '*The only fault of So-and-so,*' he said, '*is that he has no fault at all.*'

It was touching to see his playfulness with children, and how he would win them from their nervousness of his big voice and rather awful presence. I have seen him hopping about on the floor like a great bird, enveloped in his big cloak and flapping hat, in a game of pursuing a little band of them until they shrieked with laughter. It reminded me of a scene in his Cambridge days which he had described to me when he, '*Charles Tennyson, Spedding, and Thompson of Trinity, danced a quadrille together in the upper room of a house opposite the "Bull."*' There was a great abundance of playfulness under the grimness of his exterior, and as to humour, that was all-pervading and flavoured every day with salt. It was habitual with him, and seemed a sort of counterac-

tion and relief to the intense solemnity of his also habitual gaze at life in its deeper aspects, which else would almost have overwhelmed him with awe. He had a marvellous fund of good stories which he loved to recount after dinner and over his 'bottle of port.' In later life he gave up the port, but not the stories. He used to say there ought to be a collection of the hundred best ones in the world chosen from different countries so as to show the national diversities, and he would give illustrations of such, declaring that for true and piercing wit the French beat all the others. Could they have been reported *verbatim* as he gave them, they would have been models of English prose. More serious narratives he told thrillingly—one especially of how his own father escaped from Russia as a young man after an incautious speech about the recent murder of the Emperor Paul; how he wandered for months in the Crimea, where 'the wild people of the country came about him' and explained to him that twice a year only, at uncertain times, a courier passed through the place blowing a horn before him, and that then was his only chance of safety; how he lay waiting and listening through the nights until the weird sound came, and how he fared through all the hair-breadth 'scapes that followed.

He would pretend to look upon his bottle of port as a sort of counsellor to be heard sometimes before finally making up his mind upon moot-points, and after the varying moods of the day about them. For instance, he told me: '*The night before I was asked to take the Laureateship, which was offered to me through Prince Albert's liking for my "In Memoriam," I dreamed that he came to me and kissed me on the cheek. I said, in my dream, "Very kind, but very German." In the morning the letter about the Laureateship was brought to me and laid upon my bed. I thought about it through the day, but could not make up my mind whether to take it or refuse it, and at the last I wrote two letters, one accepting and one declining, and threw them on the table, and settled to decide which I would send after my dinner and bottle of port.*'

A notable thing was his comparative indifference to music as a separate art: it almost seemed as if the extreme fineness of his hearing was too fine for the enjoyment of its usual intervals and effects and craved the subtler and multitudinous distinctions and inflections and variations of sound, which only the instrument of language can produce. Certainly I hardly ever knew him to care greatly for any 'setting' of his own songs, which he justly felt had already their own music that was confused by the 'setting.' It is curious that Browning, whose music is so rare in his verse, was a masterly musician outside of it, while Tennyson, whose every line was music, cared so little for it except in poetry.

His way of working was much less like 'work' than inspiration. '*I can always write,*' he said, '*when I see my subject, though sometimes I spend three-quarters of a year without putting pen to paper.*' When he did 'see' it, his mind dwelt on it at all times and seasons, possessing him until he possessed and perfected it. Sparkles and gleams might flash out at any moments from the anvil where his genius was beating his subject into shape, but the main creative process, where the vision was condensed into art, went on when he had shut himself up in his room with his pipe. He would do this two or three times a day—his '*most valuable hour,*' as he often told me, being the hour after dinner—and then with his pipe in his mouth and over the fire he would weave into music what things '*came to him;*' for he never accounted for his Poetry in any other way than that '*it came.*' '*Many thousand fine lines go up the chimney,*' he said to me, and indeed the mechanical toil of writing them down, made heavier by his 'short sight, was so great that it was easy to believe in the sublime waste—the characteristic profuseness of genius. When he came out from his room at such seasons, he would often have a sort of dazed and far-off dreamy look about him, as if seeing 'beyond this ignorant present,' and such as Millais alone has caught in his great portrait, where he looks like the Prophet and Bard that he was. And then he might perhaps say aloud, and almost as it were to himself, some passage he had just made, but seldom twice in the same words, and, unless written down at once, the first and original form of it was often lost or 'improved.' This was the beginning of that process of refinement by art until absolute perfection was attained which he always carried on—the cutting and polishing of the native diamonds into complete and brilliant beauty.¹ If interrupted during his hours of seclusion—which of course never happened except upon emergency—his look of 'sensitiveness' was surprising. He seemed ready to quiver at the faintest breath, or sound, or movement, and as though suddenly waked up out of a dream.

After his hour of privacy he would often ask his friends to come to his room with him, and then would talk of present, past, and future in a way which was, in the Arab phrase, like 'the opening of many gates.'

¹ An interesting example of these rapid modifications is given by an extra verse which he put to 'Locksley Hall' in a volume belonging to me. He wrote it with his own hand; but, as soon as he had finished it and handed it to me, he dictated the two successive altered readings which I here print in italics. The verse comes in just before the fourth verse from the end of the poem, and goes thus:—

win or lose it

~~shall I lose it?~~—*lose it, nay!*

'Life is battle, let me fight it: surely I shall win the day:

Block my paths with toil and danger, I will find or force a way!'

Many personal things he told me at such times when alone with him, which are of course sacred from repetition; but of many other things he spoke openly to whomsoever might be there, and especially he loved to speculate freely on theological and metaphysical subjects.

He formulated once and quite deliberately his own religious creed in these words: '*THERE'S A SOMETHING THAT WATCHES OVER US; AND OUR INDIVIDUALITY ENDURES: THAT'S MY FAITH, AND THAT'S ALL MY FAITH.*' This he said with such a calm emphasis that I wrote it down (with the date) exactly and at once. But he was by no means always so calm. His belief in personal immortality was passionate—I think almost the strongest passion that he had. I have heard him thunder out against an opponent of it: '*If there be a God that has made the earth and put this hope and passion into us, it must foreshow the truth. If it be not true, then no God, but a mocking fiend, created us, and*' (growing crimson with excitement) '*I'd shake my fist in his almighty face, and tell him that I cursed him! I'd sink my head to-night in a chloroformed handkerchief and have done with it all.*'

To one who said, 'My dearest object in life, when at my best, is to leave the world, by however little, better than I found it—what is yours?' he answered: '*My greatest wish is to have a clearer vision of God.*'

He said: '*Men have generally taken God for the devil. . . The majority of Englishmen think of Him as an immeasurable clergyman in a white tie.*'

He inclined somewhat to the theory of a Demiurge with whom alone man comes into direct contact, saying that this was perhaps '*the nearest explanation of the facts of the world which we can get;*' and this he put into the mouth of the King in the '*Passing of Arthur,*' where he cries:

O me! for why is all around us here
As if some lesser God had made the world,
But had not force to shape it as he would,
Till the High God behold it from beyond,
And enter it and make it beautiful?

He was disposed to doubt the real existence of a material world, and frequently adduced the infinite divisibility of matter as a difficulty which made it unthinkable. He leaned to the idealism of Berkeley, and in physical science preferred the term 'centres of force' to 'atoms' as not involving the idea of matter. He said to me one day: '*Sometimes as I sit here alone in this great room I get carried away out of sense and body, and rapt into mere existence, till the accidental touch or movement of one of my own fingers is like a great shock and blow and brings the body back with a terrible start.*'

All such subjects moved him profoundly, and to an immense curiosity and interest about them. He told me that 'Tears, idle tears' was written as an expression of such longings. *'It is in a way like St. Paul's "groanings which cannot be uttered." It was written at Tintern when the woods were all yellowing with autumn seen through the ruined windows. It is what I have always felt even from a boy, and what as a boy I called the "passion of the past." And it is so always with me now; it is the distance that charms me in the landscape, the picture and the past, and not the immediate to-day in which I move.'*

At one time he contemplated writing a metaphysical poem on *Spinoza*, and talked much about it, but finally gave it up, saying he could not quite warm to it, *'from Spinoza's want of belief in a God.'*

It was as the result of many such speculative debates with him that the idea of founding the late Metaphysical Society occurred to me.²

He and the Rev. Charles Pritchard (the Savilian Professor of Astronomy) were both staying in our house as guests, and one morning, after breakfast and much psychological guessing and wondering, one of us said: 'What a pity it is that these subjects cannot be investigated thoroughly in a scientific way and without prejudice and vehemence!' *'Modern science,'* said Tennyson, *'has surely learned this much—how to separate heat from light.'* 'Well,' I said, 'if you and Mr. Pritchard will agree to join it, I will try to get together in London a Society to discuss Metaphysics and Theology in the manner and with the method of the learned societies.' They promised to become the first members, and I then proceeded to enlist others until the roll of membership was completed.

At a preliminary meeting held at Willis's Rooms on Wednesday, April 21, 1869, there were present Mr. Tennyson, Professor Pritchard, Dean Stanley, Professor Huxley, Dr. Ward, the Rev. James Martineau, Sir John Lubbock, Mr. Seely, Dr. Carpenter, Mr. R. Hutton, Mr. Hinton, Mr. Roden Noel, and Mr. James Knowles (Hon. Sec.), and it was resolved

That a Society be established in London under the name of the Metaphysical and Psychological Society, to collect, arrange, and diffuse knowledge (whether objective or subjective) of mental and moral phenomena.

That the Society may undertake—

(1) To collect trustworthy observations upon such subjects as—Remarkable mental and moral phenomena, whether normal or abnormal. The relations of brain and mind, and generally of physics and metaphysics. The faculties of the lower animals, &c. &c.

(2) To receive and to discuss with absolute freedom, at meetings to be held from time to time, oral or written communications made to it on such subjects as—The comparison of the different theories respecting the ultimate grounds of

² See *Nineteenth Century* for August 1885 (No. 120).

belief in the objective and moral sciences. The logic of the sciences, whether physical or social. The immortality and personal identity of the soul. The existence and personality of God. The nature of conscience. The material hypothesis.

Among the original members of the Society not present at the preliminary meeting were (Cardinal) Archbishop Manning, Professor Tyndall, (Lord) Arthur Russell, Mr. W. E. Gladstone, Mr. Froude, Mr. Walter Bagehot, Dean Alford, Sir Alexander Grant, the Bishop of St. Davids (Thirlwall), the Duke of Argyll, Mr. Frederic Harrison, and (Bishop) Alfred Barry.³ At its first formal meeting a poem especially written by Tennyson, and afterwards published as 'The Higher Pantheism,' was read by the Secretary in the absence of the author. In a note he sent me with it, Tennyson said: '*I am not coming up for your meeting—i.e. I believe so to-day—and your request that you may read the poem at that meeting abashes me. If you are to read it, it ought to be stated surely that I have but ceded to your strongly expressed desire. Hutton can have a copy of it if he choose; but as I had known that such as he wanted it, I would have looked at it again before I let it go.*' He did not often come to the meetings, and when he did so spoke but little. But he read with avidity all its transactions and discussed the subjects of them privately with endless interest. His reverence for Dr. Martineau was extreme, and he frequently declared that he was 'by far the greatest among us.'

A frequent subject of his talk in the evenings, or in the long afternoon walks which were his habit, was, as might be expected, Poetry and the Poets. His acquaintance with all previous poetry was unlimited, and his memory of it amazing. He would quote again and again with complete delight the passages which were his favourites, stopping and calling upon his hearer to consider the beauty of this or that line, and repeating it to admire it the more.

His reading was always in a grand, deep, measured voice, and was rather intoning on a few notes than speaking. It was like a sort of musical thunder, far off or near—loud-rolling or 'sweet and low'—according to the subject, and once heard could never be forgotten.

It made no difference whence a fine line or passage came; it struck him equally with pleasure, when he heard or came across it, whether it were another man's or his own. He would pause in precisely the

³ To these were afterwards added Father Dalgairns, (Sir) Geo. Grove, Prof. Henry Sidgwick, Shadworth Hodgson, the Rev. Mark Pattison, the Bishop of Gloucester and Bristol, Robert Lowe (Lord Sherbrooke), John Ruskin, Sir M. E. Grant Duff, W. R. Greg, A. C. Fraser, Sir Henry Acland, Prof. Mozley, the Archbishop of York (Thompson), the Bishop of Peterborough (Magee), Prof. Croom Robertson, Prof. Sylvester, Sir James Stephen, J. Bucknill, Sir Andrew Clark, Prof. W. K. Clifford, Prof. St. George Mivart, Lord Selborne, Leslie Stephen, Fred. Pollock, &c.

same way to call out 'That's magnificent,' 'What a line!' 'Isn't that splendid?' whether reading Shakespeare, Milton, Wordsworth, or himself. He was struck by the beauty of the art without thinking for one moment of the artist. The shallow-pated, hearing him thus apostrophise his own work, which they may have begged him to read to them, might think in their vain hearts 'How vain!' But vanity had no more to do with it than they had; he was thinking solely of the subject and the music, and only cried out to his hearers for the sake of an echo to his own absorbing pleasure.

He often insisted that the grandest music in the English language was in Milton, and especially in the first book of *Paradise Lost*, and he would repeatedly chant out with the deepest admiration, as the finest of all, the passage—

Thammuz came next behind,
Whose annual wound to Lebanon allured
The Syrian damsels to lament his fate
In amorous ditties all a summer's day;
While smooth Adonis from his native rock
Ran purple to the sea, supposed with blood
Of Thammuz yearly wounded; the love-tale
Infected Sion's daughters with like heat,
Whose wanton passions in the sacred porch
Ezekiel saw, when, by the vision led,
His eye surveyed the dark idolatries
Of alienated Judah.

As a single line he said he knew hardly any to exceed for charm

Of Abbana and Pharphar, lucid streams,

unless it were Wordsworth's great line in *Tintern Abbey*—

Whose dwelling is the light of setting suns.

'*Poetry*,' he would say at such times, '*is a great deal truer than fact.*'

His own poetry, he declared, was easy enough to read aloud, if people would only read it just as it was written and not try to scan it or to force the accent. Some few passages, he admitted however, were difficult, such as that in '*Maud*' beginning

O, that 'twere possible,

but this because '*it ought to be read all through without taking breath:*' the '*bugle song*' in the '*Princess*' was another.

The first thing I ever heard him read was his '*Boadicea*,' for I said '*I never can tell how to scan it.*' '*Read it like prose,*' he said, '*just as it is written, and it will come all right.*' And then, as

if to confute himself, he began it, and in his weird and deep intoning, which was as unlike ordinary prose as possible, sang the terrible war song, until the little attic at Farringford melted out of sight and one saw the far-off fields of early Britain, thronged with the maddened warriors of the maddened queen, and heard the clashing of the brands upon the shields, and the cries which

Roar'd as when the rolling breakers boom and blanch on the precipices.

The image of some ancient bard rose up before one as he might have sung the story by the watch-fires of an army the day before a battle. It was perhaps from some such association of ideas that his name among his intimates became 'The Bard'—a way of recognising in one word and in ordinary talk his mingled characters of Singer, Poet, and Prophet.

When building Aldworth he desired to have, whenever the room was finally decorated, the following names of his six favourite poets carved and painted on the six stone shields which I had designed as part of the chimney-piece in his study, and in front of which he always sat and smoked—namely, *Shakespeare, Chaucer, Milton, Wordsworth, Dante, and Goethe.*

He used to say '*Keats, if he had lived, would have been the greatest of all of us ;*' he considered Goethe '*the greatest artist of the nineteenth century, and Scott its greatest man of letters ;*' and he said of Swinburne, '*He's a tube through which all things blow into music.*' He said '*Wordsworth would have been much finer if he had written much less,*' and he told Browning in my presence that '*if he got rid of two-thirds, the remaining third would be much finer.*' After saying that, and when Browning had left us, he enlarged on the imperative necessity of restraint in art. '*It is necessary to respect the limits,*' he said ; '*An artist is one who recognises bounds to his work as a necessity, and does not overflow illimitably to all extent about a matter. I soon found that if I meant to make any mark at all it must be by shortness, for all the men before me had been so diffuse, and all the big things had been done. To get the workmanship as nearly perfect as possible is the best chance for going down the stream of time. A small vessel on fine lines is likely to float further than a great raft.*'

Once, as we stood looking at Aldworth just after its completion, he turned to me and said, '*You will live longer than I shall. That house will last five hundred years.*' I answered him, '*I think the English language will last longer.*'

Another frequent subject of his talk was the criticism on his own work, *when unfavourable.* All the mass of eulogy he took comparatively little notice of, but he never could forget an unfriendly

word, even from the most obscure and insignificant and unknown quarter. He was hurt by it as a sensitive child might be hurt by the cross look of a passing stranger; or rather as a supersensitive skin is hurt by the sting of an invisible midge. He knew it was a weakness in him, and could be laughed out of it for a time, but it soon returned upon him, and had given him from his early youth exaggerated vexation. When remonstrated with for the Hogarth's perspective he thus made, he would grimly smile and say, '*Oh yes, I know. I'm black-blooded like all the Tennysons—I remember everything that has been said against me, and forget all the rest.*' It was his temperament, and showed itself in other matters besides criticism. For instance, the last time I went with him to the oculist, he was most heartily reassured about his eyes by the great expert after a careful and detailed inspection. But as we left the door he turned to me and said with utter gloom, '*No man shall persuade me that I'm not going blind.*' Few things were more delightful than to help chase away such clouds and see and feel the sunshine come out again, responsive to the call of cheerfulness. To one who had so cheered him he said: '*You certainly are a jolly good fellow, you do encourage me so much.*' And at another time: '*I'm very glad to have known you. It has been a sort of lift in my life.*' The clouds would gather on him most in the solitude of the country, and he often told me it was needful for him to come from time to time to London to rub the rust from off him. It must be added that so soon as ever the rust was rubbed off he hastened to be back among the woods and hills.

His prose, though never treated with the careful art he lavished on his poems, was as musical and as lucid by nature, and with the same incommunicable quality of distinction about it which made all his utterances, whether in poetry or prose, more lofty than any other man's. By good fortune I am able to give an example of it, which came about in this way. While he was considering and completing the cycle of his '*Idylls*,' he would often talk them over in detail to see how their treatment would '*come*,' making, as it were, preliminary sketches before deciding to paint them as pictures. I suggested that he should dictate the scheme of one of them to me as a trial of that way of working. He liked the idea, and gave out what follows, *ore rotundo*, and with scarce any pause. It finally took shape as the Idyll of '*Balin and Balan*,' but the unpremeditated prose form of it seems in some ways even more beautiful.

THE DOLOROUS STROKE

There came a rumour to the King of two knights who sat beside a fountain near Camelot, and had challenged every knight that passed and overthrown them. These things were told the King, and early one morning the spirit of his youth returned upon him, and he armed himself, and rode out till he came to the fountain, and there sat two knights, Balin and Balan; and the fountain bubbled out among hart's-tongue and lady-fern, and on one side of the fountain sat Balan, and on the other side sat Balin, and on the right of Balan was a poplar-tree, and on the left of Balin was an alder-tree, and the horse of Balan was tied to the poplar tree, and the horse of Balin to the alder-tree. And Arthur said, 'Fair sirs, what do ye here?' And they said, 'We sit here for the sake of glory, and we be better knights than any of those in Arthur's hall, and that have we proven, for we have overthrown every knight that came forth against us.' And Arthur said, 'I am of his hall; see, therefore, whether me also ye can overthrow.' And Arthur lightly smote either of them down, and returned, and no man knew it.

Then that same day he sent for Balan and Balin, and when they were brought before him he asked them, saying, 'Answer ye me this question: who be ye?' And Balin said, 'I am Balin the savage, and that name was given to me, seeing that once in mine anger I smote with my gauntlet an unarmed man in thy hall and slew him, whereupon thou didst banish me for three years from thy court as one unworthy of being of thy table.

'But I yearn for the light of thy presence, and the three years are nigh fulfilled, and I have repented me of the deed that was unknighly; and so it seemed to me that if I sat by yon fountain and challenged and overthrew every knight that passed thou wouldst receive me again into thy favour. And this is my brother Balan, not yet a knight of thine.'

Which when the King heard and saw that he had indeed repented him, he received him again and made his brother Balan knight. And the new knight demanded the first quest.

And there came one into Arthur's hall, and Balan rode away with him.

And as Balin moved about the court he marvelled at the knightliness and the manhood of Sir Lancelot, and at the worship he ever gave the Queen, and the honour in which the Queen held him. Then he thought within himself, 'Surely it is this Queen's grace and nobleness which have made him such a name among men, wherefore I too will worship the Queen as I may. And I will forget my former violences and will live anew, and I will pray the King to grant me to bear some cognisance of the Queen in the stead of mine own shield.'

And Arthur said, 'Ask thou my Queen what token she will give thee, and wear thou that.' And he was bold, and asked for the Queen's crown to wear upon his shield, and that he would amend himself, under the lustre thereof, of his old violence. So she turned her to the King and smiled and asked him, and the King said 'Yea, so that thereby he may be holpen to amend himself.' And Balin said, 'The sight hereof shall evermore be bit and rein to all my savage heats.' Then Balin ever hovered about Lancelot and the Queen, so that he might espy in what things stood truest knighthood and courtesy towards women. Anon he came to wonder how so great a tenderness of love might be between two such as were not lover and damosel, but ever thrust away from him such thought as a shadow from his own old life. Yet he grew somewhat gloomy of heart and presently took his shield and arms and rode privily away to seek adventure.

So, many days, he traversed the thick forests, till he came upon the ancient castle of King Pelles, and there they said to him, 'Why wearest thou this crown royal on thy shield?' and he answered them 'Because the noblest and the chastest of all ladies hath granted me to wear it.' So at the high banquet in the hall sat one Sir Garlon, who likewise said, 'Why wearest thou a Queen's crown royal?' Unto him Sir Balin made the same answer. Whereat Sir Garlon grimly smiled and said, 'Art thou so simple, and hast yet come but now, as thou sayest, from the court? Hast thou not eyes, or at the least ears, and dost not know the thing that standeth

(shame that groweth) between Lancelot and the Queen?' To which Sir Balin fiercely answered, 'Yea surely, because I have both eyes and ears and because I have diligently used them to learn how he, the greatest of all knights, doth gain his valour from the noblest of all ladies, I know that such a thing as this thou sayest is but a foul thing and a felon's talk.' But none the less Sir Garlon's talk made him full heavy and gloomy of heart, so that he wandered to and fro among the churls, and there heard marvellous tales. For they told him that Sir Garlon rode invisible and had wounded unto death many strong and good knights, striking them through the back, and they warned him to beware of Sir Garlon.

Also they told him how that King Pelles was the true descendant of Joseph of Arimathea, and also how in hidden chambers of the castle lay wondrous treasures from the days of our Lord Christ—even the spear which ever bled since Longus smote our Lord withal, and many more such marvels, till Sir Balin doubted him whether he could believe aught that they told him of Sir Garlon or aught else. But on the morrow when Sir Garlon met him by the castle walls and mocked him, saying, 'Still then thou wearest that shameful token—that crown scandalous,' then did Sir Balin's old nature break through its new crust, and he smote him on the helmet with his sword. But though he overthrew and left him lying, yet his sword was broken into diverse pieces, so that he cast the handle from him, and ran hastily to find some other weapon. For by now he saw men running upon him from the castle, and thought but to flee and to fight for his life. And as he fled he saw within a loophole window where a stack of spears lay piled, and burst the door and caught the tallest of them all, and, crying to his war-horse, leaped upon him and departed. And as he went he heard the voice of King Pelles to his knights: 'Stay, stay him: he defileth holy things beyond his wit to know of.' But being hot and fleet with madness he plunged far into the woods, and drew no rein until his horse was nigh to dying. Then did he spy his golden crown and bemoaned himself, saying, 'Alas that I should so soon turn as a dog to his vomit! Alas! for now were I but wounded with the

bleeding spear itself, and of a wound that should for ever bleed, I could be none too wounded for my deserts.'

So there as he lay bitter of heart he turned the shield away from him, not bearing to look upon it, and hung it to a bough hard by, and there it glistened in the sun the while he turned the other way and raged, and felt that he would dwell a savage man for evermore within the woods.

But anon came through the woods a damsel riding on a palfrey, and but a single squire attending. And when she saw the shield she stayed her horse and called her squire to search for him who owned it, for she marvelled to see Queen Guinevere's crown thereon.

Then when she had found Sir Balin she demanded straightway that he should help her through the woods, for that she was journeying to King Mark of Cornwall, and her good knight had met some misadventure and had left her with none but this squire. 'And I know thee for a worshipful man and one from Arthur's hall, for I see by this cognisance that thou art from the court.' Then did Sir Balin redden and say, 'Ask me not of it, for I have shamed it. Alas! that so great a Queen's name, which high Sir Lancelot hath lifted up, and been lifted up by, should through me and my villany come to disgrace!' Thereon the damsel, looking keenly at him, laughed, and when he asked her why, laughed long and loud, and cried that little shame could he do to the Queen or Lancelot either which they had not themselves already done themselves.

And when he stood as Lot's wife stood, salt-petrified, and stared at her, she cried again, 'Sir Knight, ye need not gaze thus at me as if I were a redeer of fables and a teller of false tales. Now let me tell thee how I saw myself Sir Lancelot and the Queen within a bower at Camelot but twelve months since and heard her say "O sir, my lord Sir Lancelot, for thou indeed art my true lord, and none other save by the law."'

But when he heard her thus, his evil spirit leapt upon him and tare him and drove him mad, and then he cried with a great yell, and dragged the shield from off the tree, and then and there he cast

it to the ground, drave his mailed foot through the midst of it, and split the royal crown in twain, and cast the two halves far from him among the long weeds of the wood. Then at that cry came Balan riding through the forest, and when he saw the broken shield and crown lie on the earth he spurred his horse and said, 'Sir Knight, keep well thyself, for here is one shall overthrow thee for the despite thou hast done the Queen!' At that Sir Balin, for he knew not that it was Sir Balan, seeing that his newly granted shield had yet no bearing, called to the Squire to lend him his shield, and, catching up the spear he gat from Pelles' castle, ran his horse fiercely to meet Sir Balan. And so sore was their onset that either overthrew the other to the earth; but Balin's spear smote through Sir Balan's shield and made the first mark it had ever borne, and through the rent it pierced to Balan's side and thrust him through with deadly wounds, wherefrom the blood streamed and could not be stayed until he fainted with the loss of blood; and Balin's horse rolled on him as he fell, and wounded him so sorely that he swooned with agony.

But when they thus lay the damsel and her squire unlaced their helms and gave them air, and presently when they came to themselves they gazed as men gone newly wild upon each other, and with a mighty cry they either swooned away again, and so lay swooning for an hour. Then did the damsel wait and watch to see how this might end, and withdrew herself behind the leaves.

Anon Sir Balin opened first his eyes, and then with groanings which he could not hide for pain he slowly crawled to whither his brother lay. And then did he put from off his brother's face his hair, and leaned and kissed him, and left his face beblooded from his lips, for by now his life began to flow away from his hidden inner wounds.

Then presently thereafter Balan woke up also from his swoon, and when he saw his brother so hang over him he flung his arm about his neck and drew his face again down to him and said lowly in his ear, 'Alas, alas, mine own dear brother, that I should thus have given thee thy death! But wherefore hadst thou no shield, and wherefore was it rent asunder and defiled? O brother!

for it grieveth me more than death to see this thing.' Then did Sir Balin tell him all that Sir Garlon and afterwards the damsel had told him of the Queen, and when Sir Balan heard it he moaned greatly and cried out that Garlon was a felon knight, well known about those marches for his evil deeds and lies, and the damsel he well believed, if she were going to King Mark, was as bad as he. 'Perchance Sir Garlon,' said he, 'was the very knight she said had left her: and would I could find her or her squire,' he said, 'for even dead man as I am I fain would now abolish her lest she work more evil than this dolorous stroke she hath caused betwixt us two.'

When the damsel heard them thus speak, she feared for her life lest the wounded knight might be recovered and might find her, and stealthily she sped away to King Mark and after to Arthur's court, and there she told how she had overheard from Knights of Arthur's Table scandal beyond all disproof about Sir Lancelot and the Queen. And thus in truth the Dolorous Stroke was struck, which first shook to its base the stately order of the Table Round.

Then when the damsel left them came the Lady of the Lake and found Sir Balin and Sir Balan at their last breaths, and caused them to be solemnly buried, and sang above them an high song.

As a specimen of his more familiar prose, I select from a pile of his letters the following extract:—

I got to the station a full quarter of an hour before the time, but the whole place was 'fourmillante.' I never saw such confusion before at any terminus, here or abroad. I stood and bawled ineffectually for porters till at last I took my portmanteau in hand and flung it into the truck of one of them, and told him to label 'Lymington,' which he promised to do; then I rushed to the ticket office, where I waited among the multitude, and only got my ticket after the time was up; ran out again, the whole platform seething and buzzing; could not find my luggage; at the very last saw it being wheeled trainward at the bottom of a heap of boxes; asked whether it was labelled 'Lymington;' bewildered

porter knew nothing about it; train began to move. I caught hold of an open door, and was pulled in by two passengers. When I came to Brockenhurst no luggage for me; guard intimated that he had noticed such a portmanteau as the one I described labelled 'Southampton Junction;' accordingly I telegraphed up the line; then took an open boat and steered under the moon (previously warning my two boatmen that I couldn't see an inch before my nose) to Yarmouth; thence took a fly, and home about 10; and this morning sent a cart from Farringford to meet the earliest boat, and recovered my luggage at last. You see, not only the Easter holiday-makers made the train double its ordinary length, but the Prince and Princess of Wales, with all their footmen and family, came along with us, and made confusion worse confounded.

From time to time and bit by bit he read over to me almost all his Poems, commenting on them as he read, and pausing to dictate a few words here and there for me to take down from his lips. The following are extracts from the notes so dictated by him.

As to the 'Poems by two Brothers,' he said: 'It was really by three brothers, for Frederic as well as Charles and myself wrote some of them—a very few—and would not acknowledge any, or allow his name as one of the brothers. The bookseller gave £5l. in money and 5l. worth of books, but the copyright was invalid, the authors being under age. This was tested afterwards when the successor to the original publisher wanted to republish, saying he could make £2,000l. The three brothers bound themselves to each other never to reveal who wrote this or that. None of the authors had ever been beyond their native county, and hardly beyond their native town. There were twenty-six misprints, but the publisher would not make a longer list of errata' than the seven which appear.

Of the 'Idylls of the King' he said: 'When I was twenty-four I meant to write a whole great poem on it, and began it in the "Morte d'Arthur." I said I should do it in twenty years; but

¹ He bound up with one of the editions of the collected Idylls a letter which I sent to the *Spectator* on these poems, and he wrote to me; 'Your letter to the "*Spectator*" is the best, and indeed might be called the only true, critique of the Idylls. It is very succinctly and cleanly written, and I liked it so much that I sent it by the Dean of Westminster' (Stanley), 'who was here the other day, to the Queen with the Idylls.'

the Reviews stopped me. . . . By King Arthur I always meant the soul, and by the Round Table the passions and capacities of a man. There is no grander subject in the world than King Arthur.'

When reading 'In Memoriam' he said: '*It is rather the cry of the whole human race than mine. In the poem altogether private grief swells out into thought of, and hope for, the whole world. It begins with a funeral and ends with a marriage—begins with death and ends in promise of a new life—a sort of Divine Comedy, cheerful at the close. It is a very impersonal poem as well as personal. There is more about myself in "Ulysses," which was written under the sense of loss and that all had gone by, but that still life must be fought out to the end. It was more written with the feeling of his loss upon me than many poems in "In Memoriam." . . . It's too hopeful, this poem, more than I am myself. . . . The general way of its being written was so queer that if there were a blank space I would put in a poem. . . . I think of adding another to it, a speculative one, bringing out the thoughts of the "Higher Pantheism," and showing that all the arguments are about as good on one side as the other, and thus throw man back more on the primitive impulses and feelings.'*

He explained that there were nine natural groups or divisions in the Poem, as follows: from Stanza I. to Stanza VIII.; from IX. to XX.; from XX. to XXVII.; from XXVIII. to XLIX.; from I. to LVIII.; from LIX. to LXXI.; from LXXII. to XCVIII.; from XCIX. to CIII.; from CIV. to CXXXI.

ON STANZA XXXV., VERSE 3, he said——

The moanings of the homeless sea,
The sound of streams that swift or slow
Draw down Æonian hills, and sow
The dust of continents to be.

*The vastness of the future—the
enormity of the ages to come after
your little life would act against
that love.*

* * * * *

ON STANZA XI., VERSE 5——

And, doubtless, unto thee is given
A life that bears immortal fruit
In such great offices as suit
The full-grown energies of heaven.

*I hate that—I should not write
so now—I'd almost rather sacri-
fice a meaning than let two s's
come together.*

* * * * *

ON STANZA XLVI., VERSES 3 AND 4——

A lifelong tract of time reveal'd;
 The fruitful hours of still increase;
 Days order'd in a wealthy peace,
 And those five years [^] its richest field, [^] of our acquaintanceship

[^] O Love, thy province were [^] not large, [^] (Only five years!) [^] then
 A bounded field, nor stretching far;
 Look also, Love, a brooding star, *As if Lord of the whole life.*
 A rosy warmth from marge to marge.

* * * * *

ON STANZA XLVII., VERSE 4——

Upon the last and sharpest height,
 Before the spirits fade away, [^] *[^] into the Universal Spirit - but*
 Some landing-place, to clasp and say, *at least one last parting! and*
 'Farewell! We lose ourselves in light.' *always would want it again—*
of course.

* * * * *

ON STANZA LIII.——

LIII

HOW many a father have I seen,
 A sober man, among his boys,
 Whose youth was full of foolish noise,
 Who wears his manhood hale and green:

And dare we to this fancy give,
 That had the wild oat not been sown,
 The soil, left barren, scarce had grown
 The grain by which a man may live?

*There's a passionate heat of
 nature in a rake sometimes—
 the nature that yields emotion-
 ally may come straighter than
 a prig's.*

Oh, if we held the doctrine sound
 For life outliving heats of youth,
 Yet who would preach it as a truth
 To those that eddy round and round?

Hold thou the good: define it well:
 For fear divine Philosophy
 Should push beyond her mark and be
 Procureess to the Lords of Hell.

*Yet don't you be making excuses
 for this kind of thing—it's
 unsafe. You must set a rule
 before youth.*

*There's need of rule to men
 also—though no particular one
 that I know of—it may be arbi-
 trary.*

* * * *

ON STANZA LXI., VERSE 3——

Yet turn thee to the doubtful shore,
 Where thy first form was made a man;
 I loved thee, Spirit, and love, nor can
 The soul of Shakspeare love thee more.

*Perhaps he might—if he were
 a greater soul.*

* * * *

ON STANZA LXIX., VERSES 3, 4, AND 5——

I met with scoffs, I met with scorns
 From youth and babe and hoary hairs:
 They call'd me in the public squares
 The fool that wears a crown of thorns:

They call'd me fool, they call'd me child:

I found an angel of the night;

The voice was low, the look was bright;

He look'd upon my crown and smiled:

*I tried to make my grief into a
 crown of these poems—but it is
 not to be taken too closely. To
 write verses about sorrow, grief,
 and death is to wear a crown
 of thorns which ought to be put
 by, as people say.*

The divine Thing in the gloom.

He reach'd the glory of a hand,

That seem'd to touch it into leaf:

The voice was not the voice of grief,
 The words were hard to understand.

* * * *

ON STANZA LXXXVI.—

LXXXVI

This is one I like too.

SWEET after showers, ambrosial air,
 That rollest from the gorgeous gloom
 Of evening over brake and bloom
 And meadow, slowly breathing bare

The round of space, and rapt below
 Thro' all the dewy-tassell'd wood,
 And shadowing down the horned flood
 In ripples, fan my brows and blow

*The west wind—written at
 Bournemouth.*

The fever from my cheek, and sigh
 The full new life that feeds thy breath
 Throughout my frame, till Doubt and Death,
 Ill brethren, let the fancy fly

*Imagination—the fancy—no
 particular fancy.*

From belt to belt of crimson seas
 On leagues of odour streaming far,
 To where in yonder orient star
 A hundred spirits whisper 'Peace.'

*The west wind rolling to the
 Eastern seas till it meets the
 evening star.*

* * * * *

ON STANZA LXXXVII., VERSE 6—

Where once we held debate, a band
 Of youthful friends, on mind and art,
 And labour, and the changing mart,
 And all the framework of the land.

*The 'Water Club,' because there
 was no wine. They used to make
 speeches—I never did.*

* * * * *

ON STANZA XCIV., VERSE 3—

They haunt the silence of the breast,
 Imaginations calm and fair,
 The memory like a cloudless air,
 The conscience as a sea at rest.

I figure myself in this rather.

* * * * *

ON STANZA XCV., VERSE 9—

So word by word, and line by line,
 The dead man touch'd me from the past,
 And all at once it seem'd at last
The living soul was flash'd on mine.

*The living soul—perchance of
 the Deity. The first reading was
 'His living soul was flash'd on
 mine'—but my conscience was
 troubled by 'his.' I've often had
 a strange feeling of being wound
 and wrapped in the Great Soul.*

* * * * *

IN STANZA CIII., VERSES 1, 2, 4, 7, 9, 12—

On that last night before we went
 From out the doors where I was bred,
 I dream'd a vision of the dead,
 Which left my after-morn content.

The dead man.

Methought I dwelt within a hall,
 And maidens with me: distant hills
 From hidden summits fed with rills
 A river sliding by the wall. *Life.*

*All the human powers and talents
 that do not pass with life but go
 along with it.
 The high—the divine—the origin
 of life.*

* * * * *

And which, tho' veil'd, was known to me,
 The shape of him I loved, and love
 For ever: then flew in a dove
 And brought a summons from the sea.

Eternity.

* * * * *

And still as vaster grew the shore,
 And roll'd the floods in grander space,
 The maidens gather'd strength and
 grace
 And presence, lordlier than before.

*The great progress of the age as
 well as the opening of another
 world.*

* * * * *

As one would sing the death of war,
 And one would chant the history
 Of that great race, which is to be,
 And one the shaping of a star.

*All the great hopes of science
 and men.*

* * * * *

'She has overwrought herself,' he wrote to me, 'with the multifarious correspondence of many years, and is now suffering for it. I trust that with perfect quiet she will recover; but it will never again do for her to insist upon answering every idle fellow who writes to me. I always prayed her not to do so, but she did not like the unanswered (she used to say) to feel wroth and unsatisfied with me.'

To his wife's perpetual and brooding love and care of him, and afterwards to his son's equal and measureless devotion, the world owes, under Providence, many years of Tennyson's prolonged life and many of his immortal Poems.

JAMES KNOWLES.

THE
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PASSING THE WIT OF MAN'

It requires no great gift of prophecy to foretell that the rock which wrecked the Home Rule Bill of 1886 will wreck the Home Rule Bill of 1893—the question of the exclusion or retention of the Irish members.

Numerous circumstances combined to bring the former of these measures to grief, but the immediate cause of the disaster was the proposal to exclude Irish peers and Irish representatives from the Imperial Parliament once an Irish Parliament was established. Crudities and contradictions were strewn in profusion throughout the Bill, any one of which would have sufficed to secure its defeat; but this provision struck the public mind as the most objectionable of all, for it was felt to be a direct blow at the Imperial character and authority of the Imperial Parliament—matters of such transcendent importance to the Empire that every other consideration sank into insignificance when compared with them.

In view of the immediate introduction of another Home Rule Bill into Parliament, it will be well to refresh our memories as to the principal incidents connected with this part of a Home Rule scheme; and as the whole idea of a Home Rule Bill originated with Mr. Gladstone, and was championed by him, his followers being little more than dummies, groping after him, with more or less reluctance, in darkness and perplexity, there is no better way of recalling the facts than by quotations from his speeches—a method of procedure, moreover, which enables us to see the working of his mind on this

most important subject, and arms us with information and arguments for the coming strife.

Time passes quickly, and it seems scarcely credible that seven years have passed since the United Kingdom was thrilled with the announcement that Mr. Gladstone, who had just been returned to office with an overwhelming majority over the Tory party, had decided to strike to the demands of the Irish obstructionists and agitators, and to concede a large measure of Home Rule to Ireland.

On the 8th of April, 1886, he unfolded in the House of Commons his hastily adopted and ill-digested scheme for the final 'settlement' of the seven century long strife between Great Britain and Ireland.

Briefly stated, his plan for this final settlement was to confer on Ireland a separate Statutory Irish Legislature to deal with Irish, as contradistinguished from Imperial, affairs; and also to give her a separate Executive.

Quite early in his speech he laid down five 'essential conditions' of any plan that Parliament could be asked or expected to entertain; and as they are time after time repeated by him, it is necessary to mention them here.

The first was, the maintenance of the unity of the Empire; the second, political equality of the three countries; the third, the equitable distribution of Imperial burdens; the fourth, the protection of minorities; and the fifth, that the measure should present the essential character and characteristics of a settlement of the question.

Strangely enough, the Bill he proposed even did not fulfil one of the five conditions which were declared to be 'essential,' but was in flagrant violation of all of them.

The very first question to be confronted in establishing in Ireland an Irish Legislature was, What was to be done with the Irish representatives in the Imperial Parliament? Was Ireland to go on sending Irish representatives to the Imperial Parliament? or Was she not to do so any more?

Ireland (said Mr. Gladstone) is to have a domestic Legislature for Irish affairs. That is my postulate, from which I set out. Are Irish members in this House, are Irish representative peers in the other House, still to continue to form part of the respective Assemblies? That is the first question which meets us in consideration of the ground I have opened. Now I think it will be perfectly clear that if Ireland is to have a domestic Legislature, Irish peers and Irish representatives cannot come here to control English and Scotch affairs. That I understand to be admitted freely. I never heard of their urging the contrary, and I am inclined to believe that it would be universally admitted. The one thing follows from the other. There cannot be a domestic Legislature in Ireland dealing with Irish affairs, and Irish peers and Irish representatives sitting in Parliament at Westminster to take part in English and Scotch affairs.

Having thus clearly pronounced for the exclusion of the Irish members so far as part of the work of the Imperial Parliament was

concerned, he went on to discuss their exclusion as regarded the remaining, or Imperial, work of the Imperial Parliament.

My next question is, Is it practicable for Irish representatives to come here for the settlement, not of English and Scotch, but of *Imperial* affairs? In principle it would be very difficult, I think, to object to that proposition. But then its acceptance depends entirely upon our arriving at the conclusion that in this House we can draw for practical purposes a distinction between affairs which are Imperial and affairs which are not Imperial. It would not be difficult to say in principle, that as the Irish Legislature will have nothing to do with Imperial concerns, let Irish members come here and vote on Imperial concerns. All depends on the practicability of the distinction. Well, sir, I have thought much, reasoned much, and inquired much, with regard to that distinction. I had hoped it might be possible to draw a distinction, and I have arrived at the conclusion that it cannot be drawn. I believe it passes the wit of man; at any rate, it passes not my wit alone, but the wit of many with whom I have communicated.

He went on to explain the difficulty. And I would draw special attention to his argument; for, though conclusive in itself, it has been allowed to fall very much into the background.

It would (he said) be easy to exhibit a case; but the difficulty, I may say, in my opinion, arises from this. If this were a merely legislative House, or if the House of Lords were merely a legislative House—this House, of course, affords the best illustration—I do not think it would be difficult to draw a distinction. We are going to draw the distinction—we have drawn the distinction—in the Bill which I ask leave to lay on the table for legislative purposes with reference to what I hope will be the domestic Legislature of Ireland. But this House is not merely a legislative House—it is a House controlling the Executive; and when you come to the control of the Executive, then your distinction between Imperial subjects and non-Imperial subjects totally breaks down—they are totally insufficient to cover the whole case.

He then proceeded to illustrate his argument, and wound up by saying:—

I believe the distinction (between Imperial and non-Imperial affairs) to be impossible, and therefore I arrive at the next conclusion—that Irish members and Irish peers cannot, if a domestic Legislature be given to Ireland, justly retain a seat in the Parliament at Westminster.

His conclusion, arrived at by cogent arguments, is clearly and definitely stated, and it was embodied in the Bill in the celebrated Clause 24:—

On and after the appointed day Ireland shall cease, except in the event hereafter in this Act mentioned, to return representative peers to the House of Lords, or members to the House of Commons, and the persons who on the said day are such representative peers and members shall cease as such to be members of the House of Lords and House of Commons respectively.

The Irish peers and Irish representatives were, in fact, to be, apparently without ceremony, shown the door of the Imperial Legislature, and told to go.

One consequence of the exclusion of the Irish members, and of

the retention by the British Parliament of the power of taxing imports or imposing Customs or Excise duties, Mr. Gladstone grappled with at once. He took it to be 'absolutely certain that Great Britain would never force upon Ireland taxation without representation.' How, then, was fiscal unity to be maintained, and Ireland to be taxed without representation? This difficulty it was proposed to surmount by those very means which the British Government of 1800 are so execrated for using for the purpose of effecting a union—by a bribe. If, for the consideration of 1,400,000*l.* a year, to be paid, apparently perpetually, by Great Britain to Ireland, Ireland would consent to Great Britain imposing Customs duties on Ireland, without Ireland being represented in the British Parliament, the difficulty of Ireland being taxed without representation might be got over. That the bait took is evident from what Mr. Parnell said:—

We are getting a very good *quid pro quo* in exchange for giving up this right of collecting the Customs, in the shape of 1,400,000*l.* a year.

And then there was one contingency which had to be provided for, slightly humiliating to those who claimed finality for the scheme. Alterations might have to be made in the Magna Charta of Ireland!

However improbable the case may be, it is a case which it might be proper to provide for beforehand (said Mr. Gladstone). What we then should propose is, that the provisions of this Act should not be altered, except either on an Address from the Irish Legislature to the Crown such as I have described, or else after replacing and recalling into action the full machinery under which Irish representatives now sit here, and Irish peers sit in the House of Lords, so that when their case again came to be tried they might have the very same means of defending their constitutional rights as they have now.

Mr. Gladstone is often accused of being ambiguous in his utterances. Nothing, however, can be clearer than that when he proposed the Government of Ireland Bill on the 8th of April, 1886, he was distinctly of opinion that no other scheme was possible than the exclusion of the Irish members from the Imperial Parliament.

His arguments were all directed to establishing that conclusion, and were so strong and so decisive as almost to render it impossible for him to depart from the opinion he had arrived at.

The proposal was, moreover, in complete accordance with what was the real 'inwardness' (if I may use such an expression) of the idea of Home Rule—that of getting rid of the Irish members, who had made themselves so thoroughly objectionable in the Imperial Parliament. For it must be remembered that for years the Imperial Parliament had groaned and writhed under Irish obstruction. The exclusion of the Irish members therefore offered an immediate relief to suffering representatives, and was with many a far more potent argument for granting Home Rule than any wish to 'do

justice to Ireland,' or any attachment to the principles of self-government.

The reception of Mr. Gladstone's plan by Parliament and the nation was instantaneously and decisively hostile. Home Rule alone was objectionable enough, but Home Rule plus the destruction of the Imperial Parliament was more than could be accepted or tolerated by the British people. For that the scheme would result in the mutilation, and consequently the destruction, of the Imperial Parliament was as clear as anything could be. It was evident that, once the Irish peers ceased to attend the House of Lords, and the Irish members ceased to have a voice or vote in the deliberations of the House of Commons, a vital element in the Imperialism of Parliament would have ceased to exist. Moreover, the removal of a host of subjects of the greatest importance from the ken and control of the Imperial Parliament was a manifest limitation of its powers, a curtailment of its sphere of action. In fact, if the Bill were passed there would no longer be one united supreme Imperial Parliament for the three kingdoms; even the very title of the Parliament would have to be changed.

It was seen too that the proposed mutilation of the Imperial Parliament tended towards separation instead of towards union; that the integrity of the Empire would be endangered, and that the Irish Parliament would be practically independent, and free from the supervision of the British Parliament. A formidable line of cleavage displayed itself in the Liberal party from top to bottom. Numerous and powerful secessions took place, active hostility was threatened, and it must have been at once evident to the Government that the Bill in its existing shape had not the remotest chance of passing.

The Government could not, of course, at once run away from their guns, and declare their abandonment of an important position. Only four days, however, were allowed to lapse after the introduction of the Bill before they showed signs of wavering. On the 12th of April a loophole for retreat was tentatively pointed out to them by a friend. Mr. Whitbread said:—

After listening with extreme attention to the speech of the Prime Minister, I did not think that the exclusion of the Irish members was an unalterable or vital principle of the Bill, and that there might not be some representation of Ireland in some due and moderate degree. [A remark which was received with a *hear, hear* from Mr. Gladstone.] It would, of course (said Mr. Whitbread), be absurd to suppose that if Irish members had a Parliament of their own at Dublin, they would still come to this Parliament in the same numbers as at present.

He pointed out that the Irish members would have a great deal to do in their new Parliament; but once

they had got their work well in-hand, and then said they would like to take their part in Imperial affairs, it would not be contrary to the wishes of the people of this

country, and not beyond what statesmanship could desire, to frame some plan which would give them a just and sufficient representation in Imperial matters.

Mr. Gladstone met the overture as far as he could be expected to meet any proposal which involved the complete abandonment of his declared opinions. Speaking the next day, he said there was great force in what his hon. friend said.

I cannot, however, bind myself with regard to these observations, or to any of the propositions which I have just cited. I cannot bind myself, still less any of my colleagues; but I think, bearing in mind the importance of the subject and the vast and immeasurable importance of the purposes we have in view, I do not think we should be right—it would be even presumptuous—were we to take upon ourselves, in the face of the House at this early stage of the discussion on the Bill, entirely to close the doors against any consideration of this kind.

The position, therefore, remains exactly as it was.

At the conclusion of Mr. Gladstone's speech leave was given to bring in the Bill, and it was read a first time.

During the Easter recess Mr. Gladstone issued an address to the electors of Midlothian. There is nothing very much now claiming our attention in it, except the evidence of the determination, since steadily adhered to, to treat the constitution and powers of the Imperial Parliament as a matter of altogether less consequence than the establishment of an Irish Parliament.

We have a great aim before us now. It is to restore your Parliament to efficiency by dividing and removing obstacles to its work, &c. For the means we take are the establishment in Dublin of a Legislative Body empowered to make laws for Irish, as contradistinguished from Imperial, affairs. It is with this that we are busied, and not with details and particulars. We are not now debating . . . the maintenance of a representative connection with Westminster.

After an interval of about four weeks, during which time the discussion on the Bill continued to rage, the second reading was moved, on the 10th of May, by Mr. Gladstone. He acknowledged that the question of excluding the Irish members had excited much feeling and discussion during the Easter recess, and he addressed himself to more or less explaining away the rigid exclusion proposed in the first instance. It would appear, in fact, from his speech that he was, to use a nautical metaphor, preparing to put the ship about, and to sail on another tack.

What I am now going to say has not had so much notice as it deserves. Ireland is not so entirely excluded by the Bill as it stands from Imperial affairs as gentlemen may be disposed to think. I refer, and I by no means refer alone, to the principle which is contained in the 39th clause of the Bill—the clause which provides for the recall of Irish representatives of both Houses before this House can proceed to any alteration of the statute upon which the two Legislatures are not in accord. I hope that is a provision which there will be little, if any, occasion for putting into action. But the principle involved is an important principle.

And then, a little farther on, he said :

Then I take the first objection that has been made to the proposed exclusion of the Irish representatives from this Parliament. It is that the principle that representation should accompany taxation would thereby be violated. Now, what I am about to say involves a considerable responsibility; but the question whether and how far the difficulty may be met has been considered, and I am prepared to say that we can give full satisfaction to those who advance this objection. If agreeable to the House, we will meet it in Committee by providing that when a proposal is made to alter the taxation in respect of Customs and Excise, Irish members shall have an opportunity of appearing in this House to take a share in the transaction of that business. It will then be impossible to urge against the Bill that it is proposed by the Government that representation should not accompany taxation.

Also, upon occasions when the Legislative Body should have expressed a desire that the Irish members should come to Westminster, he thought that, though there were difficulties, 'the end was a good one, and means for attaining it he would regard with favour.'

From the 10th of May onwards the House and the country were engaged in discussing the Bill. The line of cleavage in the Liberal party had rapidly widened, the defeat of the Government seemed more than probable, and as a desperate effort to check the demoralisation of the party and to rally the Government forces, a meeting of the supporters of Mr. Gladstone was held at the Foreign Office on the 27th of May. After defining the position of the Government, which was to establish by a vote on the second reading the principle of the Bill—that principle being the establishment in Ireland of a Legislative Body for the conduct of Irish, as distinguished from Imperial, affairs—he referred to the inclusion or exclusion of the Irish members :

I have heard it suggested that Ireland should maintain for her representatives a title to be heard upon Imperial and reserved matters. I should say that 'Imperial and reserved' are substantial equivalents for the purpose of any statement of this kind. I may be permitted to quote two or three words of what I said in regard to this suggestion. I said: 'That end, we say distinctly, is a good end, and the means for attaining it we regard with favour.' It was a fact that at that moment no plan had been placed before us. It was also a fact that we had not seen our way into the interior of the question so far as to be able to say 'There is a plan.' . . . We have now arrived at the conclusion that a plan can be formed for applying the principle in a practicable and reasonable shape. . . . If it be the will of the House, we are ready to undertake the responsibility, at the proper time, of making a proposal upon the subject such as we think will meet all the conditions of the case.

To give practical effect to that proposal 'it will certainly be necessary to reconstruct those clauses of the Bill, particularly the 24th, and, in a secondary degree, the 39th.'

The plan, whatever it was—for it has not since been revealed—was a very one-sided one, for, with that extraordinary, and I cannot but think dangerous, readiness to sacrifice Imperial interests to Irish Nationalist demands, he qualified the realisation of this plan with the condition that 'we should not on any consideration interfere with the liberty of the Irish Legislative Body,' a condition which would practi-

cally preclude the Imperial Parliament from in any way controlling the Irish Parliament, and which would effectually dispose of the supremacy of the Imperial Parliament.

Under the searching and telling criticism which the Bill was undergoing the Government visibly quailed, and they did not content themselves with merely this announcement, but stated that, if the House would read the Bill a second time, it would not be asked 'to take further steps for the prosecution of the remaining stages of the Bill within the limits of an ordinary session.' Either there was to be an autumn sitting, or the Bill was to lapse, and Parliament to be summoned at a very early period for its re-introduction.

Mr. Gladstone wound up the debate on the 7th of June, and in the course of his speech he said :—

The Government have taken certain engagements. They have taken an engagement as to taxation for the intervention of Irish members. They have also taken an engagement on the claim of Ireland to a continued concern, through her members, to the treatment of Imperial subjects generally, and that has entailed a positive pledge to reconstruct the 24th clause, and to adopt certain consequential amendments connected with it.

On the division the Government was beaten by 341 to 311 votes, and on the 25th of June Parliament was dissolved, and in the ensuing General Election the country by an overwhelming majority endorsed and approved the verdict of Parliament.

And now, having thus given the history of the question while Mr. Gladstone was in power, we may pass on to the history of this question while he was in Opposition.

At the General Election of 1886, and when Mr. Gladstone again came before his constituents in Midlothian, he put his Irish policy on the general principle, and refused to consider details. 'The Ministerial Bill is dead. The principle of that Bill survives.'

For about a year after that the Home Rule agitation slept 'to a considerable extent,' and, in complete disproof of the alleged imperative necessity of at once dealing with the Irish Question, both the Imperial Parliament and Ireland began to get along swimmingly.

In the summer of 1887 we come to a first landmark. Mr. Gladstone made a visit to South Wales, and there, at Singleton Abbey, on the 4th of June, he made a long and most involved speech on Home Rule and 'the retention or exclusion of the Irish from Westminster;' but he was evidently recognising the necessity of abandoning the idea of their exclusion.

Illustrating the question by supposing that Scotland was being given Home Rule, he said :—

Nothing could be more preposterous, more unnecessary, more absurd, than to exclude Scotch members from the Parliament at Westminster.

He reminded his audience of what had actually taken place on the subject—

from which you will see how entirely free we are to deal with the whole of the question as policy and good sense may dictate.

Referring again to Mr. Whitbread's suggestion, he said :—

I did not reject that opinion at all ; on the contrary, when Mr. Whitbread had given his view, I stated that there was great force in what he had said, but I was not able to bind myself, far less my colleagues. . . . I could not bind myself with the Government, but unquestionably I would not close the door against the proposition. Therefore, at that time we were perfectly open to consider the plan for the inclusion of the Irish members in Westminster if it should be found expedient. That, gentlemen, is what has taken place.

After repeating the five 'essential points' (which I have already enumerated) he said :—

These are the essential points, and everything else is open to consideration. We thought so last year, still more I think so now, and therefore there should be no alarm from the futile and idle supposition that we have some foregone conviction in our minds, to the effect that all representation of Irish affairs by Irish members in the Westminster Parliament is an essential condition to the plan of giving Home Rule to Ireland. It is a question of great importance and great difficulty, but it is a British, much more than an Irish, question. The Irish have made no essential point of it from the beginning.

He thought, on the whole, that the question had best 'stand over for a time,' 'until we are more thoroughly prepared, and have better experience, and know better the ground on which we are standing.'

In Mr. Whitbread's proposition it was stated that for a time Irish representation should be dropped, except for certain purposes which were fully contemplated, but, speaking generally, that Irish representation should be resumed when we have acquired more extensive knowledge. That was the principle laid down by Mr. Whitbread, and that was what was deemed by me and many others to have in it a great deal of sense and sagacity, as there is no immediate and urgent necessity for dealing with the question of Irish representation at Westminster, while there is an immediate and urgent necessity for dealing with the question of Home Rule. I will deal with it, and I will afterwards return, as Mr. Whitbread suggested, and take up the question of Irish representation at Westminster, when I am in a position to judge in what mode and with what details it can best be adjusted. That would be an inversion of what he suggests, but it would be a retention of his proposal as to principle. . . .

I hope you will be relieved from the trouble of listening to anybody who may hereafter say, as it has sometimes been said heretofore, that I am one who has made the exclusion of the Irish members from Westminster an essential part of the scheme of Home Rule.

Mr. Gladstone subsequently explained or interpreted this speech as follows :—

At Singleton Abbey I declared that the public sense appeared to be in favour of the retention of the Irish members, and that, this being so, I was perfectly prepared to accede to this alteration.

In July 1888 Mr. Gladstone again delivered his opinion on the retention or exclusion of the Irish members.

Speaking at a dinner given him by Sir Wilfrid Lawson, he said he looked on the subject as 'subsidiary.'

England—the Parliament at Westminster—should remain perfectly free to handle the question, and if they are free to do it, then the provisional retention, or the permanent retention, if it should be found convenient, is, in my opinion, a matter on which the feeling of the country ought to prevail.

As to the mode of doing it, there are many. . . . What we have to look at is the principle, and, as far as the principle is concerned, I am perfectly willing to accept it with open arms, and to consider that the end in view is that upon which our attention and our desire and effort ought to be concentrated.

The lapse of two years finds Mr. Gladstone much of the same opinion. Speaking at West Calder on the 23rd of October, 1890, he said :—

The second great branch of the Act of Union was to give representation to Ireland at Westminster. Now, gentlemen, it is very well known that, although we saw great difficulties attaching practically to any plan for the purpose, and although we knew very well that no vital want had occurred before the Act of Union, in consequence of the fact that there were no representatives of Ireland at Westminster; in respect to public opinion of the country, and believing that public opinion of the country to be to this effect, that there ought to be representatives of Ireland at Westminster, we agreed to give effect to the public wish. There is no question at all before us of removing from Westminster the representation—I do not now speak about its particular form or conditions; that is for discussion at another time—the representation at Westminster.

And finally we come to the pronouncement of his views, delivered in Edinburgh on the 30th of last June, to his electors and the country as a party manifesto at the General Election. After referring to the five ‘essential conditions’ of any Home Rule scheme, he said :—

He who knows those five conditions of a Home Rule Bill, knows already a great deal about the Home Rule Bill. One other condition has been suggested to us by the voice of public opinion, and, in respect and deference to that voice, has been adopted by us. You will readily perceive that I mean the retention of an Irish representation at Westminster. That was not our opinion, but it was an opinion with respect to which we felt these two things—first, that the country was entitled to impose it upon us if it thought fit; and, secondly, that the motive upon which it was founded was a motive in which we ourselves entirely and absolutely shared, namely, the desire that everything should be done to testify to the unity of the Empire and the supremacy of Parliament. . . .

We have never concealed—I do not conceal now—that while the retention of the Irish members has a most valuable meaning as a living assertion of the unity of the Empire, it will, and must, be attended, as far as we can see, by certain inconveniences.

He then proceeded to point out ‘some of the questions that arise in regard to this retention of Irish members.’ These, he said, were practical difficulties;

but we scout wholly the preposterous representations of those who will endeavour to raise them as objections to the principle of the scheme. They are not of that character at all. They are secondary difficulties. It would be the obvious duty of a Liberal Government to consider this important subject of the retention of the Irish members in conjunction with every other part of the case, to make to Parliament the propositions which in detail they consider upon the whole the best, and to use every effort in their power to carry it into law.

The upshot of the whole matter, then, is this—that Mr. Gladstone was, from the outset, in favour of the exclusion of the Irish members from Westminster—believing no other course to be possible; that he is now prepared to carry out the opposite view; that he gives way solely in deference to what he describes as the voice of public opinion; and that he is pledged to their retention by his speech to his constituents at his last election.

I may mention here one consequence of this decision, though it is not likely to be much appreciated by the Irish party, namely—that if Irish members are retained in the British Parliament, all the financial provisions made in the Bill of 1886 for the maintenance of fiscal or financial unity are entirely superfluous. Those clauses would have all to be dropped, the bribe of 1,400,000*l.* a year included, and the Bill in this respect would have to be completely remodelled.

Having thus ascertained Mr. Gladstone's latest decision on this most important question, we may proceed briefly to consider what are the different methods by which the retention of the Irish members can be effected. And here we come across the interesting fact that most of the possible courses have been pointed out and their difficulties described by Mr. Gladstone himself.

Referring at Edinburgh in June last to the public opinion in favour of the retention of the Irish members, he said:—

The first question is, Shall you retain the whole of the Irish members, or shall you retain a part?

As regards retaining the whole, he had expressed the following somewhat contradictory opinions in April 1886, when moving for leave to introduce the Bill:—

My opinion is, that there would be great jealousy of the habitual presence of 103 Irish members in this House, even for limited purposes, after a Legislative Body had been constructed in Ireland; and, on the other hand, I can very well conceive that Ireland would exceedingly object to the reduction—the material reduction—of those members.

Ireland, as usual in this controversy, weighed more with him than Great Britain. The Irish objection was held to be weightier than the British, and the clause in the Bill which contemplated the recall of the Irish members in a certain contingency made no reduction in the numbers in which they would come.

As regards the other alternative (retaining a part), Mr. Parnell, in his celebrated manifesto of the 28th of November, 1890, wrote that Mr. Gladstone told him at Hawarden in November 1889—

that the opinion, and the unanimous opinion of his colleagues and himself, recently arrived at after mature consideration of alternative proposals, was that, in order to conciliate English public opinion, it would be necessary to reduce the Irish representation from 103 to 32.

Mr. Gladstone denied having made these statements, 'or anything substantially resembling them.'

But that the retention of only a part of the Irish members had engaged his attention is evident from his pointing out the difficulties of such a course.

Speaking on the debate for the second reading of his Bill in 1886, he said :—

My own personal opinion is, that if we were to bring back the Irish members in any other numbers than the present we should first have to devise a new system of election, and I am not sure that it would be wise to complicate the matter in that way.

At Singleton Abbey in 1887 he said :—

Pray observe, that if you are to reduce their numbers now, you must form a new system of representation in Parliament at Westminster at the same time as you frame a new one in the Dublin Parliament—a great practical difficulty, and one which the man of common-sense in public affairs will not encounter till he is driven to encounter it, as he will rather wait for a better knowledge of the position.

And at Edinburgh in June last he said :—

Will you proceed upon the basis of the present Parliamentary system in Ireland, or will you endeavour to reconstruct that system, and readjust it with reference to its relations with England and Scotland, or with reference to any other consideration ?

Stated simply, therefore, the retention of a reduced number of Irish members would entail an Irish Reform Act, a pretty troublesome task if it were to be done before the Home Rule Bill became law ; yet how could it be done after the passing of the Home Rule Bill, by which the British Parliament would be prohibited legislating on an Irish subject ?

The retention in the British Parliament of a reduced number of the Irish representatives has this cogent argument against it : that Ireland would have just cause for complaint that her interests in Imperial affairs were under-represented in the British Parliament. No reason, in fact, can be given, even by Mr. Gladstone, for cutting down Irish representation in Imperial matters—in other words, for penalising Ireland in this respect.

If the present number of representatives (103) is the proper proportion of Irish representation in the House of Commons, it remains so in the future for Imperial affairs just as much as it is now for all affairs. Even if reduced to the more correct proportion of about 80, the argument is not affected. Any number under the proper proportion would be unfair to Ireland, and the 'equality of members' in dealing with Imperial affairs would be destroyed.

The practical difficulties of a reduction of the Irish members are, in fact, so great that the plan scarcely comes within the range of possibility.

And, finally, we come to the question of the position and rights of the Irish members in the future British Parliament. The alternatives here are, to use Mr. Gladstone's words—

You may allow them to sit in Parliament with the right to vote on all subjects, or you may give them a limited right to sit, with power to vote on certain subjects.

All the suggestions hitherto made fall under one of these headings. The extracts I have given at the beginning of this article effectively dispose of the possibility of the first of these courses being adopted, and Mr. Gladstone has so strongly and emphatically controverted the idea that he certainly would not propose it, and it may be set aside as one which would be rejected by the great majority of even the present Parliament.

There remains the other alternative—that of permitting them to vote on Imperial subjects, and excluding them from others.

The separation of Imperial from British affairs was what Mr. Gladstone declared as passing the wit of man.

A recent article in this *Review*¹ by Mr. Redmond amusingly illustrates the audacity of Irish members as to what they consider Imperial affairs:—

Of course (says Mr. Redmond) Ireland's concern at Westminster will be only with Imperial affairs. But what are Imperial affairs? . . . Let me take one example. What is the most completely Imperial of all affairs? Surely the existence of the Imperial Government. The Imperial Government will depend for its existence, and all Imperial policy depends for its continuance, upon the support of Parliament. The fate of a Ministry may depend upon the decision of Parliament upon some purely English or Scotch question, as, for example, the question of Disestablishment. Does not this purely British question at once become an Imperial one, upon which Ireland would be entitled to vote the moment the existence of the Imperial Government depends upon its decision?

This definition, it will be observed, covers the whole field of British legislation.

Mr. Gladstone is himself strongly against the division of subjects. Speaking in April 1886, he said:—

Even if it were possible to divide the subjects, what an anomaly it would be, what a mutilation of all our elementary ideas about the absolute equality of members in this House, were we to have ordinarily among us two classes of members, one of them qualified to vote on all kinds of business, and another qualified only to vote here and there on particular kinds of business, and obliged to submit to some criterion or other—say the authority of the Chair—novel for such a purpose, and difficult to exercise, in order to determine what kinds of business they could vote upon, and what kinds of business they must abstain from voting on!

But if the difficulty of dividing the subjects were surmounted—and Mr. Gladstone regards it as 'insurmountable'—another difficulty comes in view; the anarchy and confusion into which the Irish vote, even if reduced to thirty-two members, might throw the government of the country; the absolute deadlock to which the Irish vote might bring the government of Great Britain.

The Irish vote on an Imperial question might place in a minority

a Ministry having a good majority in the British Parliament on all questions, both local and Imperial.

Clearly in this direction, then, there is little prospect of any satisfactory plan being devised.

It may be that in the dilemma in which Mr. Gladstone now finds himself he may suggest, as some of his friends have recently so ingenuously been doing for him, the postponement of the matter. He has often suggested this course himself, and it falls in with Mr. Whitbread's suggestion, which contained 'a great deal of sense and sagacity.' But I would point out that the question of retaining or excluding the Irish members from Westminster cannot be postponed. For, paradoxical as it may appear, a postponement decides it, committing the country to one course or the other. Even as a temporary arrangement, Irish members must be retained, or they must be excluded. There is no middle course. Whether the present number, or eighty, or sixty, or thirty-two, are retained is purely a matter of degree; the principle of retention is adopted. Whether the whole lot of them are to be excluded for three years or five years, until the question can be reconsidered with fuller knowledge, or until they want to come back again, is also purely a matter of degree; the principle of exclusion is adopted. In either case, for the time being, one or other course—retention or exclusion—is adopted, and from the nature of the case it must be so. Postponement is therefore impossible. That being so, what solution remains?

Possibly, reviewing the whole question, seeing the swing of the pendulum towards exclusion, as evidenced by 'the revolt' of Scotland, and the plain-speaking of the editor of *Truth*, Mr. Gladstone may hark back to his old love, may explain away his pledges to his constituents on the ground of a change of public opinion since then, and may re-adopt the policy of exclusion embodied in the Bill of 1886. That is likely enough, though he has been defeated on it once, and in all probability would be again. But if he does not do so, 'it passes the wit of man' to imagine what he will do, every possible proposal having been riddled by criticism, all, with that one exception of 'exclusion,' having been slaughtered by Mr. Gladstone's own hand, and that one being, not a mere Irish matter, not a mere 'secondary' or 'subsidiary' affair, as he would have us believe, but primarily and essentially an Imperial matter, involving things of infinitely greater importance than anything Irish—namely, the dignity, the power, and even the existence of the Imperial Parliament.

HENRY JEPHSON.

AN EXPERIMENT IN FEDERATION AND ITS LESSONS

THE idea that the Colonies undergo phases of development similar to those which the mother country has passed through is one for which a good deal might be said, and, if it be the case that embryology presents a condensed history of the evolution of man, its analogue may be found in the history of the Colonies, treading as they do, but with quicker steps, the path which the mother country has trod. The United Kingdom has now a Unitary Government, founded, as its name indicates, by the union or coalescence of three Sovereign States, England, Scotland, and Ireland. At a still earlier stage each of these countries was divided into a number of autonomous areas, England for example having what has been arbitrarily called the Heptarchy.

New Zealand also has a Unitary Government now ; but during one period of our brief history we had a form of Federal Government, and our Colony in the space of twenty-six years passed through the Federal stage into the centralised government we now have. We are thus in the position of having discarded a form of government which made ample provision for local government for a system of centralisation ; and now we again find ourselves face to face with the problem of local government, and the question is whether there is to be devolution of government functions so as to meet local requirements, and what form this devolution is to take. Are we to witness an instance of what Comte calls 'decomposition of States,' or are we to revert to Federalism—a Federal system that is organic and not based on mere locality, nor dictated by the exigencies of accidental circumstances as our former system was ?

From an Imperial point of view England has neither a Unitary nor a Federal Government, and the same question of decomposition or devolution is slowly but surely coming up for settlement there. At a time when so much attention is devoted to the subject of Federation our experiment may be of some interest and value, and a short sketch of the history of Federation in New Zealand may show what were the difficulties, weaknesses, and defects that led to

the abandonment of our Federal system, and the abolition of the Provinces (States), and the adoption of our present centralised form of government. It may be that a careful survey of our history may expose to view some of the pitfalls that surround Federalism, and so enable the wise and prudent statesman to avoid them. No one can predict what form the future government of the Empire may assume, and much as the Federal may be preferred to the Unitary form, after all Federalism is only an experiment. In the United States, where Federalism has been tried on the largest scale, it may yet have to undergo many variations and vicissitudes. Federalism failed in Greece; and in Switzerland the circumstances are so peculiar that it would be unsafe to draw any conclusions from the success of Federalism there, as to its suitableness for countries differently situated.

New Zealand, like nearly all British Colonies, began its career (after separation from New South Wales) as a Crown Colony, governed mainly from England, and partly by an irresponsible governor with a few nominee councillors. The colonists loudly demanded some share in the government of their home. Downing Street government, as it was called, presented many disadvantages. The machinery in England was slow, and had work to do in New Zealand, for which it was quite unsuited. The settlements were scattered and separated from each other by seas and forests and mountain ranges, and in the absence of both roads and railways intercommunication was difficult and irregular. Natives, more or less hostile, occupied the North Island. The work of colonisation having been started independently at different points along the coast, there was no controlling centre, and the existence of a metropolis was geographically impossible. After a struggle, which was much embittered by the stubbornness and want of tact of more than one governor, constitutional government was at last conceded. This was a modified form of Federalism. There were established six Provinces (States), each having a Superintendent (Lieutenant-Governor) elected directly by the people, and an elective Provincial Council (State Parliament), a Colonial Parliament consisting of the Governor, a Legislative Council, and a House of Representatives. The Governor was appointed by the Sovereign, the members of the Legislative Council were appointed by the Governor for life, but by an Act passed last session the term of office was reduced to seven years and the members of the House of Representatives are elected by the people. The Provinces comprised large areas, some of them being larger than some of the States in America. The areas approximately were: Auckland, 17,000,000 acres; Wellington, 9,000,000 acres; Taranaki, 8,500,000 acres; Nelson, 10,500,000 acres; Canterbury, 14,000,000 acres; and Otago, 15,038,300 acres. No doubt the population was small and scattered, but so also was that of the States at the time of the founding of the great American Republic.

The powers and functions of the Provincial Governments relatively

to those of the General or Central Government were defined as follows :—It was declared that the Superintendent of each Province, with the advice and consent of the Provincial Council, could make and ordain such laws and ordinances (with certain exceptions) as might be required for the peace, order, and good government of the Province, provided the same were not repugnant to the law of England. The purposes for which laws could not be made by the Provinces were : (1) customs duties ; (2) establishment or abolition of courts except for the punishment of offences in a summary way ; (3) coining or issuing of bills, or notes, or paper currency ; (4) weights and measures ; (5) post offices and carriage of letters ; (6) bankruptcy or insolvency ; (7) beacons and lighthouses ; (8) dues and charges of shipping ; (9) marriages ; (10) lands of the Crown or native lands ; (11) disabilities or restrictions on persons of the native race to which persons of European birth or descent would not be subjected ; (12) altering the criminal law except so far as summary offences are concerned ; (13) regulating the course of inheritance of real or personal property or affecting the law relating to wills.

Power was given to the Governor to disallow any Bill or ordinance of a Provincial Council at any time within three months after its passing.

The General Assembly had power to make laws for the peace, order, and good government of New Zealand, provided its acts were not repugnant to the laws of England ; and all laws made by the General Assembly controlled and superseded any laws or ordinances in anywise repugnant thereto passed by any Provincial Council, so that in effect the General Assembly was a Supreme Legislative Authority having power to negative, repeal, or modify any Provincial law.

The first question that arose between the General and the Provincial Governments was as to the mode in which the revenues were to be raised and disposed of by them respectively. The Constitution Act provided that the revenue arising from taxes, duties, rates, and imposts levied by any Act of the General Assembly or from the disposal of the waste lands of the Crown should be appropriated to such specific purposes as the General Assembly prescribed, and that the surplus revenue should be divided among the several Provinces in the same proportions as the gross proceeds of such revenue had arisen therefrom respectively.

Provisions similar to these are contained in the proposed Constitution of the Australian Commonwealth, and it will be interesting to see how such provisions have worked in actual practice here.

In 1858 the question as to the disposal of the surplus revenues was raised, and provision was then made as follows : that an account was to be kept against each Province, crediting it with the revenue derived from duties, taxes, fines, fees, penalties, &c., and debiting it with the expenses of branches of the General Government required

for the maintenance of law and order in the Province; namely, first, supreme court, excepting the salaries of judges; second, courts of inferior jurisdiction; third, resident magistrates and justices of the peace; fourth, customs; fifth, postal service except foreign and mails; sixth, registrars of births, deaths, and marriages; seventh, sheriffs; and eighth, coroners.

But this was only the beginning of the contest that was inevitable regarding the distribution of revenue, as will be seen further on. The appropriations of the Provinces were constantly varied by the General Government; as the exigencies of the General Government increased, so the surplus payable to the Provinces diminished.

The native question also seriously hampered the working out of a Federal system. The natives, in consequence of treaty obligations and certain provisions of the Constitution Act, were looked upon as an alien people under the special care of the Imperial Government, and it was not till 1865 that the control of native affairs was entrusted to the New Zealand General Government untrammelled by Imperial rule. There was also the question of purchasing land from the Maories, which arose in consequence of all lands that had not been specially granted to the Queen or to private individuals by deeds of cession being treated as belonging to the natives. There were millions of acres that were not, and perhaps never had been, in the effective occupation of the natives, but still the Colony recognised the land as belonging to the aborigines. The Provinces, in some instances, dealt with the natives and purchased land from them, but the native question was an endless subject of discussion in the General Assembly. It would be out of place in a paper like this to discuss the origin and cause of the wars with the Maories; this only need be said, that one cause of the many conflicts was the refusal by the Colony in its courts to recognise in the natives any title to their lands as legal unless it was derived by grant from the Crown, whilst at the same time they were looked upon as the owners. This native question, however, greatly marred the success of the Federal system. Native wars meant heavy expenditure, and this necessitated loans. The drain upon the revenue for interest and sinking funds for these loans greatly reduced the surplus payable to the Provinces; their finances were consequently crippled and the progress of colonisation was delayed. The Federal system was weakened, while the Central Government was strengthened; and these conflicts with the natives continued till the commencement of what has been called the public works policy.

From the first, however, there had been two political parties—those who longed for the growth of the power of the Central Government, and those who wished to see the Provincial system strengthened and extended. The two parties, formed thus early, were called in our political nomenclature ‘Centralists’ and ‘Provincialists.’ The

aim of the former was to destroy the Federal system, and the latter worked to preserve and strengthen it. The earlier Centralists were mainly influenced by the dread of what they called another Heptarchy; they pictured the condition of Italy with its petty republics, and the nation torn asunder by insignificant states and parish rivalries. They thought there could be no national life if the Provinces were to continue, because their existence meant their growth in power and influence, and the decadence of the nation. This view of the subject was no doubt held by many Centralists down to the time of the abolition of the Provinces in 1876. But it was not this idea that dominated the majority who decreed the destruction of our Federal system. Many other causes operated to bring about this result. The really operative causes lay deeper. In the first place there was the fact that settlements had been established at different points, far removed from the chief towns of the Provinces. In Wellington Province, for example, settlement had taken place in the district of Ahuriri (now Hawke's Bay), with the town of Napier as a local centre. Communication with Wellington, the seat of the Provincial Government, except by sea—and that meant a voyage of 200 miles—was difficult, and only possible on foot or horseback. A wide belt of bush country lay between the open plains of Wairarapa and those of the east coast. The sheep-farmers of Hawke's Bay were quite out of touch with the residents of Wellington, and their wants were not attended to, consequently they desired local government. Again, in the southern part of the Province of Otago, another district had been settled which was practically inaccessible except by sea, or on foot or horseback. The settlers in all such districts clamoured for local government, and the Centralists saw their opportunity. 'Let more Provinces be created,' they cried, inspired by the maxim 'Divide et impera.' As one of them said, 'The Act creating new Provinces would be the sledge-hammer to knock Provincialism on the head.' There were some who desired the new Provinces in order that they might get hold of the management of the Crown lands. And how they were 'managed' in some districts in the interest of large sheep-owners, he who runs may read in the record of our land laws. This was the first step taken for the destruction of Federalism, as the sequel will show. The question then came to be, whether those clamant outlying districts should be constituted separate Provinces or should receive some form of municipal government. The main reason that led to the former course being preferred by the settlers was that municipal government meant local rates and local taxation; whereas if a Province were constituted they would be entitled to a share of the general funds distributable amongst the Provinces by the General Government. Accordingly an Act was passed by the General Assembly in 1858, authorising the creation of new Provinces; and Hawke's Bay was carved out of the Province of Wellington,

Marlborough out of Nelson, and Southland out of Otago. Thus there came to be nine Provinces instead of six. Later on, when the gold rush set in, there was established, first a County, then a Province of Westland, and thus the country west of the Southern Alps ceased to belong to Canterbury Province. Thus the Central Government assumed and exercised the right to cut and carve the territory of the Provinces at will, and from this an important lesson may be learned by Federationists. It is absolutely essential to the existence of a Federal system of government that the separate States (Provinces) shall be protected by the Constitution from Federal interference with the territory of the States or their local affairs. In our Federal system there were two inherent weaknesses: first, the power of the Central Parliament was undefined, and second, the finance of the Provinces depended on the needs of the Central Government.

The right of the General Assembly to override Provincial Acts inevitably led to friction and discontent. For party purposes there was raised a cry of the outlying districts against the towns or the older settlements, and the Centralists strove hard to foment strife between them. Laws were passed by the General Assembly that repealed or rendered nugatory Provincial ordinances, and the Central Government having this superior power of legislation, also absorbed the powers of Provincial administration in many cases. In consequence of the legislative powers of the General Assembly not being defined and limited so as to prevent overlapping, the Federal system was doomed. For what did New Zealand politics become? A gradual but relentless process of absorption of the Provincial powers, both legislative and administrative, by the Central Legislature and Government.

In any Federal scheme for the Empire or for Australasia this point will have to be carefully watched, for otherwise the Federal system will inevitably fall before a Unitary Government. Even in the United States of America the central power seems to be growing, for we hear of demands for a single education law, for a single liquor license law, and for Federal laws for the regulation of monopolies, and for dealing with the labour problem, &c. There is no party now having such a strong State-right platform as existed before the Civil War. Is Federalism on the wane, and Unitary Government, even in the great Republic, in the ascendant?

But the greatest weakness of the New Zealand Federalism lay in its financial arrangements. From 1858 till 1874, in almost every session of Parliament, the question as to how the Provinces were to be provided for came up for discussion. By the New Zealand Constitution Act, as before stated, just as by the proposed Australasian Federal Constitution, the surplus revenues were to be Provincial revenue. There were also given to the Provinces all the moneys arising from the sale of the waste lands. Now this entailed a great evil; for it led to the lands being sold, sometimes at a small price

and in large blocks, when money was needed to replenish the Provincial treasury. This proceeding was in direct violation of the theory known as the Wakefield system of colonisation. Under it the land was to be sold at a high figure so that the dangerous and objectionable process of taking up large blocks of lands should be discouraged, and that at the same time the price realised should be applied to making roads, to introducing immigrants, and to promoting generally the heroic work of colonisation. Up to the end of the Provincial system the price of land was kept moderately high in Canterbury, but not in any other Province. Even in Canterbury, however, the price of 2*l.* per acre was not high enough to prevent undue land speculation, from which this Province suffered for many years.

The customs revenue, however, was the mainstay of Provincial finance. At one time three-eighths of the customs revenue collected in each Province was given; but the financial arrangements broke down in the face of the public works policy of 1870, and it came about in this way. Since 1860 wars with the natives had been of frequent occurrence—at one time the Waikato campaign, at another the Te Kooti raid, and at another the West Coast rebellion led by Titokowaru and other chiefs. In 1868 the war seemed to be dying out, but the Colony was depressed. The Provinces were starting public works for themselves on a rather extensive scale. Southland had launched upon a scheme of railway construction that was beyond its financial resources; Canterbury was slowly but surely pushing a railway system through its magnificent plains, and erecting, at great cost, long bridges across its broad shingly rivers; and Otago was negotiating for the construction of a railway from Dunedin to Clutha. All these works necessitated loans, while the borrowing power of the Provinces was restricted by the General Assembly. Here, then, was an opening for the Central Government entering upon a public works policy. Would it not give fresh impetus to the work of colonisation? Would not the Maori troubles disappear on the advance of the railway and the new immigrants? Few of the colonists realised that the assumption by the Central Government of this power of colonisation—the right of constructing public works and introducing immigrants—meant the abolition of the Provinces, and the destruction of the Federal system. The big scheme was attractive, and it was carried by large majorities in Parliament. Then, after the first flush of borrowed money, there came the necessity to provide interest and sinking funds, and with that a further reduction of Provincial revenue.

In the years 1874, 1875, and 1876 the struggle for the abolition of the Provinces became intense, and it is worthy of notice that the abolitionists were mainly the large landowners and the capitalist class, including the larger merchants. No doubt some members of these classes were Provincialists, but as a rule they were on the other side.

The Provincial Councils had become distastefully democratic to these classes, and the demand for loans, and the expenditure of public money by the Provinces in rivalling the General Government in its public works scheme, necessitated additional loans and burdensome taxation. And it was urged that the General Government would be able to borrow money at a lower rate of interest. The abolitionists imagined that a Central Government would be more conservative, and it would be further removed from the people. Jupiter must not be seen by the populace. Their belief and hope have not been fulfilled; for year by year the tide of democratic feeling has been higher and higher. The expenditure of public money increased rather than diminished, and new loans and fresh taxation became unavoidable. The very means that was expected by the abolitionists to limit borrowing has led to excessive indulgence in it, in consequence of the removal of the checks of the Provincial system. The great point to be noticed is that the same classes who were in favour of abolition are advocating the Federation of New Zealand with the Australian Continent; and likewise in Australia the Federation party consists mainly of Conservatives, while the Liberals are, as a rule, against the Federation. It is imagined that a Federal Parliament would be conservative, and that it would conquer and crush the Labour party.

Now is it likely that this would follow? In New Zealand the Provincial Councils were (although the Conservatives could not see it) more conservative in the proper sense of the term than the General Assembly will ever be. Affairs were managed more in a municipal spirit, and the farmers and local merchants and professional men could afford to give up the time necessary for Provincial legislation and administration; now, however, the distance of Wellington (the seat of Central Government), and the excessive length of the sessions caused by the centralisation of business formerly disposed of by the Provincial Councils, make it impossible for the same class of men to enter the political arena, and we have really no leisured class. In the Commonwealth of Australia the executive would, no doubt, at first be more powerful and less subject to the influence of the larger cities than the existing governments of the various Colonies are, but no form of government can stem the democratic current; and it were the part of wise statesmanship to direct it into safe channels, instead of vainly attempting to stop it by changing the form of government. At all events in New Zealand the creating of a government intended to be more independent of the Provincial centres has not resulted in making the administration less subject to local influences; the executive is now as susceptible to local political pressure as it was in the old Provincial days.

In addition to the absence of definition of the respective functions of the General and the Provincial Governments, and the unsatisfactory financial arrangements, there was another weakness inherent in the

Constitution. The Provinces, as such, were not represented in the Federal Parliament. The Legislative Council (Senate) was composed of members nominated by the Colonial Executive, and they held office for life. They were chiefly large landowners, and were out of sympathy with the Provincial system. They were for ever sneering at the small Provincial Councils, aping, as they phrased it, a Parliament, and at their passing measures of a democratic character. It was, therefore, not surprising to find that when the Bill for the abolition of the Provinces came before the Legislative Council, even though a general election was to take place within a few months, the Council, instead of postponing the Bill, passed it almost unanimously, so great was the haste of the members to gain their end. Only two members of the Council were found faithful enough to vote for delay—surely a vital duty at such a crisis. If the members of the Council had been chosen by the Provincial Councils for a limited term, even with the greatly increased and far-reaching powers of influencing Parliament which the General Government had acquired through its public works policy, and its clamant financial needs, abolition would not have been carried. The Federal provisions of the Constitution would have been altered, not abolished. This is a pregnant lesson to those who have urged that in Australasia the Senate should either directly be elected by the people, or nominated without reference to the States that are to compose the Commonwealth. The Senate should be representative of the States, and, if possible, each State should have equal representation. This may seem unfair when the States differ so much in extent and population. But if it be remembered that on a true Federal system the main functions of government should be performed by the State Parliaments and not by the Federal Parliament, the principal objections to this proposal will be removed. A Senate in which the States have equal representation is the only efficient safeguard for the preservation of the existence and rights of the weaker States. Nothing can be more certain than that a Central Federal Legislature, not consisting of representatives of the States composing the Federation, will gradually but inevitably devour or trample underfoot the States and all their rights. A Senate chosen by the State Parliaments will conserve the State rights and preserve the Constitution. It will be then, and then only, the regulating part of the Government machine. If a provision for order and a provision for progress are needed in every State, the former will be secured by a Senate thus constituted.

It is no doubt true that other causes besides those referred to above hastened the downfall of our Provincial system. Communication between the Provinces was becoming easier and more frequent, and the cry arose that there were too many legislatures. But beyond all these causes must be noticed the force of outside opinion. We were living in a Colony that depended mainly on foreign literature

for intellectual stimulus, and our people took a deep interest in foreign politics. The world had just witnessed the accomplishment of the great work that Italian patriots had so long struggled for—the consolidation of Italy into one great nation—the numerous petty States being absorbed by one strong and united government. German unity had also been achieved, and the trend of opinion everywhere was turned towards unity, not union. This influence told powerfully, although perhaps unconsciously, in the direction of the extinction of our small Parliaments; and the Australian newspapers that circulated in the Colony were decidedly abolitionist.

Who can estimate the influence of public opinion? Are not Australian conventions, reciprocity treaties between Canada and the United States, and triple alliances in Europe signs of the times? The great question will be, union or unity, Federation or Empire? The cry for unity in Europe echoed in our legislative halls and increased the clamour for abolition, that resulted in the extinction of our Federal system. Those who are political optimists and think that whatever is right may say, 'But has not abolition done good? has not the unitary system you now possess been beneficial to you?' And it must be admitted that the Provincial system could not have been lasting in the form it assumed in our Constitution. No doubt the elements of dissolution were present; but what might we not have achieved had the Federal part of our Constitution been merely amended and not abolished? Some of the benefits of Provincialism may be stated. In the first place we must note the fact that, owing to its configuration, New Zealand is incapable of being dominated by one big town; it has always had a number of centres, and from these separate centres settlement began. Consequently, the Provincial system was the only one that was adapted to the country and suitable for its development. It may be said that this merely shows that a country may be so situated, as Switzerland is, for example, that some form of Federalism is the only kind of government that can be worked in it; but that in ordinary circumstances the unitary system is in government what the large factory is in industry—the later and higher development.

In the second place, Provincialism rendered great service to New Zealand by affording to the colonists unrivalled facilities for participating in the management of public affairs. Our public men generally served an apprenticeship in the Provincial Councils, and acquired there not only a knowledge of Parliamentary procedure, but a valuable training in public life. Nearly all the public men in New Zealand who rose to eminence in the first days of Central rule had graduated in Provincial Councils; and in respect of ability and patriotism and public spirit, the New Zealand Parliament stood higher in the years from 1860 to 1880 than it had ever done since. Of course, one cannot contend that this superiority was entirely attributable to the

Provincial system ; for the mode in which the Colony was settled, and the vigorous men who were the founders of its Provinces, differentiated it in many ways from most of the other Colonies. Still, there can be no doubt the Provincial Councils did a great deal for the public men of New Zealand, and municipal and county councils are poor substitutes. In these there is much detail of administrative work ; but, as these bodies have no legislative authority, the members have no facilities for acquiring aptitude in dealing with broad questions of public policy. Who knows but even the Imperial Parliament might be improved if England had a Federal system or an extended scheme of local government ?

But not only did the Provincial system train the public men, it also educated the people to self-government ; and no form of government can be considered successful that fails to do this. Patriotism demands that a citizen should interest himself and participate in the management of public as well as private affairs. To form the true citizen there must be not only intellectual education, and the acquisition of knowledge, not only technical education to fit him to perform some industrial function, but also the training for citizenship and the drawing out of his altruistic nature, and fitting him for the performance of public duties. Provincialism tended to produce a deep sense of the duties of citizenship, and there was more political life in the Colony during the seventies than during the eighties. Abolition, by destroying the local government unit, crushes out the active questioning political spirit. This was an irreparable loss ; for in politics creation and destruction are alike easy, but restoration is impossible. There was also a healthy political rivalry between the Provinces that sometimes led to absurd results, but which had certain advantages. The General Government moderated these rivalries, just as the State has to control, and may have yet further to control, the evils of individual competition in the industrial system. Just as individualism has its good side in urging men to exertion, so the Provinces maintained a high standard of colonising energy. Each strove to excel its neighbours in the improvement of its institutions, in its efforts for the welfare of its settlers, and in the promotion of all that tended to advancement in commerce, in industry, in education, and in social life. The stimulus thus given still continues to a considerable extent ; for although the Provincial Councils are no more, the memory of them is not quite obliterated. The anniversary days of the various Provinces are still observed as public holidays by the people of the Provincial district, while the anniversary of the Colony is ignored. The old names—Auckland, Canterbury, Otago, and Wellington, &c.—are still retained, and it is still recognised as necessary to have in the Colonial Executive representatives of each of the principal Provincial districts. The ghost of Provincialism still haunts the scenes of its vanished glory.

On the abolition of the Provinces there immediately and inevitably arose the question of local government, and now, after fifteen years of the new régime, the problem is still unsolved. The plan adopted was what has been called in America the 'morcelization' of government, and a multitude of petty local bodies have been created for all sorts of purposes, which under the Provincial system had been served by the Provincial Executive. We set up County Councils, we multiplied municipal corporations, we created Boards of all kinds, Harbour Boards, Hospital Boards, Charitable Aid Boards, River Boards, Education Boards, Health Boards, &c., &c. It would be interesting and instructive to draw a parallel between the state of things that arose with us here and the state of matters described by Professor Adams of Michigan University in his essay on the '*Relation of the State to Industrial Action*.' He points out that when the State governments declined to undertake the carrying out of railways and other works, private corporations arose and secured rights, privileges, and monopolies that have proved very detrimental to the public interest. Then there were created numerous local boards whose legal powers are insignificant, but whose evil influence and corruption have become the disgrace and the despair of the community. With us, since abolition, Parliament has handed over to private corporations the construction and working of some railways which under our Provincial system would have been the proper work of the Provincial Councils. Our numerous local boards have proved neither efficient nor economical. Another result of the abolition of the provinces and the substitution of so many petty local boards has been that the work of local government has failed to attract the class of men who found scope for their ability, patriotism, and ambition in the Provincial Legislatures, and those who cannot find leisure to become members of the General Assembly refrain altogether from participating in public life; and this is undoubtedly a great loss to any country, but especially so to a young colony like ours. Our experience affords strong confirmation of the idea that legislative powers of some kind are essential to any satisfactory system of local government. Our system—if our multiplicity of petty boards can be dignified with the name of system—has never been considered satisfactory or anything more than a makeshift, and the absence of legislative powers is one of the fundamental objections to it. The conviction is growing that Federalism in some form is the only solution of the problem of local government.

Provincial Parliaments consisted only of one Chamber; but there was vested in the superintendent a veto power that was absolute. The Governor also had the power to veto Provincial Ordinances, and, as has already been mentioned, the General Assembly had the power to repeal them. In the original Provinces, the Superintendent was elected by the people for a term of four years; while in the new

Provinces he was elected by the Council. If the Superintendent vetoed any law passed by the Provincial Council, the propriety of his action would be tested at the general election. The fact that there was no Upper House to act as a revising body made the Provincial Councils all the more careful with the Bills they passed. Rarely was the power of veto exercised by Superintendent or Governor; and when it was exercised the reason generally was that the Council had exceeded its authority, not that it had misused its powers. Here the question suggests itself, whether two Chambers are necessary; and the answer also suggests itself, that if there is an elective Governor having a veto power—which means practically a referendum to the people every three or four years—a second Chamber may be a cumbersome, useless, and unnecessary machine.

Under the Constitution the Superintendent was the Supreme Executive Officer. Every law had to be passed by him as well as by the Council. He was not by any means a mere figure-head or governmental ornament. He was a really operative member of the Government. Yet the idea of responsible government was all-powerful. Ordinances were passed declaring that the Superintendent was to have an Executive removable at the will of the Council, and that he was to act only with their advice. If it happened that the Council did not approve of the Executive he had chosen, there was only one solution of the difficulty; he and the Council must alike appeal to the people. The Governor could dissolve a Provincial Council, and on more than one occasion this happened. In one instance in Otago the Council declined to accept the policy of the Superintendent and his Executive. A new Executive was named by the leader of the majority of the Council, but the Superintendent refused to appoint them. Thus there was a deadlock, and a dissolution was decreed by the Governor. The Superintendent and the Council both went to the country, and the issue for the elections was whether the country would accept the policy of the Superintendent, or that of the majority of the Council. A dissolution, therefore, meant not only a dissolution of the Council, but of the Governorship (Superintendency) as well; both had to go to the country for its decision on their actions, and to be bound by that decision.

In Canada the Lieutenant-Governors are not elected by the people, but appointed by the Governor-General. The Dominion Government has thus a power of interference with the internal administration of the States, and in this respect the States' rights are weakened. In the formation of a Federal system this point will require consideration, for if the Governors of the States are appointed by the Central Executive the administrative powers of the States are in fact controlled by the Central Federal authority. This was avoided in our New Zealand Federal system, and this part of the Government machine worked well, on the whole. In Canada the Lieutenant-

Governors are appointed for five years, and are irremovable during that term except for cause assigned. In New Zealand, as I have said, the appointment rested with the people. Many of our ablest men became Superintendents. The names of Cargill, Grey (Sir George), Macandrew, Featherston, Fitzherbert (Sir William), Stafford (Sir Edward), Rolleston, Moorhouse, Richardson (Sir John), Williamson, Whitaker (Sir Frederick), Gillies, Maclean (Sir Donald), Ormond, Menzies, &c., are sufficient to show the sort of men that were chosen by the Provincial electors for the office; men certainly not inferior to those appointed Governors by the Crown.

There is another point that should receive careful consideration in the formation of a new Constitution, and that is the delimitation of the functions of the Federal Parliament and the State Parliaments respectively in the matter of raising loans. The facility with which the Provinces pledged their credit for loans was a great evil of the system; and this arose from the fact that the revenue was derived from the General Government, and thus the State Parliaments never realised what borrowing meant. The evil was intensified by the fact that many people believed the Provincial system was not to be permanent, and that in the end the General Government would have to undertake the liability for the debts of the Provinces. The only remedy for this evil would have been a provision in the Constitution prohibiting borrowing without a general vote of the electors of the Province, and the imposition of a special direct tax to meet the necessary interest and sinking fund. This point suggests the question whether it might not be wise for the Australasian Commonwealth to restrict the powers both of the Federal Parliament and of the State Parliaments on the subject of borrowing by some such provision as exists in the Constitution of California, which is as follows:

Political Code, Article XVI., sec. 1.—The Legislature shall not in any manner create any debt or debts, liability or liabilities, which shall singly or in the aggregate with any previous debts exceed the sum of \$300,000, except in case of war, to repel invasion or to suppress insurrection, unless the same shall be authorised by law for some single object or work to be distinctly specified therein, which law shall provide ways and means exclusive of loans for the payment of the interest of such debts or liability as it falls due, and also to pay and discharge the principal of such debt or liability within twenty-one years of the time of the contracting thereof, and shall be irrepealable until the principal and interest thereon shall be paid and discharged, but no such law shall take effect until at a general election it shall have been submitted to the people and shall have received a majority of all the votes cast for and against it at such election; and all moneys raised by authority of such law shall be applied only to the specific object therein stated or to the payment of the debt thereby created, and such law shall be published in at least one newspaper in each county, or city and county, if one be published therein throughout the State for three months next preceding the election at which it is submitted to the people. The Legislature may at any time after the approval of such law by the people, if no debts shall have been contracted in pursuance thereof, repeal the same.

It may be said that the imposition of this limitation on the power of the State Legislature of California is the work of the people of that State, and this is no doubt true. But the very idea of Federation connotes the giving up to the Federal Authority some part of the sovereignty of the States, and also the definition by the Constitution of the functions and powers of the Federal Government. The necessity for a written Constitution and for a supreme Judicial Authority to adjudicate upon the constitutionality of the State laws is by some considered a weakness of Federalism. It seems clear, however, that there cannot be a true Federal system without these limitations. The method of constitutional amendment gives ample scope for Federal development.

Nothing is more necessary than making proper provision to secure the financial soundness both of the Federation and of the States. Financial weakness in any of the States is an injury to the whole commonwealth, dominion, or empire; and considering that as civilisation is advancing the functions of the State are increasing, and at a more rapid rate than the evolution of a State conscience, what can the citizen of the future do if heavy burdens are to be laid on posterity?

It may well be questioned whether it was wise for the Colonies to come under the Consolidated Stock Acts and abolish sinking funds; so long as a colony is borrowing, the paying back to a sinking fund is a useless financial transaction. But surely States should be able to perform their functions by means of their own revenues without relying on borrowed money, unless in the case of such loans as are practically investments that will pay interest; and few State investments ever do this. How then are the loans to be repaid if no provision is to be made for sinking funds? Is not this burdening posterity with liabilities it may ill be able to bear?

The great difficulty that has to be met in Australasian Federation lies in the department of finance. The Convention of Delegates at Sydney touched this subject very gingerly. In New Zealand Federation with Australasia is favoured now by most of our commercial men, by many farmers, and by some manufacturers; but they recognise that it is unattainable unless some mode of liquidating the interest and sinking funds of the debts of the various States is distinctly formulated.

There is one other point that may be worth considering in this connection, and that is whether a Federal Constitution, such as is proposed for the Australasian Commonwealth, should provide for the withdrawal of States from the Federation. Every such Constitution must make provision for the necessity arising from time to time for constitutional amendments; but I think it might with reason be contended that certain essential provisions should be deemed fundamental and unalterable without the consent of all the States, and that a

State refusing to accept a proposed change in any such fundamental provision should have the right to withdraw. Such a provision in the proposed Australasian Constitution would be a safeguard, and might induce New Zealand to join the Federation. Our experience of amendments of the Constitution has been such that many of our people will demand such a safeguard for the preservation of their rights.

English statesmen are perhaps placed at some disadvantage in considering the subject of Federation, for they have no English precedents to guide them. If any scheme were to be tried for the government of the Empire or any of the disaffected parts of it, it is impossible to predict what the experiment might lead to. There is, for example, the Irish difficulty to be dealt with. We colonists as a rule favour Home Rule, for we cannot help asking ourselves the question why should not the Irish people have as much control over their affairs as we have over ours? Few if any would like to see the separation of Ireland from England. The Irish in the colonies as a mass would certainly not like to be treated as foreigners having no part or lot in the Empire and nothing to do with the Colonies. But when we come to ask ourselves what form of Home Rule should be granted to Ireland, we discover how vague our notions are on the subject. And it seems doubtful whether even those Liberal statesmen who favour Home Rule have formulated any complete and logical scheme; certainly none such has yet been promulgated by them. Have they pictured to themselves what form the Government of the Empire is to assume if Home Rule is granted to Ireland? Are they prepared to concede to Ireland the same autonomy that is enjoyed by the Colonies having Constitutional Government? And if not, is any other course open to them but to promulgate some scheme of Federation for the Empire? One thing is certain, that the granting of a local Parliament to Ireland would not be a final settlement of the problem, but rather the opening up of a much wider and more difficult question.

In these times of much theorising on government and of constitution building, this record of the results of actual experience in New Zealand may be of some value.

ROBERT STOUT.

SHALL UGANDA BE RETAINED?

UGANDA is a remanet left by the late Government for the disquieting of their successors. The perplexing questions which it raises ought to have been settled by Lord Salisbury before he quitted office; but, after the fashion of a skilful billiard player, his Lordship preferred to leave the board in such a condition as to embarrass the game of his rival. This may not be chivalry, but it is politics. To the Ministry belongs the next move, but neither they nor the Liberal party have any responsibility for the situation in Uganda. It is their misfortune, not their fault, that they have to deal with this *damnosa hæreditas*. This plea will certainly not avail in extenuation or arrest of judgment, but it cannot be left out of sight in a discussion of the subject. It will, at least, afford a reason for refusing to treat this as a mere party issue on which the fate of a Ministry is to turn. If Lord Salisbury was content to leave the matter hung up for months in face of the known intention of the East Africa Company to withdraw, he cannot with any consistency now elevate it into an affair of high Imperial policy which is to be made the battle-field of party. The Ministry are, in fact, seeking to repair the consequences of his own policy. If difficulties arise owing to the changes necessitated by the withdrawal of the Company and the interregnum which may possibly follow, they are of his making, and the least to be expected is that he and his friends shall treat the whole discussion as outside the region of party politics.

He must be an extremely sanguine man, and at the same time very imperfectly versed in the methods of political warfare, who can hope for this. The Ministry, however, may, with perfect honour, take this position, and may reasonably decline to stake their existence upon the policy which appears to them expedient in the perplexities of a situation they have done nothing to create. No doubt there are limits beyond which such a refusal cannot be carried. It is easy to conceive of circumstances which would elevate what at present seems but a secondary matter into one of paramount importance. But while the existing conditions continue there is no obvious reason why a Government which has been chosen for the purpose of dealing with questions of vital interest to the Empire should stake its existence upon an issue which, in its present form, is so subordinate.

At the same time, it is essential that the Liberal party should clearly recognise that, sooner or later, the responsibility for any action that may be taken will come upon them. If the Egyptian imbroglio have taught them nothing else, it must surely have shown them that while their opponents will be ready enough to cheer them on in any unwise Jingo procedure, they will be even more ready to make capital out of any misadventure. If they are wise, Liberals will eschew such a policy. It is alien to their principles, and they will not carry it out successfully; nothing surely is more surprising than that Radicals with Socialist proclivities should declare themselves in favour of an aggressive Imperialism. It is not easy to see how the appropriation by this country of territory in Africa can be reconciled with the principles of Collectivism, and it is tolerably certain that if the attention of the people be called away to what Lord Wentworth calls 'buccaneering expeditions,' the social reforms so much needed at home may be postponed till the Greek Kalends.

There are Radicals who hold that in opposing these aggressive tendencies they are showing the truest patriotism. They believe that it is neither territory nor prestige, but righteousness, which exalteth a nation. They may not adopt the full creed of the extreme Peace party, but they disbelieve in the greatness which rests on military force, and they hold that the maxim '*Parcere superbis, debellare subjectos*,' is that of the bully, not of the hero. They are distinctly of opinion that the empire is already more than sufficient to tax the resources of Great Britain, and that any extension, even when it seems to be forced on by circumstances, is of extremely doubtful benefit. They see evils which have already grown up out of the wide extent of our territory. India, for example, has brought with it wellnigh as much of responsibility as of glory; and though we cannot escape the burden which has been laid upon us, there is abundant reason why we should not add to it by grasping at supremacy in another Continent. There is surely no lack of patriotism in this estimate of our national position and duties. It admits at least of full justification on broad political grounds. The vastness of its empire may well become a danger to a State, if only by the creation of a class of men accustomed to rule, and alien in spirit from the people whose authority they represent. To multiply 'prancing pro-consuls,' who return home to carry out in domestic politics the arbitrary principles on which they have acted in our dependencies, is not a wise, and may prove not to be a safe, policy. We have so many of this type that there is no manifest necessity for providing another field in which they may be trained for the effective service of the party of reaction at home.

Captain Lugard is a characteristic specimen of the class to which I refer, and his intimate connection with the Uganda question, first as a prominent actor in the whole of the proceedings in that country,

and subsequently as their defender, entitles him to our special study. He is, doubtless, a gallant dashing officer, though it must in fairness be said that there has been nothing in Uganda to test his courage. It does not need a very brave or very skilful man to deal with a savage chief and his people, and the qualities which were required, and in which the Captain did not show himself lacking, were not quite so admirable. His main qualification is his implicit faith in the destiny of England and in himself as the representative of her power. A man of less absolute confidence in himself would have been hampered by many scruples, but they do not seem ever to have troubled him. He is a Captain in the British Army, but he was in Uganda as an agent of a private Company, not as the servant of the Crown. Even had he been acting in the latter capacity, that would hardly have given him the right to commit the Government without previous consultation. But he was as loftily superior to such considerations as he was indifferent to the influences which might have restrained a man of a different stamp from extorting a treaty from a defenceless barbarian by a terrorism utterly unworthy the representative of a powerful nation. Apparently he trusted in the readiness of his fellow-countrymen to forgive his high-handed action, provided they could be made to believe that it was for the glory of the nation. In this he has evidently been shrewd in his calculations. There are some of his deeds which should call the blush of shame to the cheek of every true patriot, but they seem to have been condoned in view of the eminent service he is supposed to have rendered.

For the majority, who know nothing of these transactions except through the columns of the newspapers, there is the excuse of ignorance. The story was hidden in reports and Blue-books until it was dragged from its obscurity by Mr. Labouchere, who in the pages of *Truth* has related the whole of the transactions, including the attempt to bamboozle the House of Commons by mutilating the reports presented by the gallant Captain. The suppressed passages, which are restored to their proper places, are eminently instructive reading, not only as revealing the character of the man, but also as pouring a flood of light upon the methods too often adopted with uncivilised people and on the real value of the treaties by which we are supposed to be bound. For it is not suggested that the Captain was less humane than other members of his class, or that he had recourse to violence from which others would have shrunk. He was evidently saturated with an idea of British superiority; but that was not peculiar to him or even to the profession of which he is an ornament.

The British East Africa Company is responsible for the acts of Captain Lugard, and, so far as we can judge from the language of its members in the House of Commons and in the public press, is perfectly ready to endorse them. In the Charter conferred on that

Company is to be found the *fons et origo mali*. The quiet work of the missionaries, especially those of the Church Missionary Society, was being prosecuted with great earnestness and heroic courage, with many fluctuations, but with encouraging signs of progress, when this trading Company obtained the right to carry on its enterprises within the 'sphere of British influence.' As stated in the original prospectus, the Royal Charter by which the Company was incorporated gave it the full right to hold and retain the full benefit of the several grants, concessions, agreements and treaties, which had been made with various chiefs, these being mainly concessions from the Sultan of Zanzibar—

whereby they have transferred to the Company for a term of fifty years, computed from October last, all the powers and authority, governmental and other rights, exercised by them over the territory lying between Wapga and Kipini, which is recognised by the Anglo-German Treaty of 1886 as forming part of the country reserved exclusively for British influence, to be carried out in manner provided by such concessions.

The transaction deserves careful study. The representatives of Germany and England agree that their respective peoples will, in order to avoid collision, confine their operations within certain defined limits. It is manifest that no such agreement can create any right for either of these powers, and it must be added, in view of an argument which is very frequently urged, that neither can it impose an obligation on either of them to take any positive action within its sphere of influence. To the promoters of the British East Africa Company this presented an opening, and they resolved to avail themselves of its opportunities. They had the concession from the Sultan of all that is implied in his own suzerainty, and they had the assent of their own Government to make the best of the rights they secured. Their next business was with the King and his chiefs, and the way in which they extorted from the unhappy monarch the treaty under which they have since professed to act is told in a singularly graphic and, it must be added, perfectly frank manner by Captain Lugard himself:—

A warm discussion arose on many points. Then the chiefs were for signing, but the King held back, and giggled and fooled. He demanded time. I replied by rapping the table, and, speaking loudly, said he must sign now. I threatened to leave the next day if he did not, and possibly to go to his enemies. I pointed out to him that he had lost the southern half of his kingdom to the Germans by his previous delay, and that he would lose more if he delayed now. He was, I think, scared at my manner, and trembled very violently, and was on the point of signing when a rabble with guns, which crowded the doorway, threatened, I understand, to shoot the first man who signed, shouting that they were selling their country. I had increased my Soudanese escort to twenty men, and they were drawn up on one side with fixed bayonets. Seeing that an immediate signature was hopeless, I said that to-morrow being Christmas Day we would not act on it, but the day following I must have his reply. On Christmas Day there was much excitement

and dissension, and a fight seemed imminent; but late at night I heard that the Catholic chiefs had agreed to sign, and that the King would do so too. . . .

It can surprise none of our readers to learn that this account, which, as has been well said, reads very much like a despatch of Pizarro as to his doings in Peru, was one of the passages marked in red ink which the Company were desirous to have cancelled in the Report as presented to Parliament. Sir William Harcourt, however, was able to quote it in the debate on the Mombasa Railway in March last, and it should have been sufficient to reveal the true character of this grand philanthropic movement for the civilisation of Africa and the suppression of the slave trade. To prevent misunderstanding, let me say I have no intention of casting any reflection on the motives of Sir W. Mackinnon and his fellow-directors. They do not attempt, in their prospectus, to represent their work as of a purely benevolent and disinterested character. On the contrary, they dwell on points which might be expected to attract investors who were looking for desirable securities and large dividends.

From a political and commercial point of view the countries in question occupy a position of very exceptional importance, and treaties or agreements with native chiefs are being made on behalf of the Company, whereby large tracts of their inland territory are to be placed under the Company to be held in perpetuity with sovereign, territorial, and other rights. The directors anticipate valuable results from the Company's contemplated trading operations. At present, owing to the want of other means of transport, *that trade is chiefly carried on by the agency of slave labour*. It is anticipated that as trade is developed by the construction of roads, by the navigation of the rivers and lakes of the interior, and by facilitating communication with the coast, the present use of slave labour and slavery generally will disappear, civilisation will be extended, *and the means adopted in attaining such objects will prove financially beneficial to the Company*.

This is a sufficiently frank and complete exposition of the views of the directors. Rightly or wrongly, they believe

that the development of East Africa should not be a work of any great length of time, and with careful administration and the advantages which that country is believed to possess for a large and lucrative trade, the operations of the Company should prove not only a financial success but a national benefit.

This faith must surely have been seriously disturbed or the Company would not now be withdrawing from operations in which was the promise of such great financial results; unless, indeed, we are to credit the directors, in addition to their many other virtues, with a patriotism so lofty that it will not allow them to appropriate to themselves profits which ought to be reaped by the nation. So far I should assuredly agree with them. If the work sketched out in the prospectus is to be undertaken at all, it should be by the Government, and not by any chartered company. To represent this grand scheme for getting possession of a wide territory, laying hold of the customs and taxes which are levied, constructing a railway and increasing the

facilities of communication generally as a purely philanthropic enterprise, is a mere trifling with public credulity. The utmost suggested is that slavery and the slave trade will gradually disappear under the influence of advancing commerce and civilisation. In such a result the promoters would rejoice in common with all friends of humanity, and I should be the last to deny, with Sir Fowell Buxton and some of his colleagues, that it was one of the principal inducements to enter upon the work. But the mixture of philanthropy and trade is always a trifle embarrassing, and is apt to be extremely fractious. Without impeaching the motives of the directors it is abundantly clear that it was likely to prove so in the present case.

At all events in the first stage, the benevolent element is altogether wanting. Captain Lugard standing over the chief, whose very ignorance and weakness ought to have constituted an effective claim on his forbearance, and forcing him to accept a treaty which he but imperfectly understood, and as far as he understood did not like, is hardly a typical example of a Christian philanthropist. What is surprising, and what may to some extent serve as an apology for him, is that he is extolled so highly by some who might have been expected to appreciate the moral aspects of his proceedings.

It is impossible (says Mr. Joseph Thompson) to over-estimate the value of the work accomplished by Captain Lugard or the results that will ensue, not only for Uganda, but for all the lands that circle it, if it be but continued.

Is it to be assumed that this distinguished traveller and philanthropist desires that this work of plundering native chiefs (for this is the actual meaning of the enforced treaty) is to be prosecuted until the supremacy of the white man is established in East Africa as it has been in other parts of the world? If this be the view of calm spectators, then Captain Lugard is relieved from personal responsibility, since it is shared by all who have got this extraordinary conception of the destiny of the British race. We hear a good deal of the duty of our country towards these feeble folk. The Rev. Horace Waller goes off into a gush of emotion over Lord Rosebery's magnificent setting of this country's duty towards the poor nations of the earth, and with whom God has placed us in bond. 'I made every one leave the room at the Foreign Office a better Englishman than he entered it.' The reference is to his Lordship's reply to the deputation from the Anti-Slavery Society—a very unfortunate one as I venture to think. Be this as it may, he must have an extraordinary conception of England's duty towards these poorer races who can approve a policy the first step of which is to despoil them of their territory. For myself I disbelieve in the stability or the real value of relations which begin with such flagrant wrong-doing.

It is impossible, even for purposes of present argument, to regard these treaties (there are, we are told, seventy-five of them in all) as

belonging to the dead past, for they are appealed to as the basis of an obligation under which we are supposed to be. To what extent Mwanga considered them binding upon him may be learned from Captain Lugard's very suggestive narrative. It is evident that the ink was not dry before the King repented of what he had done, and sought another interview with the view of getting either explanations or modifications. But this was precisely what the Captain did not mean him to get. He had secured his pound of flesh and was resolved not to imperil the precious morsel. 'Consequently, to the present day,' he says, 'I have managed to avoid another interview, and hope to do so until I have the treaty well on its way to the coast.' The astonishing feature in all this is that it never seems to have occurred to this representative of British honour that such a proceeding was neither chivalry nor justice. If he had been dealing with the agent of some European State, he would never have stooped to such expedients. But Mwanga 'is a coward and an irresolute bully.' It is hard to see why Captain Lugard should on this account descend to the level of such conduct as he avows. Mwanga may be all that his British critic says, but that does not justify the latter in constituting himself judge, jury, and executioner, for the purpose of punishing his faults. After all, he was only defending his own inheritance in blissful unconsciousness that he had offended against the Christian people who were seeking to appropriate his rights. But Captain Lugard writes as though he were the Special Commissioner of Heaven invested with authority over him, and his supporters seem to accept this comfortable theory. How they would regard such action were they themselves the victims is a question which does not appear to have suggested itself to the pious sympathisers who have rushed into print in his defence, and some of whom have, with extreme unwisdom, identified the Church Missionary Society with these high-handed proceedings. This is, indeed, the saddest feature of the whole. The dashing and gallant soldier, who has in him a spirit of adventure and a love of supremacy, who is accustomed to assert his authority, and perhaps is accustomed also (the frequent fault of many of our English officers) to regard 'niggers' as inferior beings without any rights, is a not unfrequent product of our military system. But the Church of Christ exists for the purpose of correcting all such tendencies, of inculcating the law of Christian brotherhood, of preaching the Gospel of Love to all men. If its influence is not to be employed on behalf of the weak and the oppressed, and, above all, if it is to accept the aid of force and injustice in the hope that its own power may thus be maintained, it needs to learn the very alphabet of Divine wisdom which its Master came to teach.

The value of the treaties extorted from these unwilling savages would not be worth discussing were it not that they are continually produced as a reason for our occupation of the country. For, in the

first place, what authority had Captain Lugard to pledge a Government of which he was in no true sense a representative? It is urged, indeed, that they have been ratified in the Foreign Office, and consequently are valid. The precedent is an extremely dangerous one. But let that pass. Is it, it must next be asked, gravely maintained that because an African chief has been cajoled or coerced into a surrender of his rights, by the agent of an English trading company, the nation is bound, without regard to any question of justice or expediency, of its own interests, or the rights of the other party, to hold fast by these acquisitions? There may be those who tell us that our position in Uganda has been evidently made for us by God Himself, who has thus indicated that, to use Mr. Thompson's very confident language, 'it is a national duty to see that as many as possible of the waste places of the earth should be secured for the coming generation.' Personally I decline to accept such interpretations of the ways of Providence, or such a theory of the duty to be laid upon this 'wearied Titan.' What might be our feeling if the natives were anxiously seeking to place themselves under the British protectorate need not be examined here, since all the evidence at our command points to an entirely opposite conclusion. Not to dwell upon Captain Lugard's confessed unwillingness to meet Mwanga again, and his anxiety to despatch this precious document, lest an attempt should be made to change its terms, we have the following notable codicil signed by the King and his chiefs:—'An agreement we now make between the white man and ourselves, and I also in my own person, King Mwanga, the Sultan, and all its territories, make another agreement, viz., should another white man greater than this one come up afterwards, these words shall be wiped out, and we make another.'

It needs some effrontery to tell the British nation that this is a treaty which constrains them to be masters of Uganda. By whom is the constraint imposed? Certainly not by the King, who repents the deed as soon as it is done, and who is so far from regarding his act as irrevocable that he tries to safeguard himself by a secret stipulation that when a stronger white man shall come, he may enter into another treaty with him. To say that we are honourably bound to avail ourselves of any concession obtained simply by *force majeure* is very much as if the wolf were to maintain that he had entered into some compact with the lamb, and left him no option except to devour him. Not indeed that Mwanga has any resemblance to a lamb, or that he is at all likely to submit with complacency to the fate designed for him by Captain Lugard. Mackay gives the following suggestive account of the people:—'In the eyes of every Muganda, the axis of the earth sticks visibly out through the roof of the conical hut of their king, or, as they call him, Kabaka. More than once this very Kabaka has asked me if there is any other power in the world equal to his. No one saying that there exists even one kingdom greater

than that of Mtesa would be listened to for a moment at the court of Uganda.'

It is the successor of this very Mtesa described by Mackay as 'a weak, vain, and vicious man, a worse and altogether weaker man,' with less influence and more violence than his father, who is supposed to have played this singularly complaisant part, and, as is implied in the argument, to be anxious now for us to assert our authority. It is such talk as this that creates the impression so prevalent among foreigners, which is embodied in the phrase *perfide Albion*. How keen would be our criticisms on French and German statesmanship if it had recourse to such transparent sophistry! Is it impossible for us to apply such criticism honestly and thoroughly to ourselves? Better, after all, a bold avowal that we mean to protect or annex Uganda, believing that it would be for the good of the people, than to descend to the miserable hypocrisy of pretending that we are bound by treaties. The East Africa Company is withdrawing—let it take its shameless agreements with it. It would be for the honour of the British name if they and the story connected with them could be consigned to oblivion.

Looking at the account contained in Captain Lugard's own despatches—and it is on them entirely that our case is based—it is not surprising that Lord Wentworth enters his protest first against buccaneering expeditions, and then against the Liberal party being committed to them. How far he is justified on the latter point may be gathered from the instinctive fear that Mackay expresses:

If we had another Gladstone Government again, he [Gladstone] would give it [the African Protectorate] up; worse than all, undo the only good done, as in the Transvaal neighbourhood.

The missionary's view of the spirit and aim of Liberal policy is evidently in accord with that of the politician. Liberalism, at all events, should lend no countenance to the buccaneer or the Jingo. His Lordship makes a mistake, however, when he brackets the missionary and the buccaneer. A careful perusal of the documents satisfies me that there is more excuse for such an error than might at first be supposed. The lenient, not to say favourable, view of Captain Lugard's proceedings adopted by the representatives of the C.M.S. is amply sufficient to explain it, and their example has been followed by other apologists. It is the union of two forces which, so far from having any real affinity, are antipathetic, which constitutes the difficulty of the present situation. As missionaries in different parts of the world have repeatedly told me, the European trader is one of the greatest hindrances to the success of their work, and when he is accompanied by a military ally, who brings the Maxim gun to support his views, the hindrance becomes a positive danger. With all his hankerings after some bold policy, Mackay himself saw this.

The people (he says) are greedy of gain and jealous for their land, which they fancy we have come to possess, or rather to spy out, with a view to our nation possessing it. We are (he says again) suspected of political aims, and are called spies and pioneers of invasion. Our pupils are believed to be won over to English rule and to be false to their country.

His biographer tells us

that he was constantly suspected by the chiefs and by Mwanga of having other purposes than those of teaching—in fact, of some secret understanding with the Government of England to obtain possession of the country.

This was long before Captain Lugard and his Company had shown how much reason the natives had for their jealous suspicions. The missionary, whose devoted life has thrown such a glamour over the Uganda mission that it is difficult to get a judicial estimate of its methods and results, is the witness on whom I should rely to prove that one of the greatest dangers to which missions can be exposed is even the semblance of an association between them and trading speculations or buccaneering expeditions. A more compromising ally than Captain Lugard he could not easily find.

It is necessary, however, to say that no worse policy could be pursued by those who are anxious to keep the country free from these Uganda complications than to attack the missionaries. One of the keenest and cleverest writers on the subject gives himself and his cause away by reckless statements on this point the only result of which could be the strengthening of the very sentiment which he should be most anxious to repress. The aim of the opponents of the Jingo policy should be to convince the friends of Christian missions that that policy would be as fatal to their success as it is in direct antagonism to their principles. If, on the contrary, a hostile and even cynical attitude is taken, and attempts are made to impugn the motives of Christian missionaries and their supporters, and in general to misrepresent their character and work, the natural effect must be to lead them to throw their sympathies on the opposite side. The result in the end will be disastrous to themselves, but in the meantime the strong force which they are able to command will be enlisted on the side of Imperialism. It is worse than useless, it is indeed the same kind of infatuation which led the Whigs, according to Sheridan's well-known *bon mot*, to build brick walls in order that they might run their heads against them, for men who are engaged in dissuading their country from a perilous enterprise to indulge in some *obiter dicta* which are sure to cause those whom they are most desirous of winning obstinately to close their ears against them, ~~charm~~ they never so wisely. For myself, I am prepared to maintain that there is no work which at the present moment is calling forth more of noble resolve, high and courageous purpose, and heroic devotion, and for which more real sacrifice is made, than the work of

Christian missions. Those who sneer at it do not understand either the spirit of its supporters at home or of its workers abroad. If they knew them better they would honour them more. This is not the place to discuss the value of Christian missions, and indeed it would require much more than a single article to do justice to the case on their behalf. Apart altogether from blessings which they confer on heathen nations, their ennobling influence on the Christianity of our own country is simply of priceless value. I can easily understand the sneers with which a statement like this is met. They are sneers which come from those who contemplate the men and their work from the outside, and practically know nothing of that which they treat thus contemptuously.

The Church Missionary Society holds a high and honourable position among our missionary societies, and its Uganda Mission is regarded by itself with special affection. It would be simple impertinence for an outsider to indite eulogies which are absolutely needless of the spirit and work of this great Society. It bears on its record the names of men who are amongst the true saints and heroes of the Church, and it can point to successes which might well form new chapters in the Acts of the Apostles. Gratefully would all lovers of Christian missions acknowledge the extraordinary impetus it has given to missionary zeal and effort by its example in recent years.

But I venture to think that by its action in Uganda it has run the risk of seriously compromising its own character and position. It is natural enough that men trained in the principles and traditions of a State Church should incline to a policy in some respects differing from that of communities which have been nurtured in the air of liberty and in the virtue of self-dependence. But while making all due allowance for this, it is somewhat astonishing that Christian men can really believe that the interests of their religion are likely to be advanced by such action as that of the East Africa Company, through its most conspicuous representative. The greatest missionaries of modern times have surely been those who have been absolutely independent of such extraneous helps. In the story of African missions there is no nobler name than that of Robert Moffat, but he trusted simply in the God whom he served. There rises up before my mind's eye now the figure of that true spiritual hero as I saw and heard him at the first meeting at which he ever spoke in England. For seven and twenty years he had been separated from his people and from his native land, and, far away in the very heart of Africa, had been making a people and training them for Christ. Through all that long period he carried his life in his hand, and patiently worked on, his very name hardly known beyond a small circle of friends at home. To me that is the truer ideal of a missionary than the man who is full of large ideas of the mission of his country, ever speculating on the comparative merits of different lines of policy, sighing for British

protectorates, and thus, with or without his own purpose, becoming continually involved in tangled controversies, which it should be his business rather to avoid.

The Church Missionary Society in its statement of the case of Uganda, a statement which I venture to think touches on various points with which a missionary society has no business to concern itself, very properly disclaims any responsibility for the interference of this country in the civil affairs of Uganda. It says very truly :

It is not the missionaries who so interfered.† They never appealed to the country or advanced the *civis Romanus* theory; not when their brethren, not when their bishop was murdered; not when they were robbed and driven from their homes; not when their converts were martyred. It is the Chartered Company, a company enjoying, in a sense, the commission of the nation by the action of which the honour of England is pledged. There is no escape from this; for the natives of Uganda cannot be expected to discriminate between Imperial agents and the agents of a company.

These last remarks are true, and if they prove anything show the peril of giving to companies a position which must ultimately involve the responsibility of the nation itself. But why a missionary society should think it thus necessary to instruct the country as to its political duties, and, above all, why it should throw its ægis over a policy it did not initiate, is a point I cannot understand. Heretical as it may sound, I am absolutely unable to see what special injury would accrue to the missionaries if they were to be left in exactly the same position in which the East Africa Company found them. In its minute the Church Missionary Society says that, if that authority be withdrawn, it is impossible for the missionaries or the inhabitants of the country to return to their former relations with the ruling power whenever such power is re-established. The old system has been swept away, and with it the relation which the missionaries formerly occupied to the King and the people. It is possible, or even probable, that the withdrawal of all English force might, for a time, complicate the relations between the missionaries and the people; but this only shows the evil inseparable from the establishment of these relations at all, and especially shows the false position in which the missionaries have placed themselves by their close association with Captain Lugard. It is, however, strange, to say the least, that the English people should be expected to undertake the responsibility of repairing any mistakes that have thus been committed. But is not the Society—when anticipating so unfortunate a result—forgetting the exact character of the relations between the missionaries and the King prior to the entry of the East African Company upon the scene? The impression derived from the Life of Mackay, an impression which could be verified by many extracts, is that they could not well have been more unsatisfactory. The King regarded the missionaries with continued suspicion, and they

on their side were living in perpetual apprehension of more violent measures. Even under the reign of Mtesa they had an amusing fable of the favourite cat of a king, who ate up in succession all his eggs, his fowls, his cows, his people, his wives and his children, except one favourite son who succeeded in killing the cat, in whose body he found the royal possessions and the royal family. The wonderful cat was the English, while Mackay in particular was one of the princes who was inside the cat, and whose first impulse on his escape was to attack his deliverer. The story is sufficiently absurd, but it is indicative of the bitterness of the feelings of the natives to the English in general, and to Mackay in particular. After the accession of Mwanga things went from bad to worse, and the missionaries felt themselves continuously exposed to some outburst of violence on the part of the King. But the secret of all the trouble was the King's anxiety about his kingdom. Even the death of Bishop Hannington may be traced to this. Mwanga fancied he was a Mahdi bent on conquest. But if a crisis should come, and a question were to arise whether the missionaries should retire or should be maintained in their position by Maxim guns and bayonets, there ought to be no doubt as to the decision. To violate the rights even of an uncivilised race for the purpose of protecting Christian teachers is an extraordinary method for propagating the Gospel.

It will doubtless be said that this is the last thing which the supporters of Christian missions would desire; but to what else does it come? It is certainly very curious to note the delusions which Christian men seem able to practise upon themselves. Thus we are told that one of the fundamental principles of the Society is that the Committee and its missionaries must keep clear of politics. But what is their minute except one long protest against 'the narrow, silly, and parochial view of national duty and responsibility,' which is taken by those who hold that any attempt to set up British influence in Uganda would be false in principle and disastrous in its results? The epithets indeed do not appear in the minute itself, but in the introduction to the Appeal, and they are in harmony with the whole tone of the document. They show only the weakness of the case in whose behalf they are employed. They are the kind of weapons which are freely used in the less worthy kinds of political warfare. Yet here they are hurled by men who profess an absolute superiority to politics against an honest view of national duty, put forth by those who are as conscientious in their opinions and as zealous for Christian missions as they are themselves.

It is worth while considering what the policy is to which these contemptuous adjectives are applied. They are natural enough in a purely Jingo document, but surely unadulterated Jingoism is out of place in an authorised document of the Church Missionary Society. If any view of our national policy can properly be described as 'silly,' it

is that which begins with the assumption that a regard for the interests of the Empire in its present vastness is 'parochial.' A wonderful parish, indeed, is that which includes rising and vigorous states in Australia, the enormous territories embraced by the Dominion, the provinces already held in South Africa, and, to crown all, what is pleasantly called our great dependency in India. The Imperialist passion must be strong indeed—strong to the verge of fanaticism—which regards the government of this large proportion of the globe as mere parochialism, and sighs for new regions to conquer and administer. The prospect of repeating in Africa the achievements of John Company and adding another continent to our dominions may be tempting to many, but if it has its allurements there certainly are manifest difficulties in it, which might well cause the stoutest heart to pause before entering on so gigantic an undertaking. Apart altogether from the objections which a scrupulous Christian conscience might raise, it is, at least, possible that there may be men of sagacity and even of daring who would share these hesitations, and who, taking a calm and dispassionate survey of the whole situation, insist that such an extension of the Empire would be an injury and not a blessing. It may be true that Great Britain has still vast resources on which to draw, and can still find soldiers to conquer and statesmen to administer. For the present, however, her energies seem to be sufficiently taxed, and the great tasks already devolving upon her inadequately performed. The Legislature distinctly evades the duties entailed on it by the vast territories over which it is supreme. The neglect of Indian affairs is little short of a scandal, the only apology for which is to be found in the overmastering pressure of public business under which Parliament is at present crushed. The result necessarily is the growth of a bureaucracy, which, as the precedent of old Rome warns us, may yet become a danger to constitutional liberty. To attempt to discredit all opposition to a policy which would encumber us with the administration of another empire, with an entirely new series of anxious problems to settle, and another group of turbulent nationalities to control, by branding it as 'parochial,' is more than silly—it has in itself the worst faults of parochialism. For at the root of it is the quiet assumption that the one way of civilising the world is to bring it under the British sceptre.

Is it said that it can only be by a stretch of the imagination that so large a question as that of our African policy is mixed up with such a trifle as the continuance of British influence in Uganda? The answer is obvious. It is only when regarded as a necessary part of a far-reaching policy that the retention of Uganda can excite any enthusiasm. Indeed, looked at in any other light, it is hard to see what attractions the country can possess. Confessedly, it has little to offer to the merchant. It does not desire what we have to sell, and, with the exception of ivory and rubber, it has nothing to offer us in

return. Captain Lugard, indeed, is reported in one of his speeches to have referred to a taste for white donkeys and opera-glasses which the Katihiro (a kind of Prime Minister) was manifesting as an encouraging sign for the future. He must have got a hint from a *portier* at the Triberg Hotel, whom I heard in heated discussion, and who, being annoyed at the complaints of an irate American because he could not get donkeys for the ladies of his party, angrily replied, 'Sir, we have no donkey; you expect too much civilisation.' Possibly others may not share the sanguine view that a taste for white donkeys and opera-glasses indicates such progress in civilisation as to give promises of a trade in the future. The fact is apparent from the statements made by those most anxious to establish an opposite conclusion that the lord of castles in Spain is not more of a visionary than the speculator in the commercial prosperity of Uganda. There are, of course, philanthropic considerations which ought to have more weight than any beggarly calculations of mercantile profit. This nation has already made great sacrifices with the view of abolishing the slave trade. Whether, in addition to maintaining its naval squadrons for this purpose, it is prepared also to establish protectorates over peoples who desire to retain their independence, is open to discussion. The operation would be a costly one, and is open to grave moral objections. Philanthropy which begins by taking your neighbour's land in order that he may be prevented from pursuing wrong courses is, to say the least, of a somewhat doubtful complexion. In the present case, it is open to the additional objection that the first effect of its interference would be to aggravate the very evil it is intended to remedy. The construction of a great railway would be the first step in the development of the country, which at present can only be reached with extreme difficulty and after a journey of months. But that railway must be made by slaves, since free labour is not available. There is a calculation that as the work progressed a larger proportion of free labour might be attracted. But that increase is an extremely uncertain element. What is certain is that the railway which is to get rid of slavery and the slave trade must be very largely, and in its first stages exclusively, the work of slaves.

Nothing is more surprising in this whole matter than the strange glamour which seems to be over so many in relation to this matter. A railway which would cost millions, and which has not the slightest prospect of earning even a moderate dividend, and hardly indeed of paying the costs of management, to say nothing of interest on capital, which would have to be carried through wild regions and be exposed to the frequent raids of savage tribes, is spoken of as lightly as though it were a suburban line for which the traffic was already waiting. So with Mr. Cecil Rhodes's notable scheme for a grand telegraphic line from north to south of Africa, which is to pay such pleasant dividends and to accomplish such extraordinary results. To an inquirer who

ventured to ask how the poles were to be maintained, the answer was given in all seriousness that the Arabs were so much in awe of the white man's whisper that they would not dare to touch them. *Credat Judæus!* Strange to say, there are numbers who will believe this or any other flattering tale that may be told them. Most credulous of all surely are those who fancy that the interests of Christian missions will be advanced by a policy at every step of which the white man, and his religion with him, will become more obnoxious to those whom they are desirous to convert.

Want of space prevents from touching at all upon the struggle between Protestants and Catholics and the parts played by Captains Lugard and Williams in connection with it. Suffice it to say that these dissensions themselves might well make the British Government pause before accepting a position which is pretty certain to bring them into conflict with a section of their own subjects, and possibly also with the Government of France. As I write the walls are covered with placards anent a new Egyptian crisis. Is it not enough to have Egypt and the Soudan on our hands, without encumbering ourselves with a fresh African difficulty? Lord Rosebery is an extremely able statesman, and has already given proofs of his firmness and his promptitude. He will earn the gratitude of the country if, while discharging every honourable obligation that has been incurred, and at the same time providing for the safety of the missionaries, he is able to keep the country free from engagements which are sure ultimately to embarrass and to hamper the Government. Of course, those who take this view will be charged with wishing to belittle England. It is a well-worn cry which we can afford to treat with indifference. Personally I was never in sympathy with the views of the extreme Manchester school. But the longer I live the more strongly do I feel the peril of that Imperialist policy which lowers instead of exalting the nation whose name it associates with deeds of high-handed aggression.

J. GUINNESS ROGERS.

WHAT IS 'FASHION'?

‘But seest thou not what a deformed thief this Fashion is?’

I

THERE are few of us who cannot sympathise with that father of a family who wrote once to the Editor of a ladies' paper, begging him to announce that the fashionable bonnet *this* year would be one of *last* year's done up!

The tale may be apocryphal, but it indicates very completely the cost, the tyranny, and the uselessness of fashion. That fashion serves no useful end is indeed the confirmed opinion of a large number of thinking men and women. Called upon to define fashion, they will instantly show that what they understand by the term is a series of frequently recurring changes undetermined by utility. By this they do not mean to affirm that no change of fashion is ever *accompanied* by utility. They merely allege that it is not because a given new departure in dress or what not is *better* that people combine to bring it about, and there is therefore never any guarantee that there will not be a quick recurrence to the state of things upon which the new departure is an improvement.

It is this circumstance which puts a clear line of demarcation between the changes which go to make up Progress and those which constitute Fashion. There is no danger in a progressive country that stage coaches and horses should ever be substituted for railways and steam. But in a fashionable nation changes as retrogressive as these constantly take place.¹

It is this too which gives such precariousness to fashion-regulated industries.

To the producer a new fashion means a change in the wants of the consumers for whom he caters, and it is clear that he will lose or gain just in proportion as he is able to forestall approximately or adapt himself adequately to the changed demand.

But to be able to forecast the demands of the public is only possible if fashion can be reduced to law.

I should be loth to dogmatise, but I fancy the closest study of the history of fashion in the past would fail to evolve any such general laws as would guide the producer to profitable production. There is

¹ Witness the odious farthingale revived for the third time as the crinoline.

no average time, for instance, during which a fashion maintains its ascendancy. In mediæval days, some fashion might last 100 years, while another introduced contemporaneously flourished only thirty. The practice of patching, which began in the reign of Elizabeth, lasted right on into the Hanoverian reigns, reaching its climax, however, under Charles the First, when a young woman in a portrait of that day is shown with a coach and four on her brow, a round spot on her chin, a star on each cheek, and a crescent beneath the left eye. Pointed shoes, when they came in under the Valois kings, remained in one century.

Even when we turn to the origin of fashion we are not much helped.

THE PSYCHOLOGICAL BASIS OF FASHION

For the purpose of this paper it is scarcely necessary to trace with Herbert Spencer the genesis of fashion from the trophy to the badge and from the badge to the distinctive costume.

But his theory of fashion we may partially accept, and, if it does not sound too presumptuous to say so, slightly amend.

All fashion, he points out, is intrinsically imitative, the imitation springing from two widely divergent motives: (a) reverence for one imitated, or (b) desire to assert equality with him. The tendency to please rulers by avoiding any appearance of superiority to them is exemplified over and over again in the annals of courts. The modification of costume adopted by a monarch to hide some defect—a scar on his neck, or an ill-shaped leg—will be adopted by all his courtiers, and will spread downwards.² Tolerance of this kind of imitation helped, says Spencer, to bring about the other kind by which it has been ultimately superseded.³

For nowadays there is very little fashion which is due to reverential imitation. And even if there were, this would scarcely guide producers in determining the character of these products.

It might be easy to divine that if a member of the Royal Family suffering from a sprain limped slightly for some weeks, fatuous fools would at once simulate this limp, and that a shoemaker offering shoes to his customers with one heel higher than the other would reap the reward of his ingenuity.

But no producer, however far-seeing, could forecast the illness or accident which would lead to one member of a royal family limping, or another having to have his head shaved, or a third getting engaged to a high-shouldered bride.

Reverential imitation, then, though an important factor in the

² Full-bottomed wigs were introduced for the purpose of concealing the higher shoulder of a French Dauphin, and short hair on an occasion when Francis the First had to crop his head closely to allow of a wound being dressed.

³ *Ceremonial Institutions*, chap. xi. p. 207.

past, may be put aside as affecting fashion, and what we have to consider is competitive imitation, and later on a factor of which Spencer takes no account, competitive differentiation.

COMPETITIVE IMITATION

Competitive imitation, says Spencer, begins quite as early as the reverential.

Everywhere and always the tendency of the inferior to assert himself has been in antagonism with the restraints imposed on him; and a prevalent way of asserting himself has been to adopt costumes and appliances like those of his superior.

Competitive imitation, then, is imitation with a view to establishing in the eyes of the world that relation to those above one which one desires to claim. Those who are quite in the fashion are supposed to be people who from their wealth or position have early opportunities of seeing and adopting the modifications of dress and taste displayed by those highest up in the scale of rank and means.

Hence, the more rapidly they take on a new fashion, the more likely they are to be classed amongst the wealthy and the 'smart.'

Were we looking at the moral aspects of the matter, we should say this was all silly, disgusting, and hateful, but, as it is the industrial aspects which claim our attention, adjectives can be spared.

The style of dress worn by the wealthy and notable will be quickly adopted by all other classes, and the problem for the producer is to discover what determines the adoption in the first place by this comparatively small class of the given style.

DESIRE FOR DIFFERENTIATION

There is no doubt that the tendency on the part of inferiors to assimilate themselves to their superiors is always in conflict with a tendency on the part of superiors to differentiate themselves from inferiors.¹

They cannot do this through the medium of sumptuary laws, they

¹ When servants take to fringes, ladies put theirs back, and now, when every chimney-sweep is a gentleman, every chairwoman a lady, those who formerly figured under such titles prefer to be called men and women. Up to about the seventeenth century it was possible to tell everyone's position in society by his or her clothes, or even by their colours.

'Oh, Bell my wiffe, why dost thou floute?
Now is nowe, and then was then;
Seeke now all the world throughout,
Thou ken'st not clownes from gentlemen;
They are cladde in black, greene, yellowe, or graye,
Soe far above their owne degree.'

(Song, 'Take thy Old Cloake about thee.')

Permission, however, was accorded to people to dress in a manner above their station if they wore garments given them by their superiors; cf. Montel (*Histoire des divers Etats*, vii. 7).

cannot by pains and penalties prevent other people imitating them, but they can abandon a style when the imitation has spread very far downwards. This they do perpetually; hence that apparent demand for change as change which is always being deplored.

Thus the desire for novelty is no æsthetic one, springing out of an appreciation of contrast—a perpetual seeking after the ideally beautiful—it is simply due to a wish to assert oneself.

To follow fashion is to claim equality, but to be amongst those who initiate it is to assert absolute supremacy.

The cards from which are woven the materials for the court dress of a leader of fashion will be destroyed directly one dress length has been made. The Parisian model bonnet will be delivered to her before it has entered into commerce and has been copied in any milliner's work-room.⁵ Her desire, and that of her fellows, to wear something which the masses have not yet appropriated becomes then a prominent factor in producing the vagaries of fashion. And the only approach to anything like law in the matter will be this: *Changes dictated by a desire for differentiating oneself from the commonalty will be welcome just in proportion as they are extremely violent, and present innumerable difficulties to speedy imitation.*

It is the operation of this law which calls forth those leaps to extremes which have ever provoked the scorn of the satirist. Æsthetic influences, as concurrently determining factors, are not wholly absent, but they operate more to keep a fashion from going out than to bring a new one in. In fact, two conflicting tendencies are ever at work. On the one hand in proportion as a fashion spreads downwards it tends to go out. On the other hand, in proportion as it satisfies the desire for beauty, and is appropriate to the needs of the wearer, it tends to persist. In the unequal conflict between them, it is generally the first tendency which carries the day.

People imagine that æstheticism influences more than it does, because they see the whole civilised world ultimately displaying some style of beautiful dress first worn by a French actress. It has caught the popular taste by reason of its beauty, they suppose. As a matter of fact, people hasten to adopt the particular style because the French stage is one of the recognised channels by which new fashions are launched. No personal taste on the part of the actress may have gone to the assumption by her of this or that gown, and none need be

⁵ The leading dressmakers of modern times will invariably be those who can ensure their clients enjoying, for at least a month or so, a virtual monopoly of some style or fabric. Drapers, too, have to study this desire on the part of customers for things not likely to become hackneyed. 'I have been shown German printed calicoes,' said a witness before the Commission on Depression of Trade, 'which have been sold in England by a large home-trade Manchester firm, simply because the ground-work was a slightly different shade of tobacco colour than the ground or padded work of Manchester printers. The shopkeepers would have the German stuff because it was smaller in supply, and could not be obtained from British competitors.'

exercised by the general public following in her wake. Their power of selection is strictly limited to deciding in favour of one rather than another of the toilettes exhibited by her, and, did all happen to be barbarous, extravagant, and disfiguring, one or other of them would still pass into the current fashions of the moment.

FASHION NOT DUE TO IMITATION

Some manifestations of fashion are not due to imitation at all, but to simultaneous *initiation*. Just as people without any conscious imitation of each other will, in going over a field (if haste be their only object), naturally take an almost identical line across it, till in process of time their steps wear out a footpath, so people on occasion will adopt some uniform fashion because they are affected in some uniform way.

Thus, the introduction of a given style of gown will inevitably lead to a general modification of other details of costume and surroundings.

Falke, in his *Deutsche Trachten und Modenwelt*, mentions that during the period of long wigs, the tulip, stiff and majestic, was the fashionable flower. When skirts are voluminous, full, and made bell-shaped by means of whalebone and hoops, people will naturally tend to give themselves balance, as it were, by making their heads as large as possible, and increasing the size of their sleeves. When long dresses are worn, fancy and elaborate petticoats will be displayed. The inadequacy of the Directory and Empire dresses as regards warmth would necessarily lead to mantillas and scarves; and similarly, when a particular colour craze manifests itself in people's selection of wall papers, the dominant tints in carpets and hangings will tend to be in harmonious relation.

Here at least we should seem to be in touch with phenomena of fashion capable of being predicted. The element of uncertainty, however, is even here not to be got rid of. For instance, experience may have shown us that as sleeves become shorter gloves become longer, and we may assume that a manufacturer who, noting the tendency towards short sleeves, prepared betimes for the production of long gloves would be acting wisely. But lace mittens might conceivably meet the requirements of the case quite as well as lengthened gloves, and another manufacturer who successfully put lace mittens on the market might drive long gloves out of the field.

Then again, take the fashion for stained boards. Before the event who could tell whether this would result in an increased or diminished demand for carpets?

As a matter of fact it has resulted in a lessened production of English carpets and a great demand for Turkey and other foreign

carpets, which, to meet the increased demands, are now made in much changed qualities and have 'admittedly lost much of the beauty of colouring and excellence of make which were formerly such general characteristics of Oriental carpets.'

II

On the whole, fashion may be described as the element of uncertainty run wild, and it is in this light we must view it when considering its effect upon production.

Fashion's progress is marked by sudden transfers of prosperity from one class or locality to another class or locality, and the question is, Are such transfers advantageous to the country at large?

There are plenty of people who will answer with an unhesitating 'yes.' They will say that if such transfers come with sufficient frequency, they tend to diffuse periods of exceptional prosperity over widely separated portions of the industrial field, so that in the course of every few years each group of workers engaged in the production of things which fashion affects will in turn have enjoyed some of this prosperity.

In this way industries will be given an opportunity of expanding to the point where they can avail themselves to the utmost of improved machinery, increased division of labour, and all that economy of manufacture consequent upon some utilisation of waste not till then profitable.

Then, when the wave of fashion recedes, the industry can devote itself to staple production, or will have secured a hold upon foreign markets; while, of those who have been benefited by the times of exceptionally active trade, many will manage to permanently retain the benefit by the judicious use they have made of higher wages and profits. In this manner most men will get that opportunity which is supposed to come to everyone once in his life.

But there is a reverse side to the medal in the fact that every increase of prosperity secured to a class or locality by change of fashion involves a corresponding loss to some other class or locality. The hard times induced by waning fashion may deprive people not only of all the advantages they have gleaned from the exceptionally good times, but of all those also which steady trade had previously bestowed upon them.

Now, as far as the working classes are concerned, it may be taken as an axiom that to descend in the scale of comfort does infinitely more harm than to ascend does good, and that the intensity of the struggle to secure work when work is scarce carries wages far lower down than the keenness of competition to obtain hands when hands are few carries wages up.

HOW LABOUR LOSES

A few instances taken indiscriminately from the commercial history of our own and other countries will make this abundantly clear. In 1852 fashion in France substituted for cheap thread lace a sort of flowered gimp lace of silk and wool.

Wages went up from 5*d.* a day, the normal earnings of the lace-workers, to 3*s.* 4*d.* The time of prosperity, however, was fleeting, and, fashion veering round, the wages of the women dropped suddenly to 10*d.* and 1*s.* 3*d.* a day for highly skilled workers, and in 1862, according to Reybaud, to about 4*d.* a day for the ordinary worker. (Mark, that was 4*d.* against the 5*d.* which had been earned in the days of steady trade.⁶) In 1865 and 1868 a great impetus was given to the Venetian glass industry by the increasing demand for beads, particularly in London.

A great extension of the manufacture took place, the demand for labour considerably exceeded its usual supply, and wages rose so high that all who could do so abandoned their habitual occupation for bead-making. A period of wonderful prosperity was followed by one of corresponding depression. The demand for Venetian beads ceased, and a large number of persons were thrown out of work. Shoemakers, tailors, carpenters, all who had been attracted to the bead manufacture by fancy wages, would have been glad to return to their former employment, but in many cases they found their places filled by new-comers.

The trade societies did their best to relieve the distress, but there were still in August 1869 as many as 500 persons out of work in consequence of the crisis in the bead trade.⁷

Similarly in 1880, when fashion showed a predilection for Brussels and Alençon lace and a distaste for Valenciennes, the peasant girls of Flanders who made this last kind of lace were reduced to miserably insufficient earnings, and endured the greatest privations.⁸

The revived fashion for edelweiss lace was responsible, according to Mr. Mallet, President of the Nottingham Chamber of Commerce, for much of the depression which overtook the Nottingham lace trade a little while back. Similar lace, it is true, had been manufactured in Nottingham forty or fifty years previously, but it had gone so completely out of fashion that not a piece had been made for twenty-five or more years, and the needlewomen who used to make this lace had had to find some other employment.⁹

In 1832 a crisis occurred in the English glove trade, which was ascribed partly to the admission of foreign gloves, but chiefly to the fashion for cotton 'Berlin' gloves.

Many of the distressed operatives, who had been earning from 20*s.* to 30*s.* a week, were reduced to stone-breaking and road-mending—men at 8*d.* a day, women

⁶ Cf. *Le Travail des Femmes* (Leroy Beaulien).

⁷ *Report on the Condition of Industrial Classes*, 1871, lxviii.

⁸ Cf. *Revue des Deux Mondes*, vol. xlii. 1880.

⁹ Cf. *Report of the Commission on Depression in Trade and Industry*.

at 4d.—while some of those deprived of their customary means of livelihood went on the rates.

Again, fashion in 1862 ruined the sewed muslin trade in the North of Ireland. It was stated at the time in a memorial presented to the Queen, that in 1856 there had been employed in this delicate and beautiful branch of industry no fewer than 200,000 women in Ireland and 25,000 in Scotland, the wages of those employed in embroidery alone amounting to 480,300*l.* annually. In 1861 the sum total paid to labour employed in the various details of the manufacture had gone down to 200,000*l.*, as against 700,000*l.* so paid in 1856.

III

A North of England cloth manufacturer,¹⁰ questioned lately about the effects of fashion on the producing classes, wrote as follows:—

I will speak of experiences of my own. One I give is typical of what goes on in the fashion industries. Within half a mile of this place is a large mill, whose proprietor, an ingenious but entirely ignorant man, had successfully imitated with silk, waste, or mohair, or something else, a sealskin. Now, as this article is very expensive, large numbers of foolish people, unable to purchase the real thing but very anxious to follow the fashion and be thought well of, purchased these goods in such quantities that this man got together a considerable fortune in a few years. *He also got together a large number of workers from other industries*, which, though steadier, did not yield quite as much wage. There was no secret in the production, hence other manufacturers entered into competition and prices were run down. This would not matter; but the public, no longer satisfied with the imitation seal, won't have it at any price, the consequence being that the works are closed, and the *workmen's cottages stand empty*.

DIFFICULTY OF TAKING UP EVEN ALLIED EMPLOYMENT

It is all very well to talk glibly of the ultimate adaptation of labour to altered conditions of demand, but the adaptation is imperfect, even when fashion refrains from deserting an industry altogether, and only singles out a special branch for its capricious favour. It is undoubtedly easier for a maker of Valenciennes lace to take to the making of Brussels lace than it would be for a housemaid or a nail and chain maker. The kid-glove machinists could turn more easily to the Astrachan branch of the glove trade than the maker of lace mitts to gloving. Costume hands can go in for mantle work with less effort than could the artificial florists.

But though this sort of adaptation is easier it is *not easy*. The process of adaptation—i.e. taking up the work which is most in demand and most like one's own—requires time; and time is just what fashion does not grant. The adaptation painfully and laboriously effected, away it flits, leaving behind the stern necessity for a fresh adaptation.

¹⁰ Mr. George Thompson, of Woodhouse Mills, Huddersfield.

When one realises all the physical and mental suffering involved in being out of work, one can understand why Ben Tillett and Tom Mann are found urging the recognition of some kind of communal responsibility, making provision for those who are dislodged from their ordinary occupations by changes of fashion. To do away with the tyranny of fashion would, however, be the more desirable consummation.

DEAD SEASON AND OVERTIME

Irregularity of work—that is to say, periods of exhausting and excessive toil alternating with periods of demoralising and profitless idleness—must also be laid to the account of fashion's variations.

Said Mr. Jonathan Peate, giving evidence before the Labour Commission:—

The fickleness of taste and the perpetual occurrence of new demands which cannot be foreseen have made it impossible to distribute the work more easily. The demand for certain classes of goods at fixed periods has ceased altogether. It is now only safe to manufacture to order. To create a stock of goods is most foolhardy.

FASHION MAKES COMMODITIES DEARER

But it may be urged that the displacement of labour which so invariably accompanies sudden changes of fashion must not be held to justify us in condemning fashion, since inventions which no sensible person would wish to check are attended in their first stages by precisely the same phenomenon.

Inventions, however, increase the sum total of production, fashion does not. It simply changes the proportion in which the constituents of the sum total of production stand to each other. Inventions cheapen, fashion makes things dearer.

True, as Roscher points out, the vast demand which fashion brings into play is favourable to enterprise on a large scale and to all the economy in production which the factory system entails. But, on the other hand, fashion and its caprices have to be reckoned with, and the whole advantage of economy in production may be swallowed up by the vicissitudes which attend the getting off of the finished products.

All the probable loss incidental on an adverse change of fashion has to be allowed for (not only by the producer, but by the distributor) in the price of the product. If goods are heavy—that is to say, do not commend themselves to the buyers of large firms—manufacturers are put to the greatest straits to minimise their loss.

Sudden changes of fashion (writes a partner in the great Saltaire alpaca manufacture) are, as you may imagine, a source of annoyance to all manufacturers, and, in cases where the raw material already provided, or the goods already made

do not in any way meet the new requirements, or the machinery already in hand is not adapted to the new fashions, then there is an almost inevitable loss.

Asked further how big firms strove to avert such loss, he answered :

We have not, as you may surmise, quite the same remedy as have the large retail houses with their winter and summer sales. When change of fashion has thrown on our hands a lot of raw material we, in some cases, sell it in that state, if we can see our way to do so without great loss; in other cases we work up the material mixed with other wools, or substitute another kind of warp, or alter the make of the cloth or the style of finish, so as to approximate as near as possible to the exigencies of the moment.* In other words, we do the best we can in each individual case.

But sometimes no best is possible. When the Princess May's engagement to the Duke of Clarence was first announced, manufacturers at once set to work to introduce May blossom into all their season materials. Large quantities of mousselines de laine and brocades were brought out, with a pattern of white May running over them. The sad death of the Prince gave an ill-omened character to such goods, and it taxed all the resources of the dealers to dispose of them.

DIFFICULTY OF MINIMISING LOSS

Now in cases of this kind, where the value of goods is partially destroyed without the goods themselves suffering the least change of form, attempts are often made to foist them on the provinces. In Paris there are houses which buy up everything as it begins to go out of fashion, and then send it into the provinces and to foreign parts.¹¹ But, as I was assured by a courteous representative of Messrs. Debenham's firm, this mode of minimising loss is less effectual than it was. Fashion papers, to say nothing of detailed journalistic descriptions of the toilettes of fashionable personages, keep provincials wide awake. Australia, it is true, takes after-season goods (their midwinter being the time of our midsummer), but she will accept nothing that has not gone off well here. If the price of goods did not on the whole cover these inevitable losses occasioned by fashion, it would cease to be profitable to manufacture.

In the same way the retailer, in fixing his price, has to cover the contingency of having to sell off his unsold stocks at those winter and summer sales which of late years have become such a feature in retail transactions.¹² The first loss is the least loss is the

¹¹ *Principles of Political Economy* (Roscher), vol. ii. 188.

¹² The sales are ceasing to answer their purpose of carrying off surplus stocks in proportion as the circumstances of modern industry make it more vital for the merchant to get rid of them. Purchasers prefer to pay more for goods, or buy inferior qualities and be in the fashion.

experience of firms like Debenham's, Marshall and Snelgrove's, &c., and they will not pay rent for unsaleable articles, but clear off things at any sacrifice.

THE PATTERN SYSTEM

The immense development of the pattern-publishing system, rendering it easy for the public to successfully assimilate new fashion in about the space of six months, is another cause which makes for instability. Butterick's patterns circulate hugely in America, England, and the Colonies, this firm having 175 agencies, mostly amongst drapers, and an organ with a monthly circulation of 500,000. At first the policy of the firm was simply to follow fashion, but now it is endeavouring to lead fashion, and it is barely possible that within certain limits it will realise this ambition. When it does, however, fashion will tend to become more stable again, the differentiating impulse being forced then to find its satisfaction in excellence of quality rather than in any originality of style.

FASHION'S REVERSIONERS

Many people try to show that if the operation of fashion enhances for one set of purchasers the prices of all goods subject to fluctuations through fashion, it at the same time lowers the price of these goods at a subsequent period for another class of purchasers. Goods are bought at sales at prices out of all proportion to their original cost, so those who buy them must gain.

This, however, is a very debateable point. Every woman's experience tells her that dresses and stuffs are bought on these occasions simply because they are cheap, and not because the purchaser really needs them. Now, it was a wise saying of our grandmothers, that 'however little you may pay for a thing, if you don't want it, it is always dear.'

Again, though poor relations and needy hangers-on may obtain the reversion of garments of a cut and quality far superior to those which their own means would purchase, we must set against this gain the loss which they in their turn suffer when they too have to discard what fashion no longer allows even them to wear. So true is it that 'the fashion wears out more apparel than the man.'

Unless we are prepared to say that every change in the distribution of wealth, no matter how brought about, is admirable, we must concede that the cheapening of goods through their going out of fashion is no more an advantage to the country than is the cheapening of works of art during a time of commercial depression. Some individuals gain what other individuals lose, but the nation is not benefited. Indeed, if the depression be continued long enough to check artistic effort it loses.

DOES FASHION STIMULATE AND ELEVATE PRODUCTION ?

Not content with denying that fashion means *loss* to the community, there are individuals who will boldly declare that it means *gain*.

Milliners, dressmakers, tailors, haberdashers, florists, hairdressers, &c.—retail firms generally dealing in fashion-regulated commodities—unite in saying that fashion is the very life of trade. They will tell you that the power to produce is more than production, and that it is this power which fashion fosters. They will add that through fashion are evolved various qualities economically valuable to the community—versatility, ingenuity, skill, resource, taste, and I know not what beside.¹³ There is a measure of truth in this, but the necessity of evolving these qualities in this one way is not so apparent.

As Mrs. Bryant (B.Sc.) pointed out when the subject was recently under discussion :—

Any advantages of this kind secured by change of fashion or *variation of style in time* could be secured in much greater degree and with better artistic effect in consumption by more *variety of style in space*, each woman trying to wear that which suited her best. If a more serious attempt at genuine artistic effect in dress were made by us all, dress would be much more closely adapted to individual variation of physique, and this would create at all times a great demand on the inventive powers of those engaged in the manufacture of dress.

Apart from any realisation of Mrs. Bryant's ideal, however, I am of opinion that the ordinary and natural changes caused by seasonal fluctuations, national catastrophes, new inventions, and general progress, would suffice to develop and utilise all the versatility and alertness necessary for staple production on the best lines.¹⁴

I incline to the belief that fashion does not so much develop these qualities in the nation at large as it does in a limited number of individuals.

Professor Marshall's ideal manufacturer, we know (if he makes goods not to meet special orders but for the general market), must combine in his one person all the qualities needful for an organiser of labour—a natural leader of men—with all those other qualities which are essential to a merchant, to a caterer for the public. Thanks to the ceaseless changes of fashion, a tendency is exhibiting itself to separate more and more these functions, and to evolve a class of men who are not necessarily capable of organising labour at all, but who, as Professor Marshall puts it, have a power of forecasting the broad movements of production and consumption.

¹³ Against this we must balance the absolute waste involved in the demonetisation, so to speak, of skill acquired by long-continued exercise in a given direction. A tailor lamented to me that hardly had he left off spoiling material and learnt how to cut out a lady's long jacket bodice than these bodices ceased to be fashionable and his new skill became useless.

¹⁴ Sateen was brought out during a period of national depression, and much lessened the general distress at Preston.

To such men, fashion is fruitful in opportunities. Like all experts, however, they justify their existence by artificially multiplying the occasions for their services, and, not content with successfully feeling the pulse of popular caprice, they set themselves to make it beat as they themselves determine. They no longer forecast, they to a certain extent create fashion. Bitter are the complaints brought by manufacturers against these men.

'Their existence depends upon fomenting discontent in the minds of the purchaser,' says one manufacturer. He himself will leave to the competitive manufacturer the 'pandering to the cupidity of merchants and tailors.'

This class of experts, who begin by being buyers and end by being powers, do for fashions what Reuter's Telegraph Agency does for news. All the fabrics and designs of pre-eminent manufacturers and *artistes en modes* got ready for the coming season are communicated to other manufacturers, who proceed to reproduce them in cheaper form for a lower stratum of consumer.

GROWING INSTABILITY OF FASHION

The existence of the class already alluded to is one of the circumstances which must tend to make fashion ever less and less stable.¹⁵

But another cause tending to increase the changes of fashion is the immense cheapening of all products consumed by the masses. As Roscher points out, fashion was still relatively stable in the Middle Ages because articles of wearing apparel were proportionately dearer than they are to-day. Joinville wore a garment bequeathed to him by his father and mother; and in Persia shawls are frequently inherited through many generations.

Fashion, indeed, never gets the same hold upon luxuries of a very costly kind. Take Cashmere shawls, for instance, where one of the finer sorts will employ the labour of three men for a whole year. Look again at carpets. Really good reproductions from the best Oriental sources, viz. original rugs and carpets, most of them centuries old, are subject to few fluctuations in demand. For the same reason, sealskin jackets change their shape less frequently than cloth.

Fashion nowadays affects those things most which by reason of their price are within the reach of the largest numbers. In this connection the influence of the *sewing machine* must not be overlooked. This has increased immeasurably the instability of fashion. Before cheap stuffs were not worth making up, but, the labour of sewing having been lessened, cheap fabrics are in constant demand.

SUMMARY

There is nothing elevated or laudable in the psychological basis of fashion which can compensate for the evils accompanying its pro-

¹⁵ Cf. Quicherat, *Histoire du Costume*.

gress. Fashion is just the outcome of an ignoble desire to flaunt (real or simulated) superiority in the eyes of the world. Fashionable people are even more anxious nowadays to be *unlike* those they consider beneath them than to be like those they consider above them. The more modern civilisation enables the imitating many to quickly assimilate the garb and customs of the differentiating few, the more frequent must the changes of fashion be, till at length the very extent of the evil calls forth a remedy.

It is possible this remedy may be on the lines of Mrs. Bryant's suggestion. Or it may be a national, if not an international, garb will be evolved, which will get stereotyped like the coat, trousers, and high hat of the nineteenth-century man. It must be remembered that until the fourteenth century men were even more the slaves of fashion than women, and many a Claudio would lie 'ten nights awake carving the fashion of a new doublet.'¹⁶

But whether reforms are possible or not, the first step towards reform is a clear vision of things as they are. It is impossible to maintain that æsthetics have much to do with fashion. It is impossible likewise to cheat ourselves into believing that incessantly changing fashions are good for trade. So far as the working classes are concerned, the displacement of labour induced by waning fashion does them more harm than increased employment due to developing fashion does good. As to manufacturers, they are hampered in their operations, production becoming more speculative every day. As to consumers, they have to pay higher prices for all products subject to fashion's influence, while the diversion of their time and thought to trivial matters of dress is also an economic loss to the community. The only gainers are a limited class of experts and dealers. All the economically valuable qualities said to be developed by the necessity fashion imposes of 'keeping on the alert' can be developed by the ordinary and inevitable crisis through which staple production passes, and could be better secured by a greater variety in dress at any given time.

ADA HEATHER BIGG.

¹⁶ Cf. Miss Hill, *History of British Costume*.

THREE WEEKS IN SAMOA

(CONCLUDED)

II. NATIVES AND MISSIONARIES

THE Samoans among their many merits do not number industry; and, indeed, it is difficult to see why they should exert themselves to work hard when Nature has placed all the food and clothing which they need ready to their hands. Bread-fruit trees, taros, yams, and bananas repay the minimum of trouble expended on their cultivation, fish abound in the lagoons and pigeons in the woods, while pigs are easily reared near the houses. As far as I could ascertain, one day in the week spent in working the plantations, and another in fishing, would nearly, if not quite, provide the food of the family. As to clothing, the women have hitherto manufactured the tapa already mentioned, and a garland of flowers round the neck, with a girdle of the long red and brown ti-leaves hanging gracefully above the tapa lava-lava, formed a costume which left nothing to be desired. The men were neatly tattooed from waist to knee in a close pattern, so that they almost appeared to be wearing tight black breeches. Both sexes rub themselves with cocoanut-oil, and often have their names tattooed on their arms, but they do not, like the Maoris, disfigure their faces with tattoo marks. They are very clean people, constantly bathing and changing their clothes, while they cover their heads with lime, both to cleanse the hair and to produce the light-reddish shade which is fashionable amongst them.

Unfortunately, whatever be the blessings of civilisation, it certainly introduces new wants in its train, and the women in and near Apia have adopted long straight cotton gowns, something like round pinafores, edged with little flounces, while the men indulge in white cotton jackets and lava-lavas. Money, too, has displaced mats as a medium of exchange, and all imported and manufactured goods are exceedingly dear. When, therefore, Samoans and half-castes associate with foreigners and partially assume their habits, they begin to feel the need of money; this must especially be the case with those who have sold land to the whites, and it will be a good thing if they can find something to raise and sell which will not entail upon them work too hard and too repugnant to their nature. At present they grow small quantities of copra and sell it to the traders, but they would

not dream of undertaking the hard work required from labourers on the plantations of the German firm, who are therefore imported from New Ireland, the New Hebrides, and other islands. The firm claims no less than 135,000 acres in various lots, but a considerable portion of this claim is disputed.

We visited the plantation under the management of Captain Hufnagel, where the manufacture of copra is carried to great perfection. Copra, as is well known, is the nutty part of the cocoanut, dried and exported for the sake of the oil obtainable from it. The nut is cut out by hand in a series of semicircular slices; these are placed upon trays and put into a large oven or kiln; hot air is driven in below the trays, and passes out above them, drying the copra in its passage. That dried in the sun is not so good, and fetches an inferior price. The finest copra is sliced and dried with its shell on, which is, of course, a longer process, so most of it is scooped out and the shells are used for fuel. The mass of fibrous substance embedded between the shell and the outer husk is converted into small strings, called cinnet, and exported for manufacture into cocoanut matting.

About two hundred islanders are employed on this plantation, who are under contract to work for three years, and are stated to earn from two to five dollars a month. They are strong men and youths, approaching the negro woolly-haired type, and not nearly so fair or good-looking as Samoans.

We noticed one Topsy-like little girl, who ran freely in and out of Herr Hufnagel's house. He told us that the mother was a New Ireland woman, and that, as the father belonged to another island, she could not take the child home with her, lest her people should kill it. She was therefore prepared herself to make away with it, had not Herr Hufnagel adopted it. He certainly appears to treat his boys with every consideration; and though rumours of the ill-treatment of imported labourers on some German plantations are not wanting, it behoves the passing traveller to receive all such statements with caution.

British subjects cannot at present import coloured labour into Samoa, for the laws of the Pacific Commission forbid them as English to ship men from the other islands, and as residents in a foreign country they cannot bring in Indian coolies. They are thus heavily handicapped in developing any property which they may acquire, and hope that the renewed attempt of the Queensland Government, if successful, may prove to the Home authorities that the engagement and transport of islanders can be permitted, under proper regulations, without detriment to the native and with advantage to British enterprise.

Herr Hufnagel is great in botanical experiment, and has a pretty garden, where, in addition to the usual brilliant flora of the island,

such as the hibiscus, the allamanda, the oleander, and the creeping hoyá, with its waxy white flowers, he tries to cultivate shrubs and plants of various descriptions. Roses do not succeed in Samoa; they dwindle down till they look almost like double daisies. Grapes can be grown, but wine is not made.

Samoans care no more for pastoral than for agricultural pursuits; either from mismanagement or because soil and climate are unsuitable, no sheep, and but few cows and oxen, are reared on the island. Horses are neither numerous nor in very good condition, though as roads are multiplied they may be expected to become more plentiful. The real joys of the Samoan are dancing, singing, and making expeditions, called malangas, from village to village in boats or canoes. Men, women, and children set out together to visit their acquaintance in other parts of the islands, and are received with unbounded hospitality. As they row through the tranquil lagoon one of the party begins a song, and all join in chorus, either recounting some tale of bygone love or war, or improvising a greeting to the stranger or a metrical comment on the topics of the day. Nothing is more reposeful than the mingled voices, to which the rowers keep time with their paddles or their oars, nor can anything be more cheerful than the aspect of the laden boats, whose occupants seem never to have known, or to have utterly forgotten, care.

Among our pleasantest malangas was one which we made to Lufi-lufi, the abode of Tamasese, son of the temporary monarch remembered as 'the German King.'

In order to catch the tide on landing we had to leave Apia at 4 A.M. Before sunrise and after sunset are, perhaps, the pleasantest times on the water in the tropics, though the loveliest hour is soon after the sun has risen, as the colours of the tranquil sea within the coral barriers are then most vivid. We arrived at Lufi-lufi before we were expected, and the High Chief was then absent from his house, so we were welcomed by his handsome wife, Vaitai, whose costume, besides her lava-lava, consisted of a long bib falling to the waist before and behind, with a hole in the middle to admit the head. It was made of a number of coloured pocket-handkerchiefs not yet cut apart, and apparently stamped with portraits of prize-fighters. Tamasese himself soon entered; he is a very fine young man, usually attired only in a white lava-lava, and when he and his wife seated themselves side by side they recalled the pre-conventional statues of ancient Egyptian heroes and their wives. Tamasese is a supporter of Malietoa, and, like him, a follower of the London missionaries. Many consider him destined to play a part—let us trust a peaceful one—in the evolution of Samoan political history.

We were further introduced to his mother, to the taupau, or village maiden, and to a young cousin or adopted daughter; and later on we made the acquaintance of two other charming young ladies, who

seemed to belong to the family, though we failed to grasp the exact relationship.

Kindred, like property, is subject to no stringent rule in Samoa. Communism is here carried to its utmost extent: the property of the individual is the property of his tribe, with the natural result, as is universally acknowledged, that the industrious work for the benefit of the lazy. As to children, they are adopted and given away in the most casual manner, and if it is desired for any reason—as, for example, in land-claims—to ascertain the parentage of an individual, an investigation is generally necessary to find out, not only his nominal, but his real father. No one ever knows the age of a child, though occasionally a mother may be able to tell you that her boy or girl was born before or after a certain war. The date of any event before the advent of the whites, recorded by tradition, is an absolutely unknown quantity.

Later in the day Tamasese gave us a genuinely native entertainment, wherewith we were much amused. On re-entering his house we were crowned and garlanded with flowers, a kind of purple everlasting lilies and single gardenias. The gentlemen seated themselves on the ground, the ladies on boat-cushions with a canteen to lean against, and then a feast of fish, pigeons, pig, taros, and palusami was spread on banana-leaves in front of us. Naturally fingers took the place of knives and forks, nor did our young friends Lavitiiti and Sailau hesitate to carve and give us portions of food with the same implements. Palusami is a particularly delicious preparation, made of the leaf of the taro cooked in salt water. Cocoanut milk was the beverage provided, but Tamasese and Vaitai were quite ready to share some beer which Mr. Haggard had brought with him. Food is cooked in an oven, which is a hole made in the ground. In the hole are placed stones, with plenty of wood above and below them. The wood is set on fire and allowed to burn till entirely consumed, by which time the stones are very hot. The ashes are cleared off, and the food, previously prepared and wrapped in banana-leaves, is then cooked on the stones.

The feast was followed by a siva, or native dance. The taupau of a neighbouring village, specially enlisted as a first-rate dancer, with four girl companions, formed the ballet. The taupau wore a marvellous head-dress, resembling that of the youth who mixed the kava at Malie. Round her forehead was a band of small pieces of nautilus shell, above towered an erect wig of human hair which had been bleached for months in a marsh, little looking-glasses were placed in front, and the whole was surmounted with a trail of red humming-birds' feathers. The effect was something between that of a mitre and of a Persian king's crown, but part of the structure fell off during the exertions which ensued. Behind the girls sat three or four men, one of whom contributed the musical accompaniment by beating on some bottles wrapped up in a cloth; the others assisted in the chorus-

singing, but their part was a very subordinate one. The performance of the five girls in front, who were at first seated on the ground, was exceedingly amusing. It consisted of a series of songs, mostly 'topical,' with a great deal of action. The taupau generally started with a solo, and the others presently joined in, swaying their arms and bodies backwards and forwards, touching each other's shoulders and moving their hands and fingers with peculiar grace. Amongst other things, they related how two ladies connected with the London Missionary Society were about to start a girls' boarding-school, and how it was desirable to send one of their number to see what it was like before committing themselves as pupils. When tired of sitting down, two or three of them jumped up and began to act with immense spirit, great contortion of face, and an enjoyment so keen that it could not fail to communicate itself to the onlookers. One series of gesticulations was supposed to represent 'German fashion'; the imitation of walk and countenance was hardly complimentary to the supporters of the late Tamasese, but this may have been unintentional. Again, one girl was a wild animal, and her companion shot her; then we had a representation of boxing and another of cricket. Samoans are inordinately fond of cricket; they would play a hundred a side, and spend days over matches, till these became an excuse for political gatherings, and were at length forbidden by Government. Though they appreciate a good ball, their bats are mere clubs slightly curved.

The final dance or play with which we were favoured was given 'by request,' and was called the Devil and the Sick Baby. The baby, represented by a bundle of leaves, was nursed and lamented over by the mother, while the demon, making fearful faces, danced round and threatened to carry it away. His malicious attempts were happily frustrated, and all ended well. We were informed that the siva, like most theatrical performances, would have been much more effective at night; my daughter and I had, however, promised to adjourn to the mission-station, where we were to sleep, and were fully satisfied with the kind efforts made by the taupau and her friends on our behalf.

The taupau, or village maiden, is a peculiar Samoan institution. She is chosen by the old women of the village for her well-developed beauty, and is confided to a guard of matrons, while a warrior sleeps across her door to protect her. She retains this position till she marries or in any other way forfeits her vestal privileges. During her tenure of office she represents the grace and hospitality of the clan. It falls to her lot to receive strangers in the falatele, or guest-house, to lead the sivas, and to make the kava. She is generally given in marriage to the chief of another tribe, who seeks her both for her personal attractions and for her dowry of fine mats, and to those splendid mothers may be attributed the physical superiority of the Samoan chiefs to their vassals.

Sometimes, despite all precautions, a chief contrives to carry off a taupau without the usual contract and ceremony. This is considered a spirited achievement, and if he can keep her three days he may marry her without more ado; but if she is re-captured within that period it is so well understood that she will have been treated with the respect due to a maiden that she can, unquestioned, resume her position as taupau, though she will probably receive a good beating for having connived at the elopement. She does not appear to have much choice as to a husband, for I was told a story of a taupau who, with her father, had been exiled from her native village for refusing to accept the bridegroom selected for her, and was not allowed to return until after her father's death from a broken heart.

Polygamy, especially among chiefs, was admitted prior to the arrival of the missionaries, and Samoans still incline to carry into practice the modern idea of having a new wife whenever tired of the old one. It seems as if the dowry of fine mats and the festivities consequent on the ceremony were the main inducements to this frequent change of bride. When the mangia, or smart young chief of the village, marries either a taupau or the daughter of another chief, her clan must provide an ample stock of mats, which are distributed amongst the kinsmen of the bridegroom, who supply in return plenty of pigs and other provisions wherewith to feast the donors of the dowry. Thus liberality on both sides is rewarded, and universal merry-making rejoices the hearts of a pleasure-loving race. Naturally, bridegroom and bride may become united in mutual affection, or religious principle may induce them to keep their vows; but if, though nominally Christians, they are not 'Church members,' and thereby amenable to the threat of excommunication, the easy-going native views of divorce and re-marriage are apt to carry the day. Nor does popular disgrace necessarily attach itself to the divorced woman. Supposing her to be a taupau or a chief's daughter, her son is probably retained as his father's heir, while she may return to her own village and take up a position in the *falatele* as guardian of, or attendant on, the new taupau, and in due course may marry another man.

In the interesting account of her own life given by my friend Lavlii, Mrs. Willis, a Samoan girl of high rank married to a Canadian, she describes very simply how at the age of fourteen she was married, much against the will of her own family, to a young native of a lower class than her own, who almost immediately afterwards, in a drunken fit, tried to sell her to a white man for some money and a fancifully trimmed coat. This promising youth further stole a number of Bibles belonging to the London Missionary Society, whereupon the young bride's father told him: 'She is not your wife any more; go home to your people, and never come to this side of the island again.'

‘Thus,’ says Lavlii, ‘we were parted, for as my father’s decision was positive law, his word made me a single woman again.’ The father, however, was wise enough, when a white man proposed for his pretty daughter, to put such summary proceedings out of his own power or that of anyone else, and stipulated for marriage before the English Consul. To this Mr. Willis agreed, and, like other white men, has found that an intelligent Samoan woman makes a dutiful and affectionate wife.

The mission-station at Lufi-lufi is in charge of the Rev. Alfred Carne, one of the principal Wesleyan missionaries. The Wesleyans have over six thousand adherents in the Samoan group, the London missionaries about twenty-five thousand. It is rather a pity that these two bodies should divide the Protestant field; at one time it was hoped that any friction would be averted by an agreement that the Wesleyans should undertake Fiji and Tonga, leaving the London missionaries—who, though avowedly unsectarian, are mainly Congregationalists—undisturbed in Samoa. The Wesleyans assert that they did leave Samoa for many years, but that their disciples in the islands insisted on the return of their pastors; another version of the tale is that, though some such agreement was made with the Wesleyans sent from England, when Wesleyan Home Rule was established in Australia, and the Pacific Missions handed over to the Church there, the new connexion did not abide by the contract made with the Mother Church. However this may be, it is gratifying to find a general desire not to clash in future existing among the Protestant bodies.

In New Guinea each Church takes, and confines itself to, a certain district, while in the Pacific generally the American Missions work in the North, the Church of England in what is commonly called Melanesia, and the Wesleyan and London Missions have also well-defined spheres of labour. It is worthy of note that over three hundred Pacific islands are entirely Christian, and several of these are sending out natives as missionaries, often to savage and unhealthy places.

Mr. and Mrs. Carne were most hospitable, and in the afternoon we had a ‘talolo.’ Children from their schools, and deputations from neighbouring villages, came up singing to the verandah, in a series of processions, bringing us taros, chickens, native wooden combs, shells, and such-like offerings, as tokens of good-will. The adults made speeches, and the children, picturesquely dressed, seated themselves on the ground and entertained us with songs, reminding us partly of Tamasese’s siva, and partly of the infant-schools of our own country. It was funny to see the merry little light-brown infants, garlanded with ferns and flowers, singing the multiplication table while tapping each other on the shoulder and moving their fingers, in evident imitation of the performances of their elders.

Next day we re-embarked in the 'Apolima,' and rowed up a neighbouring arm of the sea so narrow as to resemble a river, with high wooded banks on either side. At the end of it a fine waterfall came tumbling over a precipice; the scene as it dashed into the still salt water below was very impressive. We wanted to see a specimen of a plant said to be identical with Manila flax, and one of our crew, who held the exalted position of judge in his own village, scrambled up the steep hillside and forced his way through the tangled vegetation to seek it. Being unsuccessful, he was summoned to return, and without a moment's hesitation took a header from the top of one of the highest rocks into the water below, which would have elicited thunders of applause from an Adelphi audience. I am sorry to say that the obligations of caste deprived us of his services as boatman. As judge and chief he could not carry oars or other gear, and the pride of possessing such a colleague did not compensate his companions for having to do that part of his work, so a less distinguished substitute had to be inducted into his post.

The waterfall of Falefa had, of course, its legend. The stream of which it was the outcome ran originally from the village of Manunu to Fusi on the sea-coast. An old woman living at Manunu sent her two little girls to Fusi to fetch salt water for the purpose of making palusami. A man of Fusi beat them, broke their cocoanut water-bottles, and sent them back crying to their mother. She comforted them, but did not disclose her intentions respecting their assailant. A day or two later she sent them to Falefa on a like errand. Here they were met by a man called Tialevea. 'Come in and rest,' he said; 'I shall soon open my oven.' While they were resting he went out and caught some fish. These he fried, and opening his oven spread a feast before the little girls, whom he then allowed to fill their bottles and return to their mother. Said the mother: 'Tialevea has been good to you, and he shall henceforth have a nice stream of fresh water near his house, while the man who was unkind to you shall live in a swamp.' So the course of the stream was changed, and it runs to Falefa, while to this day there is a dry watercourse to Fusi and a swamp there. Samoans are very kind to children, though they lose many in infancy through mismanagement. The standard of medical science can hardly be high, since one remedy is to jump on women suffering from acute internal pain. The native population is said to be diminishing, but as no accurate census has been taken, it is difficult to speak with certainty on this point. The people are exceedingly superstitious, and universally believe in spirits, who are supposed to haunt land which they have once possessed for the purpose of protecting it, and to mingle freely in human affairs. If a man is anxious to guard a plantation against pilferers, he will twist leaves or grass into the shape of a fish, or into some other form, and stick it up on the path leading to his property, invoking on any

intruder a curse, of which the selected fetish is a symbol. This is a relic of the time when the spirits of divinities were believed to inhabit birds, fishes, reptiles, and even shell-fish. In those days every child at birth was put under the care of some tutelary deity, and ever afterwards venerated the incarnation of his *aitu*, or particular god. He would eat the incarnation of another man's god, but never in any way injure or show disrespect to his own. The Samoans were never cannibals, properly so called; though some vague traditions point to their having occasionally tasted the flesh of their enemies, they have always expressed detestation of the practice. They were, however, formerly cruel in war, and even during the late disturbances they cut off the heads of the slain, considering them as trophies.

During our last *malanga* in Samoan seas we saw, under the efficient guidance of the Rev. William Clarke, a good deal of the work of the London missionaries, visiting their head stations at Malua and Leulumoenga. The settlement or college at the former place was founded by Dr. Turner nearly fifty years ago, and is still conducted much on the lines which he laid down. It consists of a nice house for the principal, or resident missionary, a large building which is used as a church and schoolroom, and a number of neat white-washed and thatched cottages standing in regular order round an open place or square. These are inhabited by youths, married and single, who are in training to become native pastors, and who meantime support themselves, and their wives, if they have any, by cultivating allotted patches of yams, taros, and bananas, and also bread-fruit and cocoanut-trees.

The Rev. John and Mrs. Marriott were our kind hosts, and the students, who are evidently earnest and intelligent, received us with all possible cordiality, bringing the usual offerings of native products, including tortoiseshell rings with little pieces of silver let into them, and chanting specially-composed songs. It appears that the establishment has its poet-laureate, and the other day he entered a protest against an interloper who had dared to compose a song which met with more approval from his companions than the authorised compositions of the official bard. We were specially edified by the neat costume adopted by the neophytes when assembled in the schoolhouse. Each was attired in a white lava-lava and clean white shirt got up for the occasion, while a large proportion had further adorned themselves with neckties, some going so far as studs. The college at Leulumoenga, conducted by the Rev. J. Hills, marks a new departure. It was established about two years ago for the purpose of educating the sons of chiefs and of teaching them English, the *lingua franca* of the Pacific, in hopes of fitting them for employment under Government and in houses of business. This is certainly a step in the right direction for many reasons, one being that the authority of chiefs in their own villages was weakened by the fact of their being

less well-educated than the native pastors who had passed through the Malua Seminary.

The Roman Catholics, who are generally wise in their generation, took the initiative in teaching English, at all events to Samoan girls. The Protestant missionaries declined to admit natives who desired to learn English into schools attended by whites and half-castes, nor would they teach English in the native schools. Some native girls especially fair in colour passed themselves off as half-castes, and were making good progress, when, their parentage being discovered, they were dismissed from the school to which they had obtained admission. Such instances of exclusiveness caused many Samoans to go over to the Roman Catholic Church, and various girls, who afterwards became the wives of white men, were educated at the Convent School. The London missionaries have, however, recognised this weakness in their position, and, in addition to the Leulumoenga College, have erected near Apia a fine high school or college for Samoan girls of the upper-class. This I had the pleasure of opening before I left the island.

To return to the boys. As we rode up to the mission-station we found them arranged in double file, dressed only in lava-lavas, with thick crowns and long garlands of foliage, and we were not a little surprised to hear them sing 'God Save the Queen' with much energy, and correct English accent.

There were fifty-six Samoan boys in the College, and eight belonging to other islands. One of these came from a group recently annexed by England, and was much gratified when he learnt that he had become a British subject. These young chiefs were fine, active fellows, and, besides the customary talolo, entertained us with dances and athletic exercises, some of them donning gaudily-coloured native head-dresses, necklaces, and waistbelts for the occasion, whirling clubs, rushing forward and rapidly retreating, with visible memories of former war-dances.

It was quite a transformation-scene when they reappeared some half-hour later in the schoolroom in neat white jackets and lava-lavas, and underwent a highly creditable examination in reading, mental arithmetic, and note-singing.

I confess that it was never without a twinge of regret that I saw the happy savage, whether girl or boy, torn from the mat and the oar, and the idle shade of the bread-fruit tree, to sit on a hard bench and pore over a spelling-book; but here, as elsewhere, the old order must yield to the new. Apart from the religious question, if white men had never invaded the Pacific Islands the natives might have been left to their own devices—to dance, sing, and lounge, with intervals of fighting and head-lifting, and, in some groups, of devouring the slain. The white man came, too often in the guise of a runaway convict, a drunken sailor, or a vendor of rum, and if the missionary had not

been there to supply some counter-principles capable of resisting the baser forms of white education, the fate of the milder races, who were prepared to receive anyone cleverer than themselves as a superior being, would indeed have been cruel. As it stands, even those who perceive many weak points in the system of the missionary pioneers must allow that they have done good work, and that the schools which their successors are now establishing are simply enabling the natives to hold their own with the aliens who are settling amongst them. Many of the present men, moreover, realise that the edicts by which heavy burdens, and grievous to be borne, were bound on the shoulders of the islanders, need relaxation, if not abolition. They see, for example, that instead of altogether forbidding sivas, or dances, they would do well merely to seek to eliminate such portions of them as are harmful and immoral; that people, whether white or brown, must have amusements; and that it is better to guide, than to stimulate hypocrisy by a readiness to excommunicate which would have astonished a pope.

It is rather curious that the Roman Catholics, whose missions were established a few years later than those of the Protestants, should not have a larger following. The general estimate of about a seventh does not represent a very large proportion of the population. They have devoted priests and Sisters, and, as already mentioned, their schools have hitherto offered the most complete education available for those Samoans who desired wider knowledge. It may be that the training in theological controversy, which has long formed part of the Malua curriculum, has enabled the native pastors to confute their opponents, and to keep their flocks in the Protestant fold; or it may be that the simpler doctrine and more congregational form of worship is congenial to the native mind in these islands.

In India, the elaborate ceremonies, the images, and the mysticism of the Roman Church seem to attract races whose own faith offers something similar. In the Navigators' Islands, though the people were always disposed to reverence the unseen powers, they erected nothing worthy of the name of temples in their honour, nor did they habitually attempt to make other representations of them than the natural objects in which they supposed their spirits to be incarnate. A small house was allotted to sacred services in some villages, in others the common meeting or guest house of the place served also for the purposes of worship. Thefts were discovered by means of oaths, sworn by suspected persons on a consecrated cup, stone, or shell; and some similar ceremony obtains to the present day, though presumably modified to suit the Christian profession of the deponents. Traders and missionaries outside the municipal jurisdiction of Apia still find it advisable to enlist neighbouring chiefs as their allies, and, if they have cause to complain of depredations, to put the matter into their

hands, knowing that they will probably obtain redress through this trial by ordeal.

This does not, perhaps, indicate an entirely satisfactory state of law and order; it is easy to understand that dual monarchy and triple Consular control do not always facilitate the enforcement of such decrees as happen to emanate from Mulinuu, the seat of government. Nevertheless, no serious danger to life or property seems to be apprehended by the foreigners, numbering, as they do, about three hundred British subjects (white and half-caste), between eighty and ninety Germans, under twenty Americans, and a few French priests and Sisters.

Space forbids me to describe at length other attractive spots visited by us: the picturesque and well-ordered island of Manono, with its neat paths, its war-canoe decorated with shells, and the romantic outlying rock with a single palm-tree called 'The Chief's Grave'; or the strangely-formed volcanic islet, Apolima ('The Hollow of the Hand'), a natural seagirt fortress, where an impregnable wall of rock, rising on every side round a verdure-lined crater, leaves one only portal, barricaded by tumbling surf, which, unfortunately, prevented our landing, owing to the state of the tide at the hour of our visit. The inhabitants of Manono in time of war transported their women and children to this citadel, and a cord stretched across the single entrance would enable the weakest defenders to overturn any canoe in which invaders might approach to attack them.

I must, nevertheless, recall our last long ride through a dense forest, where twining branches afforded an impenetrable shade, even at midday, and where, in occasional clearings, fallen boughs and green-sward were alike overgrown with festoons and wreaths of convolvulus with immense white blossoms. We emerged at length on to an open space, overlooking a thickly-wooded ravine, with precipices down which fall the waters of a river in a succession of lovely cascades. One of these precipices, called Papaseea, or the Sliding Rock, is thirty-five feet high, and on the top of this men and women seat themselves, and, balancing themselves carefully, allow the water to carry them over with a sudden shoot into the deep pool beneath. The native girls who had accompanied us in our excursion were most dexterous in this form of diving, and I envied them their thorough enjoyment of the plunge. The merriest picnic on a kind of island between the upper and lower cascades was followed by a ride back to Apia, if possible merrier still. Next day the American mail-steamer carried us away from the enchanted island, which, despite native feuds and white intrigues, will ever remain in our memories as a home of genuine hospitality, and a land of leisure, brightened with flowers and enlivened with dance and song.

M. E. JERSEY.

MEDICAL WOMEN IN FICTION¹

'LET me make the ballads, let who will make the laws!' was the cry of the 'very wise man' chronicled by Fletcher of Saltoun, and though Fiction cannot aspire in the present day to the position that was held by popular poetry in the Middle Ages, still it may be taken as in some sort its equivalent and successor. At any rate, it is of interest to those who care about the progress of any movement to observe the aspects in which it is presented by the novelists of the day, and with this view I propose to glance briefly over the half-dozen romances of the last twenty years that have dealt more or less seriously with the *genus* medical woman.

It will of course be understood that in an article like the present I do not undertake any estimate of the literary value of the books mentioned; most of them are readable and amusing, and some deserve much higher praise; but I cannot turn aside from my present object to go into any general review of each work on its merits; my purpose is to look at each as it touches on one question, and on one only. If this seems unfair to any of the authors, I venture to think that the fault lies with them and not with me, if—as is certainly the case in some instances—they have taken up a great social question and introduced it into their books, without the needful preliminary study of facts. Such study has almost always been felt to be a sacred duty by all the greatest writers, when presenting subjects of even much less importance to the public, in any way likely to influence their judgment or action.

We certainly have no right to ask—and I for one am very far from asking—that all sketches of medical women should be drawn by friendly hands; but what I do think the public have a right to require is that it should not be necessary to write under a portrait,

¹ *New Grooves*. By Annie Thomas. London: Charlton Tucker. 1871.

A Woman-Hater. By Charles Reade, D.C.L. William Blackwood & Sons. 1877.

Doctor Victoria: a Picture from the Period. By Major-General G. G. Alexander, C.B. London: Samuel Tinsley & Co. 1881.

Dr. Edith Romney. London: Richard Bentley & Son. 1883.

Dr. Breen's Practice. By William D. Howells. Edinburgh: David Douglas. 1883.

Doctor Zay. By Elizabeth Stuart Phelps. Eighth edition. Boston: Houghton, Mifflin & Co. 1885.

The Bostonians. By Henry James. London: Macmillan & Co. 1886.

Mona Maclean, Medical Student. By Graham Travers. Second Edition. William Blackwood & Sons. 1893.

'This is a Lion;'—that such portraits should be in some sense taken from life; and that they should not—like the famous camel of the German scientist—be evolved over a study fire, from the depths of the author's inner consciousness.

The first book that touched upon the question of the medical education of women was *New Grooves*, which was published in 1871, in the midst of the struggle for the admission of women to the University of Edinburgh. Its author put forward strongly her belief that 'women ought to be about women when they are ill'; and she described her heroine as hearing 'ever in her ears the unuttered cry of her sister women, asking for leave and power to seek aid from, and to give aid to, one another.' This is the more remarkable as this special *need* for medical women is hardly alluded to in most of the subsequent novels; but, as no representative of the class is introduced into the story, the book scarcely falls strictly within the scope of the present paper.

The first novel that drew much attention to the subject was Charles Reade's *A Woman-Hater*. One of its foremost characters is Dr. Rhoda Gale, an American, who, for some unexplained reason, left behind all the facilities offered in America, and came to Europe to study medicine. This she did first at Zürich, then at Montpellier; and ultimately she is supposed to have come to Edinburgh, when its Medical Faculty was first partially opened to women in 1869. The reader first makes her acquaintance in the garden of Leicester Square, where she appears to have been deliberately resolved to die of starvation, though she had at the time a thirty-guinea ring on her finger. From this fate she is rescued in dramatic fashion by the hero, by means of two unromantic plates of cold beef. As soon as these are consumed, she enters, by Mr. Vizard's desire, upon an autobiography, occupying seventy-eight pages of print; and, although we are told she had previously had no food whatever for two days, she seems perfectly equal to the effort, and none the worse for it at the end. In the course of this lengthy history the author puts into her mouth a very carefully compiled narrative of some of the most striking events in the course of the Edinburgh struggle, in which she is supposed to have taken part; and, in spite of a few minor errors that an outsider could hardly avoid, the chapter thus occupied may take and keep its place in contemporary history in virtue of its great general accuracy.

Not only does Mr. Vizard rescue Dr. Gale from starvation, but he forthwith instals her as general overseer and medical officer of health to a country village of which he is owner and squire; and most efficiently she fulfils her vocation. Some amusing scenes are introduced to illustrate the villagers' indignation at the thoroughness of her researches as 'suspector-general of this here districk'; and she ultimately furnishes the squire with a report complaining of the

chief evils—to wit, stagnant water, deficient in lime and full of animalculæ; crowded cottages, with three generations living in one room; complete absence of drainage, and consequent poisoning by foul effluvia; and, finally, almost complete want of milk for the children. Appealing to him as a beneficent despot, she requires (and obtains) of the squire: (1) a new well 330 feet deep; (2) a granary to store potatoes and set free living-rooms; (3) compulsory cleanliness and abolition of muck-heaps; (4) a large meadow where four or five cows shall be kept, and their milk sold at cost price to the poor.

Dr. Gale further acquits herself gallantly in various medical and surgical emergencies, and is constituted by another landowner, Lord Uxmoor, 'viceroy with full power' in his absence. He bids her abolish the lower orders in the only way they can be got rid of; by raising them in comfort, cleanliness, decency, and knowledge.

In the last glimpse we get of her, she

studies hard and practises a little. She is still all eyes, and notices everything. . . . A few mothers are coming to their senses, and sending for her to their unmarried daughters. She visits, prescribes, and laughs at the law.

For the law, at the date this book was written (1876), had not made the provision for medical women which was inaugurated, before the close of that very year, by an enabling Act, which was the beginning of the end of the long male monopoly of medicine. For such legislation Mr. Reade pleads well and earnestly in his closing chapter, that women might no longer

be unconstitutionally juggled, under cover of law, out of their right to take their secret ailments to a skilled physician of their own sex, and compelled to go blushing, writhing, and, after all, concealing and fibbing, to a male physician.

The sketch of Rhoda Gale is altogether kindly, and is drawn with a good deal of power and insight; that it has at some points a touch of burlesque is certainly not due to any want of goodwill on the part of the author; for, to a woman's eye, this defect seems common to the great majority of Mr. Reade's female characters, in most, if not all, of his books.

The author of *Dr. Edith Romney* appears to be in sympathy with the desire of women for larger spheres of employment, as he (or she) makes the heroine say, as the final outcome of her experience,

I cannot see the terrible risks you speak of, in changing the inactive, purposeless conditions of women's lives to those of honoured usefulness and self-respect.

It is therefore the greater pity that it is hardly possible to take the book as a serious contribution to the question, as all the conditions pre-supposed are so utterly foreign to those of everyday life and experience; that, if they prevailed at all, we feel that it must have been upon another planet. *Edith Romney*, by the chronology of the book,¹ and its date of publication, must have obtained her six

years' education in Paris in the course of the 'seventies, when the struggle for the medical education of women was at its hottest in this country, and when she must have had, as fellow-students in Paris, some of the women driven from Edinburgh. Yet she tells a dear friend that she 'had no idea of the talk and clamour there could be about such a simple thing'; and the said idea appears only to have dawned upon her after two years of phenomenally successful practice, in the course of which she seems in a mysterious manner to have appropriated the whole female *clientèle* of one medical man, while leaving untouched those of several others in the town. All the inhabitants with whom we are brought in contact suffer from an abnormal amount of illness, for some doctor or other seems never absent from their houses. Mysteriously as her success had come, with equal celerity it passed away. Her worsted rival introduces into the town a bachelor of thirty-five, who has apparently spent all the years since his graduation in 'seeing the world all round,' and who, having thus given himself every opportunity to forget all he had ever learnt, has only to settle down in Wanningster in order to deprive Dr. Romney within six months of all her patients, and to plunge her, for no apparent reason, from the height of fashion to the depth of neglect. It is not implied that this rapid transformation scene occurred in consequence of any failure on her part; on the contrary, her qualifications are lauded again and again; though the author does not seem aware that when he makes a doctor sit up for two successive nights, and then, as a preface to an exhausting day, refuse all breakfast but a cup of tea, he does not suggest the ideal of medical wisdom to his readers. Briefly speaking, Dr. Edith Romney is presented to us as a fascinating and high-souled woman, who has lived most of her life on some astral plane, ill-fitting her for the ordinary buffets of life. A hiss from a drunken greengrocer 'transfixes' her in an 'abstraction of scorching suffering'; and this, and a few similar incidents, suffice to bring on the time-honoured *deus ex machinâ* of brain-fever, in which her life undergoes its final transformation. The successful rival, who had had apparently no sense of masculine chivalry towards an unseen woman, nor of professional fairness towards a fellow-practitioner, had fallen a helpless victim to her good looks the first moment he saw her, and was from that time bent on breaking loose from all previous ties that might have hindered the characteristic *dénouement* of the book—a marriage between the victor and the vanquished.

In *Dr. Victoria*, although the medical woman gives her name to the book, she is, in fact, by no means the centre of the somewhat complicated plot, and her education and subsequent practice come in rather as interludes than as primary parts of the story. The sketch is evidently made by a writer who knows nothing of the daily details of medical study or practice, but who has thoroughly apprehended

the right of women to select their own life-work, and has also realised the possibility that, as medical students, they may find themselves unexpectedly rewarded by glimpses into the mysteries of life, and the very beautiful physiological processes and transformations of which they had previously been quite ignorant. The heroine commences with the time-honoured 'disappointment,' which most masculine minds seem to consider the essential preliminary to the study of medicine by a woman,—appears first in the narrative in the rather phenomenal act of arresting forcibly a pair of powerful horses in Hyde Park, pursues her studies at Zürich, makes a specialty of ophthalmology, and crowns herself with laurels by a successful 'series of operations' in a case of congenital blindness. It is clear that the sympathies of the author are with his heroine throughout, and that he desires to emphasize the infinite superiority of her life to the fashionable but loveless marriage with which he contrasts it; but the sketch, though altogether friendly, is so dimly indicated that it gives little scope for further observation.

In *Dr. Breen's Practice* we have, on the other hand, a spirited and carefully worked up study of just the kind of woman who never ought to have undertaken a medical career. Starting with the same inevitable 'disappointment,' she studies homœopathy at New York, and emerges on the reader's view when her practice comprises one solitary patient, with whom, in point of fact, it begins and ends. With an apparently extremely inadequate education, which yet cost her 'more than the usual suffering,' she begins her career with a hopelessly intractable and irrational patient, while at the same time she is saddled with a mother who

once kept a very vigilant conscience for herself, but after making her life unhappy with it for some threescore years, now applied it entirely to the exasperation and condemnation of others,

and pre-eminently 'devoted it to fretting a New England girl's naturally morbid sense of duty in her daughter.' Even the mother

was doubtless deceived by that show of calm which sometimes deceived Grace herself, who, in tutoring her soul to bear what it had to bear, mistook her tense effort for spiritual repose, and scarcely realised through her tingling nerves the strain she was undergoing.

Need anyone wonder that the result was total professional collapse?

As soon as Dr. Breen suspected that her patient was suffering from pneumonia—with which malady apparently no hospital experience had familiarized her—and that the said patient had not unbounded confidence in her medical skill, she (the doctor) fled at once to the nearest medical man, and (on his declining to consult with a homœopath) threw the case utterly into his hands; with the fortunate result that the patient recovered, and that she herself escaped a not improbable attack of melancholia.

Interesting, and even beautiful, as the character of Grace Breen is in certain aspects, it is assuredly not one likely to succeed in medical practice; and it is impossible to feel anything but a sensation of relief when the heroine takes refuge from her troubles in matrimony, and tempts the fates no more, except in the 'benevolent use of her skill' (eked out, it is to be hoped, by something more reliable), 'under the shelter of her husband's name.' That such a character and such a history are possible, no one probably will dispute; but those who know even a few of the hundreds of hard-headed, cool, and capable medical women of America can hardly avoid regret that it was not one of these that was taken as the type to be portrayed on Mr. Howells's picturesque canvas; though from an artistic point of view it is easy enough to see why the exceptional figure was selected, and why the colours employed were those which he has chosen.

I do not know whether *Dr. Zay* was written as a practical protest against *Dr. Breen's Practice*, but it would be difficult to conceive a greater contrast than is presented by the heroines in the two books. If Dr. Breen was exceptionally weak and morbid, Dr. Zay is almost preternaturally robust and healthy, in mind and body; and the amount of work she gets through without perceptible effort, and without loss of physical beauty and bloom, is enough to excite envy in the minds of most practitioners of either sex. It seems to make little difference to her whether she spends a night in her bed or on professional duty; she has three separate 'office hours'—at 8 A.M., at noon, and in the evening—and, in addition to all this, we hear casually that she has 'thirty-two calls' to make one afternoon in a widely scattered district. In the course of an epidemic we are told that

she gave out of herself as if she enjoyed the life everlasting before her time. She had bread to eat that he knew not of. He could not think of her as dejected, in need, a-hungered. Her splendid health was like a god to her. She leaned on her own physical strength as another woman might lean upon a man's. She had the repose of her full mental activity. She had her dangerous and sacred feminine nerve under magnificent training. It was her servant, not her tyrant; her wealth, not her poverty; the source of her power, not the exponent of her weakness. . . . She was the idolon of glorious health. Every free motion of her happy head and body was superb. She seemed to radiate health, as if she had too much for her own use, and to spare for half the pining world. She had the mysterious odic force of the healer, which is above science, and beyond experience, and behind theory.

It is at least interesting to note that the sketch just quoted comes from a woman's pen, while the previous type was drawn by a man; and it is probably due to the same fact that we are in this case spared the traditional 'disappointment,' and that the cause of Dr. Zay's study and practice is given as it is in the following passage:—

'I had learned how terrible is the need of a woman by women in country towns. One does not forget such things, who ever understands them. There is refinement, and suffering, and waste of delicate life enough, in these desolate places, to fill a circle of the *Inferno*. You do not know!' she said, with rare impetuosity. 'No one knows, Mr. Yorke, but the woman-healer.' 'What led you to see it? how came you to *want* to see it?' he asked reverently. 'How came you to make such a sacrifice of yourself?—such a young bright life as yours! I cannot understand it.' She did not answer him at once, and when he raised his eyes he perceived that her own swam with sudden tears. She held them back royally, commanded herself, and answered in a very low voice: 'It was owing to—my mother. She had a painful illness. There were only we two. I took care of her through it all. . . . She was greatly comforted during a part of her illness by the services of a woman doctor in Boston. There was one when we were in Paris, too, who helped her. I said, When she is gone I will do as much for some one else's mother.'

The sketch of Dr. Zay is a beautiful one, and the public appreciation of it is shown by the fact that the copy that lies before me is of the eighth edition. I doubt, however, whether any medical reader can peruse it without some sense of unreality—due in part to the too shadowless perfection of the heroine, and in part to the author's want of familiarity with the details of medical practice, the references to which are very numerous. This want, however, she shares with all the other previous writers, many of whom, indeed, show it much more markedly. It is a curious thing that, while in the present day I suppose no home-staying inhabitant of Central Europe would undertake to write a naval romance, few people seem to have any hesitation in evolving from their inner consciousness the daily facts of such a remarkably technical profession as medicine, and the results to medical readers are consequently somewhat bewildering.

This difficulty is almost entirely avoided by Mr. James in the next book I have to mention—*The Bostonians*—for little or no technical detail is attempted, and yet we have presented to us, as one of the secondary characters, a young medical woman who is sketched with what seems to me a masterly hand. For almost the first time we feel that we are standing face to face with a real person, whom we might have met in the street any day, and whose characteristics are genuine and consistent from first to last. Dr. Mary J. Prance was

a plain, square young woman, with short hair and an eyeglass; she looked about her with a kind of near-sighted deprecation, and seemed to hope that she would not be expected to generalize in any way.

When questioned as to her opinions,

'Men and women are all the same to me,' Dr. Prance remarked, 'I don't see any difference. There is room for improvement in both sexes.'

The little lady was tough and technical; she evidently didn't care for great movements . . . the time hadn't come when a lady doctor was sent for by a gentleman, and she hoped it never would.

When asked her opinion of a young lady likely to make a sensation on the platform—

Yes, she was pretty-appearing; but there was a certain indication of anæmia, and Dr. Prance would be surprised if she didn't eat too much candy.

Another touch is good—

'Good-night, doctor,' he replied, 'you haven't told me, after all, your opinion of the capacity of the ladies.' 'Capacity for what?' said Dr. Prance. 'They've got a capacity for making people waste time. All I know is that I don't want any one to tell *me* what a lady can do,' and she edged away from him softly, as if she had been traversing a hospital ward, and presently he saw her reach the door, which had remained open. She stood there a moment, turning over the whole assembly a glance like the flash of a watchman's bull's-eye, and then quickly passed on. Ransom could see that she was impatient of the general question, and bored with being reminded, even for the sake of her rights, that she was a woman—a detail she was in the habit of forgetting, having as many rights as she had time for. It was certain that, whatever might become of the movement at large, Dr. Prance's own little revolution was a success.

I venture to think that such vivid touches as these present a far more living personality, and enable medical readers to imagine more correctly even the standard of professional ability implied, than a mass of partially understood details which are sure to be vitiated by errors, and which provoke criticism from their manifest unreality.

The preceding books present the medical woman from almost every point of view, and suggest her capacity or incapacity, success or failure, according to the preconceived ideas of their authors.² They, however, have this in common—they are all manifestly written *from the outside*. It is, I think, inconceivable that any one of them could have been penned by a medical student or practitioner—excepting possibly the last—but this, as I have already said, avoids all professional details, in a way hardly compatible with such authorship.

At last, however, we come to a novel which is as manifestly written *from the inside*. *Mona Maclean, Medical Student*, is no mere 'novel with a purpose,' and indeed the medical element in it is kept strictly subordinate to the development of the story and the play of the characters introduced into it. It may perhaps be a disappointment to some realistic reader, with a taste for horrors, to find that the chapter entitled 'The Dissecting Room' introduces him to

² I had thought that a novel just published—*A Medicine Lady*—might supply another illustration of my theme, but I find on examination that no medical woman appears except in the title of the book, and that the heroine's only claim to the appellation lies in the fact that she, as a widow (wholly without medical education), carries out to some extent in practice a system, resembling that of Koch, which her husband, a distinguished physician, had only partially elaborated. The book, therefore, furnishes no portrait which I can add to my gallery, although the woman-quack might constitute a striking and effective foil to some of the types considered in this paper.

nothing more dreadful than a sparkling conversation between a bevy of students, who have by no means lost their love of gossip, although the subject of a joke may be professionally mixed up with the mysteries of 'Scarpa's triangle.' The heroine, Mona Maclean, is a young woman of about five-and-twenty, of excellent heredity (yeoman on one side, aristocratic on the other), thoroughly healthy in mind and body; who loves her medical studies with all her heart and soul, and can give a reason for the faith that is in her on occasion, but who will also ask the reader to accompany her up break-neck mountains in Norway; will 'walk twenty miles any day' to hear the overture from *Tannhäuser*; rejoices in shops and shop-windows; likes 'pretty bonnets and tea-gowns and laces and note-paper, and every kind of arrant frivolity and bagatelle,' and enjoys her day's excursion to St. Rules doubly because she is arrayed in 'a gavotte in cream and gold.'

There is plenty in the book to interest those who care nothing about medical women, but I think that no doctor of either sex can read the conversations relating to medical education, and especially to physiology, or the scenes in the consulting-room or by the bedside, or the remarkable 'Clinical Report,' which has a chapter to itself, without feeling sure that the pen is held by a brother, or sister, of the healing art, and one who loves his or her profession. From internal evidence it seems probable that the author, Graham Travers, was educated at the London School of Medicine for Women, and graduated at the University of London; but, be this as it may, the professional touch is unmistakable.

With the plot (which, by-the-bye, is the weakest part of the book) I have nothing to do; nor can I say anything of the non-medical characters, though delightful old Auntie Bell is a sore temptation, with her racy Scotch and her quaint humour; here, as elsewhere, I can deal only with the *genus* medical woman, of whom, indeed, we have for the first time several types in one book. The heroine is a finely worked-out study. Description of her there is little or none, but we find her placed in one situation after another, in each of which a characteristic touch is elicited, with a skill that reminds one of George Eliot, till the woman stands before us absolutely alive, and with as distinctive idiosyncrasies as any friend of our own. The author has taken, as I say, a healthy young woman in the freshness and enthusiasm of early womanhood, of a type, in spite of *les défauts de ses qualités*, peculiarly fitted to enjoy and to do justice to medical study, and has shown with rare conscientiousness and fidelity to nature the way in which the various parts of her studies affect her, and influence her general character. The story brings out with satisfactory clearness how 'the power of ministration in her' enhances her thorough womanliness—makes her feel 'responsible in a greater or less degree for every girl with whom she comes in contact'—fills her with thankfulness when, in the beautiful scene in

Barntoun Wood, she can come to the rescue of a 'singed human butterfly'—and sends her back with renewed eagerness to her studies when she finds herself helpless in the depths of the country before a case of fatal illness.

'Thank God, I am going back to work,' she thought, as she hastened home. 'I want to learn all that one human being can. It is awful to be buried alive in the coffin of one's own ignorance and helplessness!'

It may be of interest to quote a passage wherein Mona seeks to justify her life and calling, in response to a challenge from an accomplished man of the world:

'You must be becoming hard and blunted?' He looked at her as if demanding an answer. 'I hope not,' said Mona quickly, and her eyes met his. . . . 'But you must become blunted if you are to be of any use.' 'I don't think blunted is the word. It is extremely true, as some one says, that pity becomes transformed from a blind impulse into a motive.' He seemed to be weighing this. 'You dissect?' he said presently. 'Yes.' 'Think of that alone! It is human butchery.' 'Of course you must know that I do not look upon it in that light.' But a sense of hopelessness came upon her as she realised how she was handicapped in this discussion. How could she explain to this man the wonder and the beauty of the work that he dismissed in a brutal phrase? How could she talk of that ever new field for observation, corroboration, and discovery; that unlimited scope for the keen eye, the skilful hand, the thinking brain, the mature judgment? How could she describe those exquisite mechanisms and trceries, those variations of a common type, developing in accordance with fixed law, and yet with a perfectness of adaptation that *à priori* would have seemed like an impossible fairy tale? . . . Sir Douglas was looking at her intently—as a medical student she had got beyond his range; as a woman, for the moment, she was beautiful. Such a light is only seen in the eyes of those who can see the ideal in the actual. But he had not finished his study. He must bring her down to earth again. 'Do you remember your first day in the dissecting-room?' 'Yes,' said Mona—she sighed deeply, and the light went out of her eyes. 'A ghastly experience?' 'Yes.' 'And yet you say you have not become blunted?' 'I do not think,' said Mona, trying hard with a woman's instinct to avoid the least suspicion of dogmatism, 'I do not think that one becomes blunted when one ceases to look at the garbage side of a subject. Every subject, I suppose, *has* its garbage side, if one is on the look out for it; and in anatomy, unfortunately, that is the side that strikes one first, and consequently the only one outsiders ever see. It is difficult to discuss the question with one who is not a doctor' ('nor a scientist,' she added inwardly); 'but if you had pursued the study, I think you would see that one must, in time, lose sight of all but the wonder and the beauty of it.' There was a long pause. 'When you are qualified,' he said at last, 'you only mean to attend your own sex?' 'Oh, of course,' said Mona warmly. He seemed relieved. 'That was why my wife made me angry by suggesting, even in play, that you should prescribe for me. You women are, with or without conscious sacrifice, wading through seas of blood to right a terrible evil that has hitherto been an inevitable one. If you deliberately and gratuitously repeat that evil by extending your practice to men, the sacrifice has all been for nothing, and less than nothing.'

As a pendant to the above statement of the theory of the case, I may give a few lines that present with equal force its practical aspect:

'You enjoy your hospital work?' She looked into the fire with an amount of expression in her face that was almost painful. 'Hospital,' she said, 'is salvation! All one's work apart from that tends to make one self-centred. It is a duty to think much of *my* knowledge, *my* marks, *my* success, *my* failure. Hospital work gives one a chance to die to live. . . . But you know, Mr. Reynolds, if one realizes that the occupant of each bed is a human soul, with its own rights and its own reserves, life becomes pretty intense; a good deal gets crowded into a very few hours.'

Mona Maclean, however, is only one of a number of types presented to us in this book. Dr. Alice Bateson, the hard-working, common-sense, rather unconventional, general practitioner, is also an admirable study. At a crisis in her career Mona herself consults her.

Dr. Bateson rose as her patient entered, and looked at her steadily with the penetrating brown eyes. 'I am not ill,' Mona said, apologetically, 'but I can't sleep much, and things get on my nerves; so I thought I would allow myself the luxury of consulting you.' 'You do look seedy,' was the frank reply, and the brown eyes kept firm hold of the white sensitive face. 'Overworking?' 'No.' 'When is your next examination?' 'Not for eighteen months.' 'So it isn't that?' 'No, it isn't that.' Dr. Bateson put her fingers on the girl's pulse. Her manner could not be called strictly sympathetic—certainly not effusive—but there was something very irresistible in her profound and unassumed interest in her patients. 'Is something particular worrying you?' she said, shortly. Mona smiled drearily. 'There you have me,' she said. 'Something is worrying me. It lies entirely out of my power, so I cannot control it; and it is still uncertain, so I cannot make up my mind to it.' 'And you can't shake it off and wait?' 'I am afraid it is because I have failed in that that I have come to you. I suppose I am demanding the impossible, asking you to minister to a mind diseased?' 'I don't mind ministering to a mind diseased at all, if it is not too diseased to carry out my instructions. In this age of worry and strain, one laughs at the stories of the old doctors who declined to undertake a case if the patient had anything on his mind. They would not have a very flourishing practice now-a-days. Thousands of worries and not a few suicides might be prevented by the timely use of a simple tonic. Prosaic, isn't it?'

We have also several young medical students in the book, of types familiar enough to those whose work lies in the women's medical schools; the earnest but rather narrow student, who sees little outside of her work; the gay young girl who has fifty interests in all directions, and yet who is equally certain 'not to fail, nor to do brilliantly'; the born reformer who burns to set right all abuses; the hopelessly dull student who has failed so often that her friends count upon her company in a doubtful case. Others there are again more briefly indicated; but all, whether sketches or studies, have been drawn by an artist who knew his world. No attempt is made to represent all as clever, or even as good; most of the species are not new, but we find them in novel surroundings, and in a *fin de siècle* atmosphere. It would not be difficult to pick holes in the book, which is probably not the work of an experienced novelist, but it has all the charm and freshness of reality, and most people will find that the sparkling wit and wisdom with which it abounds suffice

to make it a delightful novel. That this is the popular verdict seems proved by the fact that within three months of publication it has reached a second edition. Those who look deeper can hardly fail to surmise that the narrator is also a worker, that we have indeed on almost every page

‘ words fierily furnaced

In the blast of a life that has struggled in earnest.’

Space will allow no further extracts; and, indeed, if the book is to be fully appreciated, it should be read as a consecutive whole. With reference, however, to my special subject, I think I may confidently say that those who desire to meet the genuine medical woman, as presented by herself, or by a wonderfully sympathetic professional brother, may do so in these pages; and we, who have watched the movement from its infancy, and longed and striven for its success, may rejoice that its ballad-singer has arisen at last, and may offer our heartfelt thanks to this, our latest helper, whose golden words may penetrate where ours can find no entrance, and may unlock to us the hearts of those of our fellow-countrywomen who have failed to see what we have been unable to show. In this case, as in so many others, deeper insight is everything—*Tout comprendre c'est tout pardonner.*

SOPHIA JEX-BLAKE, M.D.

ASPECTS OF TENNYSON

III

THE REAL THOMAS BECKET

Love thou thy land with love far-brought
From out the storied Past, and used
Within the Present, but transfused
Thro' future time by power of thought.

EIGHT years ago I was so bold as to say that Lord Tennyson's *Becket* was his noblest work. I was even bolder: I gave my reason for saying so. His *Becket*, I said, closes a prolonged struggle between prejudice and historic truth, and will reinstate in the affections of the English people the memory of one of England's greatest men, after centuries of alienation caused by an act of royal tyranny that for pettiness and malice cannot be matched in history.

The intervening years have proved that I was not too bold; and I gladly avail myself of the opportunity now given me to dwell upon the point.

Nearly four centuries ago Henry the Eighth enacted the miserable farce of commanding a *quo warranto* information to be filed by the Attorney-General against Thomas, sometime Archbishop of Canterbury, summoning him, four hundred years after he had been treacherously done to death, to answer the charge of high treason. To complete the mockery, counsel at the public expense was assigned to the martyr; he was declared guilty of contumacy, treason and rebellion, and sentence was passed upon him. According to this sentence and the proclamation that followed, his bones were condemned to be publicly burnt; the offerings made at his shrine (they were of inestimable value, and the gifts of Christendom) were forfeited to the Crown; all persons were forbidden to call or esteem him a saint, and compelled to destroy every image and picture of him; the festivals in his honour were abolished, and his name and remembrance erased out of all books, under pain of his Majesty's indignation, and imprisonment at his Grace's pleasure.¹

It was thus that the voice of the people was stifled, and the double reign of slander and prejudice inaugurated.

¹ Wilkins, *Concilia*, iii. 835-841.

But Henry the Eighth knew what he was at when he blasted the fair fame of the great Archbishop, dragged the martyr of liberty from his throne in the heart of the nation, and destroyed his altars throughout the land. With the sure instinct of a tyrant, he attacked a vital principle directly in the concrete form in which, appealing to the reason with a new force, it had sunk deep into the national mind, and been riveted afresh to the affection of the people.

It is a noteworthy circumstance that, as the lifetime of St. Thomas of Canterbury naturally falls into three distinct epochs, so what may be called his history after his death, the history of his memory, divides itself into three clearly defined periods. But here the parallel ends: the sequence of the periods varies. The brilliant Chancellorship of Thomas Becket, preceded by the bright, promising days of his youth, was succeeded by the sad weary time of his Primacy, ending in martyrdom; the years of glory and worship immediately following his martyrdom were, on the other hand, succeeded by a time of contumely and misrepresentation initiated by Henry the Eighth, during which prejudice and perversity have borne such abundant fruit that only in recent years has there been a sign that truth would prevail.

But now at last a third and glorious period has set in. Inaugurated, as far as Englishmen as a nation are concerned, by Richard Hurrell Froude, and advancing under, if not in spite of, the fluctuating lights of Southey, Giles, Lord Campbell, Milman, Robertson, Freeman, Stubbs, and J. A. Froude, it now, illuminated with the broad daylight of the Rolls Series,² culminates in the national drama of the Laureate.

Englishmen have ever felt the spell exercised in life and death by England's greatest Chancellor and Primate; but again and again prejudice has won the upper hand. If, fronting the splendour of Becket's great deeds, or the radiance of a beautiful, touching, noble incident in his life, a ray of light for a moment pierced the dense fogs with which from childhood education had confused their mental vision, prejudice quickly reasserted its old ascendancy and the light was lost to them.

There is something much more to be dreaded than the fierce light that beats upon a throne: the obscuring of that light. And when Henry the Eighth darkened the memory of Thomas Becket he blinded the nation for centuries.

I do not speak at random or with rhetorical exaggeration. Taken as a whole, the writers of this century—excluding Catholic writers, for they venerate Thomas Becket as a Saint—considered in the light of the *Materials for the History of Archbishop*

² The publication, at the public expense, of the eight large volumes of the Rolls Series, dealing solely with the history of St. Thomas Becket, is one of the most striking instances I know of a nation making reparation for the evil deeds of its sometime sovereign.

Thomas Becket, of the Rolls Series, will be found to fully bear me out. But there are not many that have the time to make such a review; there are, perhaps, still fewer that have the patience. Happily, the need for it of former times no longer exists. Lord Tennyson, with the sight and insight of a *Seer*, saw the truth; with the strength of a strong man he proclaimed it, and with the rhythmic graces of his art, and the winning beauty of his genius, he clothed it. The strange travesties, the contradictions and inconsistencies, the false inferences, the clouds of misunderstanding and misrepresentation of a long line of writers, historians and biographers, all vanished before the single eye, the steady gaze of the poet who dared to look and was strong to see.

But, distasteful and irksome though it be to plunge back into the darkness and windings of bigotry and prejudice when the simplicity and light of knowledge and genius beckon us forward, it is necessary, in order to understand the greatness, the true nobility of Tennyson's work, for a moment at least to glance at some of the contradictions and calumnies in which honourable and gifted writers have been involved when unconsciously misrepresenting the life of one of England's greatest sons.

Not one of these historians, not one of these biographers, has wholly escaped the subduing power of heroic virtue; however strong their prepossessions, however tough their prejudices, an admiration of their subject bursts from them in spite of themselves—or rather in spite of their adverse circumstances; but this very admiration itself has not unfrequently intensified the mischief of their misreading of history.

For instance, when Southey³ wrote that Becket 'was one of those men whose greatness is seen only in times of difficulty and danger when deprived of all adventitious aid and left wholly to themselves,' and that 'his spirit was one of those which difficulties and dangers serve only to exalt,' it certainly gave a false air of impartiality to his description of him as 'the boon companion of the King,' who, up to his election to the See of Canterbury, had been anything rather than a Churchman. The praise is quickly obscured by gathering clouds of prejudice; and thick as snowflakes fall, 'his lax notions of moral obligation,' 'a spirit of aggression,' 'an ambitious heart,' 'ambitious zeal,' 'a breach of faith,' 'duplicity,' 'he acted with a deceitfulness for which excuse can only be found in the casuistry of his Church,' 'whether he entertained the fear that his life was in danger, it was plainly his intention to act as if he did,' 'violent and imperious in prosperity,' 'an inflexible temper,' 'an unbounded indignation.' And then comes the summing up: 'In this long contention each party had committed acts as unwarrantable as the other could have desired.'

At the risk of digression I must recall one act, a notorious act,

³ *The Book of the Church.*

of Henry's in his six years' struggle to change, not only the Constitution of England, but also the ecclesiastical law of the whole of Christendom—reminding my readers meantime that in his love of Henry, which, in spite of everything, remained to the end, Becket never could bring himself to excommunicate him, though, as his letters show, he used every argument and entreaty that duty and affection could prompt to soften the King's heart.

In the depth of the winter, by the command of Henry, all the kindred and friends of the Archbishop were seized and transported beyond the sea. Neither age nor sex was spared—married and single, young and aged, the sick as well as the sound, orphans, widows, expectant mothers, nursing mothers with their babes in their arms, feeble old men, delicate girls, his clergy and secular friends—all were exiled, after having, with a refinement of cruelty, been forced to swear that they would present themselves before the Archbishop (himself in exile) in order to break his resolution by the sight of their miseries. And heartrending their miseries were; for by the same decree by which they were exiled their property was confiscated to the Crown, and, thus deprived of the means of subsistence, many died of cold and hunger. And the King did not stop here. In addition to this, he appropriated to himself all the Archbishop's possessions, including the property of his See, which he committed to the charge of St. Thomas's bitterest enemy, Ranulf de Broc. Further, as Henry the Eighth by royal proclamation proscribed all prayers to St. Thomas the Martyr, Henry the Second, by public edict, prohibited prayers for Thomas Becket the Confessor.⁴

Lord Campbell,⁵ like other modern writers, has nothing but praise for Becket up to the time of his Primacy: 'the handsomest and the most accomplished man in the kingdom' captivated him as much as he captivated Henry, until his principles thwarted the King's will. His splendour, his valour, his vigorous and impartial justice are without a flaw. But then comes the Primacy, and with the Primacy historic truth vanishes. Lord Campbell avows the difficulty of analysing the feelings of Becket on the announcement of the King's choice; but immediately after, under the shelter of 'probably,' he begins the legend of the ambitious prelate and his duplicity. He knows all about the glow of pleasure that Becket felt at the bare prospect of greatness, though he was so far his own dupe as to persuade himself that he was unwilling to have it thrust upon him.

Were there more imagination in our English character, men would not, even in these latter days of conflicting creeds and religious division and contention, go so far astray in judging a man who was dominated by an unwavering faith in the great principles and dogmas of the one Church that in the twelfth century united all

⁴ *Materials*, i. 47; ii. 313, 314, 404; iii. 359, 360; iv. 65.

⁵ *Lives of the Lord Chancellors of England*.

Christendom in one belief under the sway of one ecclesiastical law. We should then have heard nothing of the 'wonderful transformation' in the Archbishop that exercised Lord Campbell and so many others; and contemptuous allusions to hair-shirt and discipline would have been deemed as irrational, as mockery of those *qui in stadio currunt*. Neither, whilst disclaiming 'mere vulgar ambition' for Becket when he followed the usual course in like circumstances and resigned the Chancellorship, would there have been any temptation for a historian of weight to sympathise with Henry because, forsooth, knowing his Chancellor too well to believe that the resignation proceeded from 'real humility and dislike of temporal power,' his fears were aroused at such an indication of the higher and more dangerous ambition of a competitor striving 'to exalt the mitre above the crown.'

Alas, for the manifold might of prejudice! Just as though there would not have been a far wider field for a man of Becket's attainments, had he been an ambitious man, in the combined exercise of both the highest ecclesiastical and secular authority in the kingdom than in that of the ecclesiastical alone, especially under such a sovereign as Henry the Second, the *Rex Transmarinus*⁶ of his English subjects. Henry was even thought by contemporaries to aim at the establishment of a Viceroyalty when he obtained the Primacy for Becket,⁷ the first Englishman since the Conquest elected to that exalted post. But again I am digressing.

Lord Campbell's final estimate of the great Archbishop is singularly instructive. The martyr for liberty was to him 'the man who of all the English Chancellors since the foundation of the monarchy was of the loftiest ambition, of the greatest firmness of purpose, and the most capable of making every sacrifice to a sense of duty or *for the acquisition of renown.*'⁸

Dean Milman⁹ takes quite another view than that of the popular Chancellor theory, exemplified in Southey and Lord Campbell; but, notwithstanding that he is ungrudging in his admissions of Becket's sacrifice 'of the unbounded power and influence which he might have retained had he still condescended to be the favourite of the King, of his accomplishments, transcendent capacity—I use Milman's own words—of his extraordinary abilities, his precocious, his unrivalled abilities, of his lofty and devoted churchmanship, his consummate abilities for business, of the promptitude, diligence, and prudence of a practised statesman shown by him, of the conclusive testimonies of his unimpeached morals, of his intrepid character, his quiet intrepidity and dauntlessness, notwithstanding that he allows him to have been the most distinguished Churchman in Christendom, the champion of the sacerdotal order—notwithstanding that he allows and admits all this, he, too, falls into endless mis-

⁶ *Materials*, iii. 121, 123, 127, 132.

⁸ The italics are mine.

⁷ *Ibid.* iv. 94.

⁹ *History of Latin Christianity*.

representations, and is guilty of precisely the same kinds of contradiction and assumption as the preceding writers, but more marked and stronger.

He cannot view the Archbishop from the standpoint of the twelfth century, when one faith governed all, and the appeal to Rome, the centre of it, was the sole safety of the millions of Christendom from the rapacity and, worse, the unbridled passions of tyrants. In Milman's hands the man of lofty churchmanship and quiet intrepidity, who freely and willingly sacrificed unbounded power and influence, becomes likewise a man of ambitious and inflexible heart, given to tergiversation, the approver of haughty counsels, revengeful, and guilty of a fury of haughtiness equalling the fury of resentment in the King: of a King, be it remembered, who in his insane, brutal rage caused a messenger of the Archbishop's to be put to the horrid torture of having fingers thrust into his eyes as if to gouge them out, till the blood flowed, then ordered scalding water to be forced down his throat, and finally had him cast into prison¹⁰—a fit accompaniment of such other cruelties as the exile of Becket's kindred and friends under every species of aggravation of their wretchedness.

Nor is this all, nor nearly all; but one short passage more, without criticism or comment of mine, will be enough, if not more than enough, of Dean Milman:—

If the King would have consented to allow Churchmen to despise all law—if he had not insisted on hanging priests guilty of homicide as freely as laymen—he might have gone on unreproved in his career of ambition; he might unrebuked have seduced or ravished the wives and daughters of his nobles; extorted without remonstrance of the clergy any revenue from his subjects, if he had kept his hands from the treasure of the Church. Henry's real tyranny was not the object of the Churchman's censure, oppugnancy, or resistance. The cruel and ambitious and rapacious King would doubtless have lived unexcommunicated, and died with plenary absolution.

These three authors—Southey, Campbell, and Milman—are, I think, fair samples of what the animus born of Henry the Eighth's policy has effected in cultivated and learned men free from every charge of intentional unfairness and misrepresentation; and through them we can judge of the spirit that has permeated more or less the mind of the nation.

Of still later writers it would be impossible to say that, with even increased facilities of knowing the truth, they have succeeded in divesting themselves of the old spirit of prejudice.

I will say nothing of Canon Robertson. His great and painstaking labours in editing the *Materials* of the Rolls Series till death stayed his hand may, I think, be taken to have cancelled all that was unworthy in his earlier work.¹¹

But of another historian, one of whom every Englishman is proud,

¹⁰ *Materials*, vi. 76.

¹¹ *Becket, Archbishop of Canterbury: a Biography*.

I cannot be silent. Professor Stubbs—now Bishop of Oxford—in dealing with St. Thomas¹² has shown himself something very different from an impartial judge, to say nothing of a sympathetic or generous one. He esteems St. Thomas an extraordinary man, and he acknowledges that, at all times, whatever he did he did it with all his might; but that is the best he can say of him. Even for the great Chancellor, 'who has left his mark on the law and constitution of England for all later time,'¹³ he has no higher tribute than that he was 'an indefatigable letter-writer, an efficient judge, a cunning financier,' and that is all. For the Archbishop he has barely a good word. He becomes

The high ecclesiastic pure and simple, coveting the Papal legation, hand and glove with the Pope. . . . An unflinching and unreasoning supporter of all clerical claims, right or wrong, wholesome or unwholesome, consistent or inconsistent with his previous life and opinions.

In speaking of the Archbishop's action in enforcing the feudal rights of his see, Professor Stubbs says that 'he showed himself somewhat grasping, or at all events made himself enemies at a moment when his experience should have taught him to be more politic'—a style of writing surely unworthy of a great historian, and one peculiarly misleading: *i.e.* to make a positive charge, and then immediately afterwards, when the first impression has been given, to supplement it with an alternative one of quite a different kind. Anything of a grasping character was foreign to St. Thomas's nature, judged by contemporary history; but he certainly did not stop to consider the mere policy of an action where the maintenance of a great principle was at stake. And this is not the only place where Professor Stubbs makes this kind of alternative charge:—

Three months, however, intervened before Becket started for home, and during the time he had several meetings with the King, in which he behaved, or his behaviour was interpreted, in a way prejudicial to his reputation for sincerity.

Who so interpreted his behaviour? And why is there no word of the King's insincerity in withholding the kiss of peace, in withholding the money promised for the Archbishop's return to England, and of all the rest of Henry's faithlessness? These may seem slight points; but they are of cumulative force, and reveal the bias of an influential writer.

At the Northampton Council the fear that the King intended violence to the Archbishop was so general that some of the courtiers who remained faithful to Becket warned him of it; the recreant bishops urged it as a ground for his immediate resignation; and, to crown all, immediately St. Thomas entered the castle the gates were closed behind him and locked.¹⁴ Nevertheless, we read in the *Early*

¹² *Epochs of Modern History—The Early Plantagenets; Constitutional History of England.*

¹³ Freeman, *Contemporary Review*, 1878.

¹⁴ *Materials*, i. 33.

Plantagenets that the Archbishop carried his own cross on the occasion, 'partly as a safeguard against violence which he had no reason to apprehend, partly in an awful, miserable parody of the Great Day of Calvary.'

And so Professor Stubbs's picture grows more and more grievously at variance with the picture of contemporary records:—

All the rest of his career is the same—a morbid craving after the honours of martyrdom, or confessorship at the least, a crafty policy for embroiling Henry with his many enemies, combined with a plausible allegation that it is all for his good and that of the Church. There is in him some greatness of character still, some sincerity, we will hope, but no self-renunciation, no self-restraint, no earnest striving for peace; little, very little care of the flock over which he was overseer, and which was left shepherdless.

And then at last we are told in conclusion that

it is only by considering the horrible sufferings of his death that we can pardon him for the conduct that brought the pains of death upon him.

Surely there is something even worse than damning with faint praise!

Whilst such sad blots were once more defacing history, it is pleasant to remember that, as R. H. Froude and Giles and Father Morris were modifying the influence of the Southey's and Campbell's and Milman's of earlier years, a distinguished poet devoted himself to the like difficult task of counteracting, if not of removing, prejudice and effacing untruth. The reception that Mr. Aubrey de Vere's *St. Thomas of Canterbury* received marked a growing fairness in the public temper. What chance of fixing attention or winning the least general recognition would even so beautiful a poem as this have had a few years previously? As little probably as Mr. R. A. Thompson's biography¹⁵ would have had now.

Mr. De Vere's Becket is the Becket of history; but whilst some prefer the meditative strength of his poem, the popular mind will be most impressed with the rapid action and more vivid picture of Lord Tennyson. Mr. De Vere thinks most of the Saint; Lord Tennyson thinks most of the hero. Mr. De Vere elaborates; the Poet Laureate condenses; and hence, whilst the former appeals specially to the more thoughtful few, the swift concentrated strength of the latter will reach far and near, and win equally popular sympathy and cultivated appreciation.

But I am anticipating. I would I were not. I should then be spared even a passing allusion to an instance of the tough vitality of prejudice, of its all-penetrating, all-corroding influence, that I would rather not revert to. Happily, however, I need allude to it only to pass it by. For the very grave misrepresentations of that most brilliant, fascinating writer, Mr. J. A. Froude,¹⁶ have already been

¹⁵ *Thomas Becket, Martyr Patriot.*

¹⁶ *The Nineteenth Century*, 1877: 'Life and Times of Thomas Becket.'

met and refuted and condemned, singly and successively, by one whose judgment has been neither reversed nor questioned; by one who, if unconscious bias did in some degree deprive him of the deeper insight of the elder Froude, nevertheless wrote nobly of St. Thomas, and assisted immensely the progress of the vindication that has been slowly worked out in this century. It is matter for profound regret, however, that, though Mr. J. A. Froude was not utterly regardless of Mr. Freeman's remonstrances, he nevertheless republished his four articles,¹⁷ with many of their base and baseless charges and unjust imputations, in all the fulness of the picturesque force and daring that make his utterances so singularly seductive to the unwary. But even these will not now be easily misled by his graver misstatements; and all the allurements of alliteration and picturesque imagination can scarcely at this time of day reconcile people to a historian who, in his lightest manner, could covertly asperse the fair fame of the great Archbishop, and fasten the character of a 'profligate scoundrel' on 'one of the most distinguished men of any race that this island has ever produced,' whose unspotted life at all times, in every circumstance, under every temptation—even the most exceptional—after the sharp scrutiny of malice and the close investigation of anxious veneration, was the theme of historians and biographers, and the admiration and envy of a lax Court and licentious society.¹⁸

I now naturally pass on to Mr. Freeman's influence. Mr. Freeman did so much in the vindication of St. Thomas of Canterbury,¹⁹ especially with regard to that early part of the Martyr's career when he exercised his splendid administrative gifts in the secular service of the King and country, that it is not easy at first sight to understand how he could have thrown any weight into the other scale. For, alas! even Mr. Freeman has not escaped the effects of the universal atmosphere of prejudice. Indeed, he frankly says that he has little or no sympathy with Becket as Archbishop; that his real personal interest ends with the Chancellorship. This lack of sympathy, however, did not prevent him from declaring that 'above all St. Thomas of Canterbury was emphatically a hero;' or from seeing that 'the heroic grandeur of the Catholic saint appealed irresistibly to the heart of the poet.' But in his avowal lies, I think, the explanation of the strange view he takes of Becket's later years, and of the greatest blemish that is to be found in his otherwise, for the most part, just and judicious estimate of a great man.

After Becket's elevation to the Primacy, artificiality, according to Mr. Freeman, colours and overwhelms and spoils everything else in Becket's career. He does not scorn Becket for it; he does not rail

¹⁷ *Short Studies on Great Subjects*, 4th series.

¹⁸ *Materials*, i. 6; ii. 308, 365; iii. 21, 166; iv. 14. *Thomas Saga*, Rolls Series, i. 53, 54.

¹⁹ *Historical Essays; The Norman Conquest; Contemporary Review*, 1878, 'Life and Times of Thomas Becket.'

at him for it; he does not even blame him for it; but it grieves and disappoints him beyond measure. He cannot get rid of the notion or the word. He harps on them incessantly and to weariness. They run through his well-known essay *St. Thomas of Canterbury and his Biographers*; they pervade that part of his *Norman Conquest* that relates to St. Thomas; and they are echoed again and again in his *Life and Times of Thomas Becket*. A mistaken view like this naturally leads to wrong conclusions; inconsistency and confusion are the inevitable result. And, coming from a historian of such high standing as Mr. Freeman, it has doubtless had its share in retarding the vindication that in other respects he did so much to promote.

Thanks, however, in no small degree to Mr. Freeman, there is scarcely an educated Englishman now that is not ready to dwell with proud content upon one side of the brilliant Chancellor days of Becket, and to acknowledge the great things that England owes to his administration as a secular ruler. Nearly all his countrymen pay ungrudging homage to Becket's great secular gifts, if I may so call them, and to the use he made of them. They even acknowledge his piety, and generous charity, and pure life. But when they come to talk of the great change that followed his elevation to the Primacy, it is manifest that the real inner life of the man as Chancellor has escaped many of them as much as it at times escaped Mr. Freeman.

This, I think, caused an acute critic (acute I must say, though in some points I differ from him) to regret that Lord Tennyson in his 'common-sense view of Becket's character' had ignored the opportunity of depicting the one psychological problem which might well tempt a dramatist of analytic mood—his transformation from a statesman to a Churchman, from a man of the world worldly to an ecclesiastic who wore the tonsure, not only on his head, but in his heart—the contrast of the Becket of Toulouse and the Becket of Clarendon.²⁰

The solution of all these paradoxes will be found in the perfect continuity of the mind and character of Thomas Becket. His circumstances, duties, and surroundings changed suddenly and greatly; but he never changed. The man was the same throughout. Let us read him as they read him who lived with him.

The handsome gifted son of Gilbert Becket and Matilda his wife was in boyhood a pupil of Robert Prior of Merton; he continued his studies at the London schools and the University of Paris. At the age of twenty-five, after he had gained a practical insight into the business of life, both in his father's house and with his kinsman Osbern Witdeniers, he entered the household of Archbishop Theobald, and there became a thorough and formed ecclesiastic. During this time the Archbishop took him to Rome with him, and sent him there independently on all kinds of important ecclesiastical and political affairs. Amongst others he was charged with the delicate negotiations relat-

²⁰ *Pall Mall Gazette*, December 11, 1884.

ing to the succession to the Crown, which by his 'subtle prudence and cleverness' ²¹ he secured to Henry. It was also during this period that he obtained leave of the Primate Theobald to go to Bologna for the study of canon law. He remained there a year, under Gratian, ²² and thence went to Auxerre for the same purpose. Few ecclesiastics have had a more mature formation than he had. From the Archbishop's household he went straight to the Court.

At the Court there was undoubtedly much in the outward life of the magnificent statesman, judge, and warrior that was incompatible with a strict observance of the ecclesiastical state. But there was a continuity in his inner, deeper life, marked by piety, purity, and severe personal austerities, that was never broken. And the whole stream of his life, which was partially diverted for awhile, returned with full tide when he became priest and Archbishop.

The Chancellorship was none of his seeking. He accepted it at the injunction of Archbishop Theobald. And even during his Chancellor days, when in the fullest enjoyment of the King's favour and friendship, he longed to be free of the Court and back in his old home with Archbishop Theobald; and he often begged the Archbishop to take him back into his service. But the Archbishop refused. ²³

Judging from what Fitzstephen says, Theobald was fully justified in his refusal. It would be difficult to produce a more striking passage from our early records than Fitzstephen's account of what Becket mainly effected for the 'noble Kingdom of England and Holy Church' when, entering on his new duties as Chancellor, he found the legacy of disorder and anarchy left by Stephen working the misery and ruin of the people. ²⁴

No wonder that, the most trusted and intimate counsellor of the King, he won favour and enjoyed it without stint among all classes: 'Cancellarii summus erat in clero, militia et populo regni favor.' ²⁵

As regards his ecclesiastical policy, even that underwent no real, intrinsic change when Becket became Archbishop.

His firmness in resisting breaches of ecclesiastical law, as witnessed in his opposition to the marriage of the King's brother and the Countess Isabel, and that of Mary of Blois and the Count of Boulogne, is certainly more characteristic of the high principles required in a ruler of the Church than of an easy-going, pleasure-loving, secular administrator. The marriage of the latter was unquestionably hindered by him during his Chancellorship. His opposition to that of William and Isabel took place between 1159 and 1163, and if not during the Chancellorship must have been very soon after his consecration and before his rupture with the King at Westminster and

²¹ Gervasil *Op. Hist.*, Rolls Series.

²² *Ibid.* ii. 304; *Thomas Saga*, vol. i. 59.

²³ *Materials*, ii. 304.

²⁴ *Materials*, iii. 18, 19.

²⁵ *Ibid.* 20.

Clarendon. It was the undying hatred he caused by opposing this unlawful marriage that instigated the savage brutality of Le Breton when he broke his sword on the pavement of Canterbury Cathedral by the violence of the blow with which he struck the prostrate Archbishop, saying, 'Take that for the love of my Lord William, the King's brother.'²⁶

In fact, allowing for the difference of circumstances, position, and responsibility, no change of principle can be discovered between the ecclesiastical policy of the Chancellor and that of the Archbishop. There were many things that as Chancellor Becket could not prevent, though he might disapprove of them, but that, once in the higher and independent office of Primate, duty would compel him to resist. Things that so long as he was Chancellor he might use persuasion, counsel, diplomacy, to prevent, or might even let be; but that, once Archbishop, he would have to forbid. In those days the Primate was the yokefellow of the King; the Chancellor was only his right-hand man.²⁷

And so far from being artificial, St. Thomas's life, whether public or private, was after his consecration distinctly in conformity with his previous character, though raised to a higher level. But when the King came to feel that he was no longer dealing with his Chancellor but with an independent power, the head of the Church in England, he resented the old ascendancy and broke the bonds of friendship.

His passing irritation at the Archbishop's resumption of alienated Church lands was succeeded by greater anger on Becket's refusal to obey a peremptory command to absolve William of Eynesford, excommunicated for infringing the rights of the See of Canterbury; and the breach went on rapidly widening till the King made a direct attack upon the liberties of the clergy.

It was as much a part of the law of the land then that a cleric should not be tried by a civil court as it now is that a peer of the realm shall be tried by his equals. Ecclesiastical sentences were very severe, though they did not amount to the hideous tortures of the tyrannical civil courts; and, moreover, including as they did degradation—that is, the total loss of every ecclesiastical privilege and immunity—the degraded cleric, an outlaw from his own class, became thereby for any after-offence as amenable to secular tribunals as any layman.

In such well-known cases as those of Philip of Brois, the cleric who stole a chalice, and the priest of the Salisbury diocese accused, not proved guilty, of murder, the severe penalties of degradation,

²⁶ *Materials*, iii. 142.

²⁷ 'Hoc aratrum in Anglia duo boves cæteris præcellentes regendo trahunt, et trahendo regunt. Rex videlicet et Archiepiscopus Cantuariensis. Iste seculari justitia et imperio, ille divina doctrina et magisterio.'—Eadmer, *Hist. Nov.* lib. i. p. 18.

public flagellation, deprivation, branding, imprisonment for life, and banishment were severally inflicted.²⁸ But such punishment did not satisfy Henry. He summoned the Council of Westminster, and demanded that, contrary to the laws of England, a cleric should suffer twice for the same crime—*i.e.* that he should first be degraded in presence of the royal officials, and then be straightway handed over to them to receive corporal punishment without any defence from benefit of clergy—that is, the exemption of the Church.

The bishops—‘not columns, but reeds,’ as Herbert of Bosham, who was present at the Council, called them—were ready to yield. Becket, with the instinctive justice of an Englishman, protested that it was unjust to condemn a man twice for the same fault, and, with the unerring prescience of a true Churchman, added that the liberty of the Church was in danger, for which a bishop should be ready to give his life.

Where concession was justifiable, his old affection for the King and his yearning to be at peace amidst his people made the Archbishop only too ready to grant it; but where duty and principle alike forbade it he was inflexible, and, in spite of the depth and warmth of his feelings, he endured exile himself, the exile of his kindred and friends, the insults and violence of his enemies, the alienation of his own order, and, perhaps hardest of all, the procrastination and vacillation of the Sovereign Pontiff, perplexed by the conflicting statements of the various messengers who ‘wore the threshold of the Apostles hurrying to and fro,’²⁹ and harassed by the intrigues of corrupt officials of the Roman Court.

And here I must say one word about the Archbishop’s momentary yielding in the matter of the customs—customs, not laws, be it remembered. St. Thomas never either sealed or signed the Constitutions of Clarendon. Before the customs were written out or even drawn up he promised that on accepting them he would omit the words so obnoxious to the King of ‘saving his order’; and at Clarendon, when he pledged himself to observe them—still unwritten, be it remembered—he omitted the words. Both these concessions, taken alone, may be deemed a weakness; but the bitterness with which the Archbishop lamented it has, I think, led many to suppose his fault greater than it really was.

Moreover, the circumstances under which he yielded must be borne in mind. Greater pressure could not be brought to bear upon any man than was then brought to bear upon St. Thomas. The whole world was against him: or rather, he seemed to be standing against the judgment of the whole world—of that of his own friends and counsellors, as well as of the partisans and advisers of the King. Arnulph, Bishop of Lisieux, instigated the King to try to win over the clergy, the Archbishop of York, and the rest of the episcopate to

²⁸ *Materials*, iii. 265.

²⁹ *Ibid.* iii. 415.

his side, first of all, in the hope that if their countenance were withdrawn the Saint would yield ;³⁰ and six times he crossed the Channel (and only think what six journeys across the Channel implied in those days !) in order to bring the Pope to a favourable view of the King's demand.

Next Hilary of Chichester came with his expostulations.³¹ Then came John, Count of Vendôme, and Robert de Melun, Bishop-elect of Hereford, in the company of the Abbot of l'Aumône, who brought letters purporting to be from the Pope, which urged great moderation and submission to the King, saying that the Church was in trouble in the troubles of its head, and that prudence must avert a similar trouble from befalling England. In addition to this, the Abbot insisted with plausible importunity that the Pope counselled the Archbishop to yield for the sake of peace, and that hence the responsibility of submission now rested with the Pope. He also brought letters from the Cardinals all on the same side, and declaring that the King had given his assurance that he intended no detriment to the Church.³²

It was after this that the Primate made his first promise. The Council of Clarendon was summoned in order that the promise might be ratified in public. Meanwhile, doubts arising as to the trustworthiness of the Abbot's assertions, St. Thomas decided against a public ratification. Whereupon Jocelin of Salisbury and William of Norwich, in mortal terror of the King, besought him with tears in their eyes to have mercy on them, as their very lives depended on his reconciliation with the King ; but they could not move him.³³ The Earls of Leicester and Cornwall added their entreaties and dire prognostications, likewise in vain ; and it was not until the Master of the English Templars and Hostes of Boulogne had reasserted the arguments of Philip of l'Aumône, that weighed with him so much before, and had solemnly pledged themselves that the King would not attempt to injure the Church, and that nothing more should be heard of the Constitutions—it was not until then that the Archbishop, having consulted the other bishops anew, made the required promise,³⁴ a promise repented of immediately. Henry's arbitrary and unconstitutional interpretation of the customs showed the promise to be incompatible with the primatial oath of office, and therefore void.

The day after his second promise, when the Constitutions of Clarendon, which meantime had been drawn up by the King's direction, were read aloud in Council and severely criticised and condemned by St. Thomas, on the King's demand that the Archbishop and the bishops should affix their seals to them—which, be it observed,

³⁰ *Materials*, i. 14 ; ii. 377 ; iv. 29, 30.

³¹ *Ibid.* i. 14, 15 ; ii. 378.

³² *Ibid.* i. 15 ; iii. 276-278 ; iv. 31, 32.

³³ *Ibid.* i. 6 ; iv. 34.

³⁴ *Ibid.* i. 17 ; iv. 35.

was not simply exacting the promise to observe the unwritten customs already given, but also requiring from the bishops a particular interpretation of them—the Archbishop answered, ‘By God Almighty, never during my lifetime shall my seal be set to them.’³⁵

The critic of Lord Tennyson, whom I have already quoted, laments that the late Poet-Laureate has, in his *Becket*, been an annalist rather than an analyst, seizing upon salient events, and leaving the intervening motives and emotions to take care of themselves. This is what I think, under the special circumstances, a signal merit of the drama, in so far as it is a portrait of St. Thomas.

Hitherto there has been a great deal too much meddling with motives and emotions in connection with the great Archbishop, and too little regard shown for the real facts of his life. It would have been better both for historic truth and English love of fair play if more attention had been paid to the facts, and the motives and emotions had been left to take care of themselves. This is what has happened now. In Tennyson’s *Becket* we have a picture of the man in the narrative of facts by a master-hand that, thrown upon the popular mind, will appeal to it and win it by degrees, as in the past the living facts themselves went home to the heart of the nation and directly swayed the affections of the masses, when they found utterance in the glorious and now vanished shrine of Canterbury Cathedral, or the fostering home for the suffering poor which has now grown into the vast London hospital that bears his name.

From the first page to the last, with a marvellous adhesion to historic fact and sequence, with vigorous or subtle strokes, Lord Tennyson swiftly and boldly paints his portrait, till the Becket of history, as he was known in his daily outward life, stands a living man before us. His purity, his lofty standard of duty, his humility and self-mistrust, his natural ardour of temperament and impetuosity, his self-control and calmness, his heroic courage in the face of danger and sternness with tyranny, his tenderness of heart and patience in the presence of weakness and suffering, his strong affections, his deep sense of justice, his large-mindedness, his minute thoughtfulness, his profound religious feeling, his keen perception of the failings of the cloister, his great administrative power, his popular sympathies and love of the poor, his fondness for Nature and animals, his patriotism, his splendour, his single-mindedness, his generosity, his magnanimity, his passion for liberty—all this, falling naturally into the action without strain or effort, is either directly or implicitly manifest, and makes itself felt.

Take the Prologue—a powerfully dramatic and condensed retrospect forecasting the whole action of the piece. The vivid truth of the Prologue alone is enough to undo a century of slander and

³⁵ ‘Per Deum omnipotentem, nunquam me vivente sigillum meum his apponetur.’
—*Materials*, iv. 37.

prejudice. What is the impression at the outset conveyed by the dialogue? We have at once the pleasure-loving, passionate, arbitrary, grasping sovereign contrasted with the brilliant, genial Chancellor, ready, it is true, to return jest for jest, but also with an undercurrent of serious purpose and strong principle running throughout his good-humoured banter.

It is very skilful how, in the interest of the game, Becket is made to disregard the King's violent outbursts against the Church, yet promptly to check the notion that, Bishop or Archbishop, he would deal lightly with sin. He lets the King twit him for his constitutional delicacy in matters of the table, but stops him instantly and boldly when from meats and wine he would pass on to gallantry; and Thomas the Chancellor stands inches higher than Henry the King. Thus slander dies, and history reigns again.

It is history, too, when, pointing to his gay sleeve, he repels the first hint that he will succeed Theobald; and history gleams and flashes and sparkles in the humility, and piety, and prescience of his answer to the King, pressing the point, and urging that, though he might refuse to be a bishop, "*Nolo archiepiscopari*" is quite another matter:—

A more awful one.

Make *me* archbishop! Why, my liege, I know
Some three or four poor priests a thousand times
Fitter for this grand function. *Me* archbishop!
God's favour and King's favour might so clash
That thou and I——That were a jest indeed!

So, too, his sorrow at the death of his old friend and master, Archbishop Theobald, is of history. And we have the very words from Grim of the base, brutal Fitzurse, who could not brook his lofty spirit: 'Ay, but he speaks to a noble as though he were a churl, and to a churl as if he were a noble.'

In the first scene at Northampton there is alas! a slip, a great slip—Becket is made to sign the Constitutions of Clarendon, and later this is repeated. And at page 28 the Archbishop speaks as though he had given no warning to Henry, though history tells that he did warn the King of what he was to expect.

But wonderfully true to the real Becket is his farewell to the cowardly retainers leaving him under the King's frown:—

God bless you all! God redden your pale blood! . . .

Farewell, friends! farewell, swallows! I wrong the bird; she leaves only the nest she built, they leave the builder.

And his pity for the maimed dog:—

Poor beast! Poor beast! . . . Who misuses a dog would misuse a child—they cannot speak for themselves.

And for his sumpter-mule, 'mutilated poor brute.' And the

deeper tenderness of such passages as the exquisite lines on the wild-fowl, and the little fair-haired Norman maid struck with leprosy,

Even in the mistaken episode, as I judge it, of Rosamund the spirit of history is preserved. There is no more of the narrow-minded fanatic or arrogant, merciless prelate than there is of connivance at royal vice; but there is the firmness, forbearance, and large-mindedness of a high-principled, godly man in his dealings with the woman wronged by Henry, who cannot see her own or others' wrong:—

I fled and found thy name a charm to get me
Food, roof and rest. I met a robber once;
I told him I was bound to see the Archbishop;
'Pass on,' he said, and in thy name I pass'd
From house to house. In one a son stone-blind
Sat by his mother's hearth: he had gone too far
Into the King's own woods; and the poor mother,
So soon as she learnt I was a friend of thine,
Cried out against the cruelty of the King.
I said it was the King's courts, not the King;
But she would not believe me, and she wish'd
The Church were King: she had seen the Archbishop once,
So mild, so kind. The people love thee, father.

That they did; and when he returned from exile all Kent and all London poured forth to welcome him, the poor weeping for joy and crying out, 'Blessed is he who cometh' in the name of the Lord, the father of the orphans and the judge of the widows'—*Pater orphanorum et iudex viduarum*.³⁶

. . . the bells rang out even to deafening,
Organ and pipe, and dulcimer, chants and hymns
In all the churches, trumpets in the halls,
Sobs, laughter, cries: they spread their raiment down
Before me---would have made my pathway flowers,
Save that it was mid-winter in the street,
But full mid-summer in those honest hearts.

That is truly the scene described by Fitzstephen and Herbert of Bosham. Indeed, I might quote innumerable passages to show how entirely the true Archbishop has given place to the legendary one of prejudice. It is the Becket of Grim, and Herbert, and Fitzstephen, not the haughty one of legend and of fiction, that welcomes beggars' prayers and asks for Rosamund's. It is the man who could bear to be told of his shortcomings, because 'four eyes see better than two,'³⁷ that John of Salisbury rebukes for his firmness in rebuke till he is fain to end:—

. . . I crave
Thy pardon—I have still thy leave to speak.

³⁶ *Materials*, iii. 477.

³⁷ " . . . Pariter et excessum indicā, si quo tu ipse videris et judicaveris excedentem." Et in calce sermonis adjiciens, "Circumspectius quippe," inquit, "et clarius quatuor duo oculi vident."—*Ibid.* iii. 186.

But it is in the last two scenes, after the entrance of the knights, that the power of the poem is felt at its fullest, giving all the beautiful contrasts of St. Thomas's character: his lofty spirit, now firm in rebuking the traitors, now melting into tenderness at the thought of his people. No threats move him.

Nay, when they seek to overturn our rights,
I ask no leave of king or mortal man
To set them straight again. Alone I do it.
Give to the King the things that are the King's,
And those of God to God.

At the threat of death seven hundred years ago his noble words anticipated his dauntless end;³⁸ they are nobly echoed here:—

Ye think to scare me from my loyalty
To God and to the Holy Father. No!
Tho' all the swords in England flash'd above me,
Ready to fall at Henry's word or yours—
Tho' all the loud-lung'd trumpets upon earth
Blared from the heights of all the thrones of her kings,
Blowing the world against me, I would stand
Clothed with the full authority of Rome,
Mail'd in the perfect panoply of faith,
First of the foremost of their files, who die
For God, to people heaven in the great day
When God makes up His jewels. Once I fled—
Never again, and you—I marvel at you—
Ye know what is between us. Ye have sworn
Yourselves my men when I was Chancellor—
My vassals—and yet threaten your Archbishop
In his own house.

What follows is as close to history as Father Morris's harmony of contemporary writers, which for simplicity and beauty has not been surpassed.³⁹

Amidst all the confusion, haste, and terror surrounding him, the Archbishop alone, as the several historians record, is calm. It is a calmness that makes itself felt in every narrative of the time. The monks drag and urge him hither and thither from the palace to the Cathedral, thinking that there during Vespers would be safety, and then flee. The Archbishop having resisted them, waits till

³⁸ 'Frustra mihi minamini; si omnes gladii Angliæ capiti meo immineant, ab observatione justitiæ Dei et obedientia domini papæ terrores vestri non me dimovere poterunt. Pede ad pedem me reperietis in Domini prælio. Semel recessi timidus sacerdos; redii in consilio et obedientia domini papæ ad ecclesiam meam: amplius in sempiternum non eam deseram. Si liceat mihi in pace fungi sacerdotio meo, bonum est mihi; si minus, fiat de me voluntas Dei. Præter hæc, nostis quid inter me et vos sit; unde et magis miror, quod audetis archiepiscopo in domo sua minari.' — *Ibid.* iii. 134-5.

³⁹ *The Life and Martyrdom of St. Thomas Becket*. For those who have neither the time nor the means to spend upon the *Materials* of the Rolls Series, the last edition of this work of the learned and accurate Jesuit is invaluable. It is the eight large volumes of the Rolls Series in brief, and gives many of the most important passages in the Archbishop's life in the very words of contemporary writers.

cross-bearer, mitre and pallium, everyone and everything, are in order, and then, seeing that the monks have fled, quietly says: 'Our dovecote flown! I cannot tell why monks should all be cowards.'⁴⁰

When Grim and others in their terror shut the doors of the transept and bolt out the monks, it is the Archbishop, pursued by his murderers, who commands the doors to be opened, and waits to see the last monk inside, just as Becket really waited in the face of death, and forbade the Cathedral to be made a castle.⁴¹

All have fears for him; he has fears only for others. Just at the last compunction seems to have touched De Morville, and he bade the Archbishop fly; but St. Thomas's resolution is unalterable:—

I will not.

I am readier to be slain than thou to slay.
Hugh, I know well thou hast but half a heart
To bathe this sacred pavement with my blood.
God pardon thee and these, but God's full curse
Shatter you all to pieces if ye harm
One of my flock.⁴²

Wounded by the profligate Fitzurse, he prays:—

I do commend my cause to God, the Virgin,
St. Denis of France and St. Alphege of England,
And all the tutelar saints of Canterbury.⁴³

Then, after Grim's vain defence, falling on his knees under the blow of De Tracy, he utters his last word ere he sinks prone and his voice is stilled by De Brito's sword:—

At the right hand of Power—
Power and great glory—for thy Church, O Lord—
Into Thy hands, O Lord—into Thy hands.⁴⁴

And now I would ask anyone who has read the whole poem and considered the network of cruel misrepresentation that has enveloped the memory of St. Thomas for centuries, whether any analysis, however subtle, could have given a more vivid idea of the Archbishop than the impressive picture by the Poet Laureate, and annalist if it

⁴⁰ '... ne timeatis; plerique monachi plus justo timidi sunt et pusillanimes.'—*Materials*, iii. 138.

⁴¹ 'Absit ut de ecclesia Dei castellum faciamus.'—*Ibid.* ii. 435. See also iii. 139.

⁴² '... sed auctoritate Dei interdico, ne quempiam meorum tangatis.'—*Ibid.* ii. 319. See also iii. 140.

⁴³ 'Inclinata in modum orantis cervice, junctis pariter et elevatis sursum manibus, Deo et Sanctæ Mariæ et beato martyri Dionysio suam et ecclesiæ causam commendavit.'—*Ibid.* ii. 437.

⁴⁴ 'Tertio vero percussus martyr genua flexit et cubitos, seipsum hostiam viventem offerendo, dicens submissa voce: "Pro nomine Jesu et ecclesiæ tuitione mortem amplecti paratus sum."—*Ibid.* ii. 437.

'Archiepiscopus a capite defluum cum brachio detergens et videns cruorem, gratias Deo agebat dicens: "In manus tuas, Domine, commendo spiritum meum."—*Ibid.* iii. 141.

must be, wrought from the very acts and words he did and spoke? Or whether there can be a question of the nation's debt to Lord Tennyson for his share in disposing us for a right appreciation of one of the grandest and most pathetic of human histories?

I fearlessly conclude as I began: Lord Tennyson's *Becket* is his noblest work; for it will reinstate a great Englishman in the affections of a great people; and of nations as of individuals it is equally true that

Blest

Is he whose heart is the home of the great dead
And their great thoughts.

AGNES LAMBERT.

THE TAXATION OF GROUND-RENTS

LORD ROSEBERRY, speaking on the 15th of last month to a meeting of 'The London Reform Union,' did not hesitate to express his opinion that the subject of the taxation of ground-rents is 'beset with snares and pitfalls.' In spite of this high authority, the subject is usually presented to popular audiences and included in election addresses—those attractive receptacles for party chickens which it is sometimes hoped will not too early come home to roost—as if it were quite of a simple nature, exhibiting few difficulties either in principle or practice, and needing for its satisfactory settlement scarcely more deliberation by Parliament than would be reasonably required for a measure intended still further to suppress the crime of housebreaking. Persons in this state of mind may, perhaps, be astonished at discovering that the Town Holdings Committee, after hearing, during two sessions, the best evidence that could be obtained, recently reported that, 'The idea that ground-rents are a class of property which at present escapes assessment for the purpose of local taxation is, of course, quite erroneous.' The numerous witnesses who were examined by the Committee included the well-known and able men to whose theories upon the subject Lord Rosebery did not fail to allude in his speech. They differed in opinion as to the degree in which a ground-rent contributes to rating, but there was a distinct preponderance of testimony to prove that it does, more or less, bear a share of local taxation. If this be so, it is clear that the claim of those, whether in the London County Council or elsewhere, who advocate in loose and general terms the rating of ground-rents, is for a further, as distinguished from a new, recourse to the profits derived from land. They propose to insert another and possibly a larger tap into an old source of local public income, and not a fresh tap into a new one. Rightly understood, their case is that the land does not bear enough of the local burden, not that it does not bear any. It is necessary to make this plain, because it is certain that many of the less-informed electors, who take their opinions from election addresses, and, as some would say, who fill 'the gallery,' labour under an erroneous belief that

the occupiers of houses sustain every local impost, and that the ground-landlords contribute nothing to the account.

Before Parliament could determine upon legislation having for its object the further rating of ground-rents, it would have to pay regard to four cardinal points. The first is: *What just claim exists for any such measure?* Assuming such a claim to be made out, the second point is: *What amount of rating do ground-landlords now bear?* The third is: *What additional amount would it be right to cast upon them?* And the fourth is: *Will they be able to relieve themselves of the additional charge by throwing it, sooner or later, upon the tenants?* The points obviously depend upon each other to some extent; and anyone who will take the trouble to study the exhaustive evidence which was laid before the Town Holdings Committee will learn that the second and fourth of them bristle with difficulties, and that they gave rise to serious differences of opinion on the part of the witnesses who were examined. Of course, if it should be found that there is no just cause for calling upon the ground-landlord to accept an additional burden, the whole question is disposed of. So also would it be, save for a temporary advantage, if it were demonstrated that, in the long run, and in spite of all the precautions adopted, the ground-landlord would be able to shift his responsibility to other shoulders.

In dealing with these four points, the cases of 'fee-farm' rent, of leases for 999 years, and of Scotch 'feu-duties' will not be taken into account. They present special features of their own. The lessee under such leases is, in effect, the owner of the land. He enjoys what is practically a perpetual interest, subject only to an annual payment to the landlord. The latter has no valuable reversion, and, therefore, no interest in the growing communal expenditure, nor advantage from it, except in so far as it may possibly tend to make his rent more secure. These are not the cases which are agitating the English public mind; and if they stood alone there would probably be to-day no serious ground-rent question to be solved. Professor Crawford Monro admitted to the Town Holdings Committee that there is no feeling in Manchester in favour of rating existing chief-rents. The case on which popular attention is fixed, especially in London, is that of the ground-landlord who has leased his land for building purposes on conditions which, it is believed, render him free from the increasing load of local taxation, and whose property, when the lease falls in, will have acquired a very great addition to its original value. It is upon him that the representative local authorities are casting attentive and hungry eyes. What just cause is there for spreading the rating net further over him, and for including within it the limited owners, sometimes half a dozen or more in number, who stand between him and the present occupier, and who have 'improved' the ground-rent, but whom it is not unusual to

leave quite out of sight in popular addresses on the ground-rent question? It is these intermediate owners, however, who reap, during the term of the ground-lease, the benefit of the increased value of the land.

Somebody has said that 'the land is certainly a very convenient place for people to live upon.' It is, indeed, so convenient that, under certain circumstances, a monopoly of it might become a source of public danger, and a public wrong. Many of those who advocate the further taxation of ground-rents do not scruple to assert that the monopoly of land in our great cities already presents these evil features, and they have effectually impressed their views on a legion of electors. Nor are they without cogent reasons with which to support their assertion. 'The value of the ground,' it is contended, 'is not due to expenditure or enterprise on the part of the owner or his predecessors, but to the fact of the presence of the town.' Year after year the stress of industrial life has created a demand for living-accommodation in particular districts by which landlords have not been slow to profit, though they have done little or nothing to foster industry. On the other hand, the weekly amount which a workman can spare for rent has often not grown in proportion to the growth of rent itself. The consequence is that the workman has often had to content himself with less and less space, until he and his family are not infrequently found inhabiting only a single room, which, by a judicious euphemism, is still called their 'home.' The ground-rent is a serious item of the man's yearly expenditure, for, in a large number of instances, it is an important factor in the charge for rent. In the case of the Farringdon Road buildings of the Metropolitan Dwellings Association the ground-rent is as much as 5*d.* for each square foot occupied by the premises, and amounts to more than 1*s.* a week for each family housed. In the Victoria Cottages, in Albert Street, Spitalfields, the weekly sum paid by each family for ground-rent is said to be 1*s.* 3*d.* It appeared, from evidence given before the Royal Commission on the Housing of the Working Classes, 1885, that the ground-rent of Gladstone Buildings in Finsbury was 250*l.* a year on a total rateable value of 1,400*l.* And, as showing the practical effect of ground-value upon workmen's rent, it was stated before the Select Committee on Artisans' and Labourers' Dwellings in 1881 that the Peabody Trustees were able to let their tenements at 30 per cent. less than the Metropolitan Dwellings Association charge for similar accommodation, because they acquired the land from the Metropolitan Board of Works at half its market value. It should be added, however, that the Peabody Trustees seek only to obtain a margin of 3 per cent. between income and expenditure, whereas the Metropolitan Dwellings Association strive for 5 per cent. It is in view of circumstances such as these that any moral claim on the part of the trading and industrial population for a further contribution by ground-owners

to the current expenses of communal life arises. The industry of thousands of workmen has added an enormous value to a certain limited area of land, of which one or more persons enjoy a monopoly. Those who created the value, and who are obliged to live upon the land, or to occupy it for the purposes of trade, suffer a diminution of income as the outcome of their own activity and toil. They are, moreover, called upon to contribute, directly or indirectly, to the cost of public works which, in the end, still further raise the value of the land and increase the rent demanded for it. They suffer in rent, in the expense of municipal improvements, and in the price of the necessities of life besides. Increase in the value of town land seems to have no parallel in the penalty which it inflicts upon those who create it. It is as though the demand for fuel which the industry of a great population produces were concentrated on one particular colliery. In ordinary commercial enterprise price is modified by supply; but in the case of town land industry creates a keen demand, and, the supply being limited, the price rises. In no other case can it be said that labour generates a value which inflicts a direct fine upon itself.

It is this consideration which has produced in many minds a strong conviction that our artisan population, and others also, daily suffer injustice at the hands of the owners of the soil of our great cities, and which induces so many politicians to deem valid the claim which they make for relief. Sir Thomas Farrer and the late Professor Rogers impressed upon the Town Holdings Committee that the state of public feeling on this subject was such that grave danger might result if action were not taken to meet it. The former said that it seemed to him that 'if there was one thing in which the voters in London were interested it was this question of rating, and of throwing some part of the incidence of rates upon the owner. . . . I am satisfied that the feeling about it is so strong that, unless something is done to allay that feeling, it may become a very dangerous element, and we may have reproduced in London something not unlike what we have seen in Ireland—a great onslaught upon rents and upon freehold property.' And Professor Rogers, whilst saying that he saw no reason why the fortunate possessor of land should be specially taxed in relation to his property, any more than a successful lawyer or physician should be specially taxed upon his income, agreed that landowners do not bear their proper share of local burdens, and that public opinion was so inflamed on the subject that legislative action was called for. He suggested that, owing to the impossibility of arriving at a strictly equitable arrangement, a sort of rough justice should be applied, and that the rates should be equally divided between owner and occupier. This is the course which the Committee finally recommended for adoption as respects future contracts only. As to existing contracts, Sir Thomas Farrer considered that they involved questions of such extreme difficulty

that, he observed, 'I might be tempted to say we had better abandon the thing altogether if it were not that I see much greater difficulty and danger in doing nothing.' Mr. Moulton, Q.C., admitted that, in any attempt further to rate ground-rents reserved under existing contracts, such allowances would have to be made, especially in reference to the more recent leases, as would in many cases not greatly modify the position of the parties. A case where the allowance could hardly fall short of complete exemption was presented to the Committee by Sir Thomas Farrer in a letter which he had received from the trustee of a widow lady. It is worth while to give it in full, as showing the injustice and hardship which would follow from a hasty and indiscriminate resolution to yield to a popular demand for the further rating of ground-rents:—

I have read your evidence before the Town Holdings Committee, and I should like to put before you the following case, which is typical of tens of thousands in this country: I am trustee for a lady, whose whole income consists of 157*l.* 2*s.* 6*d.*, derived from leasehold ground-rents near King's Cross, bought for her by a thoughtful, thrifty husband, some time back. She receives 194*l.* 2*s.* 6*d.*, and pays the freeholder 37*l.* She has only a nominal reversion of three days to the rack-rents. In sixteen years she loses her income entirely, as the property reverts to the freeholder. Can you tell me upon what principle of right or justice this poor lady is at one swoop to be deprived of 20 per cent. of her income? Is it because the Thames Embankment, and other distant improvements, are supposed to have improved her property? The answer is, her property has depreciated in gross annual value during the last twenty-five years; but even if it could be demonstrated that these distant improvements have benefited her property, they could not possibly benefit her. If you made London a city of palaces, and paved its streets with gold, she would not be one penny the richer. Her rents were fixed eighty-two years ago for all her term, and, as far as she is concerned, they are absolutely unalterable.

No serious attempt was made to controvert the argument of the writer of this letter. If the case be a representative one, the advantage to the rates which would accrue if existing contracts were interfered with might be far less than the advocates of such a policy appear to reckon upon. They leave out of sight the heavy allowances which fair treatment would accord to the numerous holders of ground-rents who are in a similar position to that of this widow.

Before leaving the subject of existing contracts, it is necessary to consider the second point which has been raised, namely, What proportion of rating do ground-landlords now bear? In discussing this question, some of the witnesses who were called before the Town Holdings Committee drew a distinction between agricultural and building land. As regards the former, the theory that the landowner bears the burden of the rates, in the shape of a deduction from the rent which he would obtain if there were no rates, appears to have been generally accepted. But there was a great difference of opinion in relation to building-land. The ideal case, it is alleged, is not the actual one. The ideal case is this: A, who is a builder, negotiates

with B, who is the owner of a plot of building-land, for a ninety-nine years' lease of the land, on condition that he (A) will pay all existing rates, and any further rates that thereafter may be imposed. A proposes to erect two houses upon the land at a cost of 5,000*l.* He calculates that each house will let for 150*l.* a year, which sum, if he be contented with 5 per cent. for his capital, will leave him 50*l.*, out of which to pay ground-rent and to provide against contingencies. The existing rates on the two houses, as A and B both know, will amount to 50*l.* a year. The tenants, therefore, between them will pay 350*l.* a year in rent and rates. B, under all the circumstances, asks only for a ground-rent of 45*l.* a year. A, having gone into the calculation for himself, and counting on a future increase of the rates, which may tend to reduce rent, declines to give 45*l.* a year for ground-rent, but offers 40*l.*, which the ground-owner finally agrees to accept. Here the existing and future rates are taken into account, and in so far as the rent of the land suffers diminution because of them, it is obvious that the landowner pays them. If there were no rates, the 50*l.* a year absorbed in that item would enable B to exact much more ground-rent, and perhaps A might even get 6 per cent. on his outlay, the reason being that the total annual payment which the tenants are willing to incur is 350*l.*, and that it makes no difference to them in what manner it is divided. It is therefore said that B pays the whole of the existing rates, and something also towards a possible increase.

If this represents the result of the ordinary bargain between the parties, it is difficult to discover any cause for interference—supposing that all question of the reversionary value of the land at the end of the lease be left out of consideration. Mr. Charles Henry Sargant, who gave very clear and cogent evidence before the Committee, stated that in his experience, which was considerable, the terms of every item of the contract, including the stipulation for the payment of rates, are threshed out thoroughly between the parties to a lease, and become matters of careful negotiation. Mr. Frederick Cooper, who is a builder at Beckenham, and is in favour of the rating of ground-rents, admitted that 'there is no doubt that the freeholder would charge more ground-rent if he had to contribute to the local rates.'

As opposed to this view, it is maintained that the transaction is not governed by any such careful calculations, and that the question of the amount of rates, either existing or future, payable in respect of the buildings to be erected is rarely, if ever, brought under consideration. A demand for building sites, it is said, having arisen in a particular neighbourhood, an astute landlord immediately takes advantage of it by fixing a price for his land which, reckoning on the stress of the demand, he believes he will obtain before long, though possibly not at the moment. This price is regulated according to the desire of the land-

lord for an early letting. It is alleged that, if he be willing to wait, he ultimately gets a rent which is not in any perceptible degree abated by the fact that rates will be payable upon the premises to be erected. If, however, he is unwilling to wait, it is admitted that the question of the rates may successfully be used by a knowing lessee in order to obtain a lower ground-rent. In the one case the ground-owner may pay no rates whatever; in the other, he may even pay them all. Generally speaking, the witnesses of the Committee may be taken as admitting that to a more or less extent the question of rating does influence the transaction, and that the ground-landlord actually, though indirectly, pays some part of the existing rates by way of a diminished rent, but that the amount is indeterminate. It was strongly urged, however, that any probable increase of the rates is—or was formerly—much too uncertain a factor to be brought into the bargain, and that, even on this ground alone, the contract calls for equitable readjustment. This raises the third point: What additional amount of rating ought ground-landlords to bear?

The demand for a further recourse to the land for the purposes of rating is based on some, or all, of the following four considerations:

1. That as regards the rates existing at the time of the contract the land has not, in most cases, paid its share.

2. That the recent great increase of rating was not anticipated and allowed for when the lease was entered into.

3. That there is a heavy proportion of the current expenditure for public improvements of the community domiciled upon the land which the owners ought wholly to bear.

4. That the owners are justly chargeable with a large share of the annual rating of a community because of the great additional value which the land is found to have derived from it when the leases fall in.

It will be seen that these contentions, if sound, point more or less to interference with existing leases.

The first contention has already been dealt with. Turning to the next (2), it would be difficult to maintain, for example, that the London School-Board rate of 1892 was foreseen by the parties to a deed which created a ground-rent in 1860, though it is quite possible that a prudent lessee of 1880 may have anticipated the effect upon rating which would ensue from the policy of that Board. On the other hand, neither could either party have calculated in 1860, nor in 1880, that grants in aid of rates would be largely augmented under the late Government. Accordingly several of the witnesses called by the Town Holdings Committee were strongly of opinion that, supposing it to be assumed that the rates existing at the date of the deed were taken into reckoning, it would be fair to call upon ground-owners to bear the net increase which has since taken place. Thus Mr. Crawford Monro, whilst saying that the lessor's answer to his lessee on this point would be, 'In the deed you expressly took the

risk of those new taxes on yourself,' admitted the force of the rejoinder, 'Those new taxes were never in contemplation.' Professor Thorold Rogers admitted the equity of calling upon the owner to pay a portion of the unexpected increment of rating in cases 'where the thing is known.'

The third contention (3) is that existing contracts should be dealt with because well-nigh all of the current public expenditure of a community ought properly to be defrayed by the ground-landlord. Without this expenditure, it is argued, his land would be of little value, and his ground-rent would be insecure. On this point, however, there was a very wide divergence of opinion on the part of the witnesses who came before the Committee. The question lay between what are properly occupiers' benefits and charges, and what may reasonably be declared to be owners' benefits and charges. Mr. B. F. C. Costelloe went so far as to say that the occupier in a particular district only gets a part of the benefit of the School Board rate applicable to that district. The owner of the land, he maintained, as well as the occupier, derives an advantage from the better education of the people. In this he was entirely at variance with Mr. Thorold Rogers, who held that education is an 'occupiers' liability.' Mr. Moulton considered that the poor rate ought largely to be a charge upon land, whereas Mr. Thorold Rogers declared that the employers, who, generally speaking, are the occupiers, ought to pay it, because 'it is undoubtedly a rate in aid of wages.' Mr. Moulton, again, expressed a strong opinion that the charge for prisoners ought to be borne by the landowner; but Mr. Thorold Rogers considered that 'it ought to be a local charge upon occupiers, because it is in their interest that the peace is kept and criminals are incarcerated.' In another part of his evidence he said, 'The police rate is distinctly an occupiers' tax: a thief cannot run away with the landlord's land.' He held, however, that the highway rate, the water rate, and the sewage rate should be paid by the ground-landlord. With this theory Mr. Moulton did not entirely agree, inasmuch as he expressed the opinion that the water rate was 'to a great extent,' but not wholly, chargeable on the owner. As to the education rate, Mr. Moulton agreed with Mr. Costelloe that it is fair general expenditure necessary for the existence and prosperity of the community, and that it ought largely to fall upon the ground-owner. He controverted the opinion of Mr. Sargant that 'education is a service rendered to occupiers, and to occupiers only.' On the general question as to who really gets the benefit of the expenditure of rates, Mr. Sargant maintained that the occupier ought to pay, because 'rates are payments made to the community for services rendered by the community to individuals composing the community.' Here, again, he and Mr. Moulton were in total disagreement. The latter refused to regard rates as being a purely personal contribution: he said that they were so only in a

limited degree. It is difficult to imagine, however, on what showing the payment for a wood pavement, which lasts for ten years and is then-renewed, ought to be met by owners, and not by the occupiers who get all the comfort and benefit of it, and who wear it out. It is clear that the conflict of opinion was too marked to enable the Committee to deduce from the evidence a system under which, in a revision of existing contracts, rates might be apportioned between owners and occupiers according to the benefit which each derives from them.

It is, furthermore, contended (4) that ground-rent contracts ought to be revised because of the enormous increase in value which the land exhibits at the end of the lease. This increase is due partly to the demand for land which the community has created, and partly to the additional 'amenities' which communal expenditure has provided. The claim is that the landowner should render back some of this increase for the reason that he has done nothing to bring it about, and that it reacts harmfully upon the community to whose enterprise and labour he owes it. Restitution, it is declared, should begin at once. Great public works, such as Rosebery Avenue in London, are taken in hand which were not contemplated at the date when ground-rents in the vicinity were fixed, and towards the cost of which the ground-landlord, therefore, makes no contribution. The value of his adjacent land is, however, enormously raised by the improvement. An additional contribution to rating, over and above anything which may have been obtained by way of less ground-rent at the date of the lease, ought, it is urged, to be extracted from him forthwith. Mr. Moulton regards the value of the land as being derived in the main from the fact that the community have chosen it to settle upon; and he gave an instance of land which had, from this cause, attained a value of 140*l.* a square foot! He held, further, that town land acquires some of its value from communal expenditure, 'the whole of the permanent element in which,' he said, 'is found in the land in the sense that you may remove the house and yet you will find it there.' He, therefore, favours a scheme for the immediate assessment of ground values, and for a differential rate on the land and on the buildings, the former rate being higher than the latter because the one is assessed upon a growing and the other upon a diminishing value. As against this proposal it is contended that the occupiers have the benefit of the improvements, and that they ought, therefore, to pay for the user—which is represented by the annual interest on the loans applicable to such improvements. It is said that no less a sum than 41,000,000*l.* has been borrowed for permanent improvements in the metropolis. Assuming that the term of the loan is 60 years, and that the interest is $3\frac{1}{2}$ per cent., the annual charge for sinking-fund is 208,633*l.*, and the annual interest is 1,435,000*l.* The former sum represents a rate of about $1\frac{3}{4}$ *d.* in the pound on an assessment of 31,000,000*l.*, and the latter a charge of nearly 1*s.* in the pound.

If owners were called upon to pay the rate levied in respect of the sinking-fund only, the occupying tenant would obtain but little relief. And it must be borne in mind that some of the 'improvements' which are called 'permanent' might at the end of the ground-lease be found to be neither improvements nor permanent. The London drainage works, for instance, may have become quite obsolete 60 years hence, and, if so, it would be impossible to contend that they have added permanent value to the land. It is not on grounds so open to dispute as are these that a claim for the further rating of ground-rents or values can rest safely, but rather upon the fact that the increased value of the land inflicts a heavy charge upon vast numbers of people who are ill fitted to bear it, yet whose labour has created the value. The ground-owners immensely benefit by communal life, and ought to contribute a far larger share of the cost of it. Will any possible scheme for the further rating of ground-rents or values effectually and permanently produce the desired result? This, in other words, is the fourth point originally raised, namely, Will land-owners be able to relieve themselves of the additional charge by throwing it sooner or later upon the tenants?

In considering this question it is necessary, at the outset, to remind ourselves that the system of compounding for rates extensively prevails in most of our great cities. It was stated to the Committee that the rates are compounded for in Wolverhampton to the extent of two-thirds of the residential assessment. In Birmingham nearly 500,000*l.* out of the whole residential assessment is in the compound, and that sum represents at least a half, and probably more, of the total assessment of residences. In London, the vestry may bring within the compound any tenement under the value of 20*l.* In every case in which the rates are compounded for, the landlord, of course, pays them, and the statement that it is the tenant who is directly chargeable does not hold good. Mr. Sargant was of opinion that 'probably three out of four occupations in number would be occupations in which the immediate owner pays the rates directly, charging the occupier, however, a rent which is inclusive of those rates.' Therefore, though the owner pays the rates directly, it is the tenant who, in the end, finds the money. It follows that, if a special rate of, say, 6*d.* in the pound were placed upon owners, the landlord of a tenement in London, assessed at 18*l.* a year, the rates of which are compounded for, would be able to relieve himself of the charge by raising his rent 2*d.* a week—a sum which the tenant, in the majority of instances, would be willing to pay rather than incur the trouble of moving to other and perhaps less suitable premises. The case of a small tenement let under a weekly or monthly hiring differs, however, from many other cases in one most important particular. It offers an early, if not an immediate, opportunity for a revision of the rent. Annual tenancies, or tenancies created under an occupation lease, offer no such

opportunity ; and if an additional charge were placed to-day upon the owner, he would have to bear it, at any rate for a time. But the question is, would he ultimately get rid of it ? Upon this point an examination of the evidence shows that the witnesses of the Town Holdings Committee differed rather in degree than in principle. Some were of opinion that the owner would succeed in shifting on to the tenant the whole of any additional burden that he might incur ; others considered that he could probably get rid only of a portion ; none appear in the end to have maintained that he could not shift any. Much recourse was had to the dictum of the economists that there is a tendency for taxation to stick where it is first imposed ; but Mr. Sargant's opinion as to this was that 'there is a tendency for it to stick for some period more or less long.' He added that 'the question where it is first imposed has nothing to do with the way in which the burden ultimately falls.' The following question was put to Mr. Costelloe : 'Suppose Parliament were to determine that hereafter there should be universal compounding, that in no case could the tenant be asked to pay the rates, but always the landlord : do you not think that, in a vast number of cases, that would be provided for by an equivalent increase in the rent ?' His answer was, 'I quite admit that, in certain cases, that would be attempted to be countervailed by the landlord ; and I do not desire to deny that, in certain cases, he would succeed. My point is, that over large areas he would not succeed, and that in others he would only partly succeed ; and that, when he seemed to succeed, the rise might often have happened anyhow.' Mr. Moulton admitted that, in an example put to him, the landlord, supposing he has to bear rates, will be able, on a readjustment, to get something more from the tenant than he got when he did not pay any rates, but considered that he could not shift the whole burden. This would be the state of things even under Mr. Moulton's own system. In answer to Mr. Gerald Balfour, he stated that the incidence of taxation can probably be shifted where there is a possible alteration of the conditions of supply and demand, but not where an alteration of those conditions is impossible. Sir Thomas Farrer was asked whether, in good times for the landlord, he would be able to push off on to the shoulders of the tenant any proportion of taxation which the law might call upon him to bear. His answer was, 'Under certain circumstances he could ; under certain circumstances he could not ; and I think it extremely difficult to say what those circumstances are.' He said, furthermore, 'I think it an extremely uncertain thing where the ultimate incidence of rates is.' In answer to other questions, he stated that it was by no means certain that, if the landlord were called upon to pay rates, he could not shift the burden. 'It depends,' he said, 'on a great number of circumstances ; but I think I ought to add that, even if that were so, I should make the change. . . . I suspect that a good deal of the

taxation would stick to the landlord ; but, even if it did not, I should make the change in order that people might not think that they were suffering injustice.' The last reason would appear to be an example of that which Bacon calls 'offering the shows of things to the desires of the mind.'

Enough has probably been said to prove from the lips of witnesses of authority that any scheme for the additional rating of ground-rents, or for the separate rating of ground values, would be exceedingly uncertain in its operation, and might altogether fail in the long run to relieve the occupier of the heavy charges for rental which he now sustains. A large number of the more wealthy tenants of London hold their houses on leases, the average unexpired term of which is under ten years. If a tax were put upon the owner of the rack-rent to-day, he would probably be able to escape from it as soon as a fresh agreement became necessary. It is worth while to trace the process through an imaginary case. A tenant occupies a shop, under a twenty-one years' lease having an unexpired term of two years, and pays a rent of 300*l.* a year to a landlord Y. He also pays 75*l.* a year in rates. Assuming that he gives a fair value for the premises, 375*l.* a year may be said to be his economic rent. The assessment is 250*l.* a year for the premises, and 50*l.* for the ground-rent. Y purchased the premises from an original lessee, Z. The latter pays to the ground-owner a ground-rent of 30*l.* a year, but charges Y 50*l.* a year, having 'improved' it by 20*l.* The original lease from the ground-owner has sixty years to run. The Legislature interferes, and authorises the occupying tenant to deduct, say, one shilling in the pound from Y, on the ground-rent assessment (50*l.*). He continues to pay 75*l.* for rates, but he hands to Y 297*l.* 10*s.* for rent instead of 300*l.* He is thus relieved of rating to the extent of 2*l.* 10*s.* a year. Y, instead of paying 50*l.* to Z for ground-rent, pays only 47*l.* 10*s.*, remaining in exactly the same position as before. Z deducts a shilling in the pound on the 30*l.* payable to the ground-owner, and, as the net result, finds his improved ground-rent reduced by the sum of 1*l.* per annum. The ground-owner is mulcted in an annual sum of 1*l.* 10*s.* The occupying tenant is benefited ; the position of the rack-renter remains unchanged ; but the middle-man and the ground-owner both suffer. The latter cannot revise the arrangement for sixty years. The middle-man cannot revise it at all ; but the rack-renter can do so at the end of two years, for he will then be again entitled to possession of the premises.

But the suggestion is made that ground values and not ground-rents should be rated ; that is to say, that the ground value should be periodically assessed, and that it should be kept separate from the building value, the owners bearing the whole of the rating levied upon it. It has been seen, however, that the advocates even of this method of relief admit that, in the operation of it, there would be no cer-

tainty that the tenant would ultimately benefit; and much expert evidence was given before the Town Holdings Committee to prove that the ground value is a quantity often most difficult to determine by assessment. Putting that aside for the moment, let it be assumed that, in the illustration previously taken, the ground value is 100*l.*, and the building value 200*l.* The rates are five shillings in the pound, and the occupying tenant is authorised to deduct from his landlord, Y, the total rating on the ground value. He therefore deducts 25*l.* Y, in his turn, deducts 12*l.* 10*s.* from Z, paying him 37*l.* 10*s.* instead of 50*l.* Z deducts 7*l.* 10*s.* from the ground-owner, paying him 22*l.* 10*s.* instead of 30*l.* Thus the tenant gains 25*l.*; Y loses 12*l.* 10*s.*; Z loses 5*l.*; and the ground-owner loses 7*l.* 10*s.* Y must bear the loss for two years at least, but is almost certain to get back to his former position at the end of that time by adding 25*l.* to the rent, and thereby restoring the outgoings of his tenant for rent and rates to their original amount. Z suffers a permanent loss of 5*l.* a year, and has no chance of recovering it. He may, however, have made a good bargain with Y when he sold the lease and premises. The ground-owner bears the annual loss of 7*l.* 10*s.* until the expiration of the lease—that is to say, for sixty years; but he, or rather his representatives, will then have the advantage of the additional value of the land. It is clear that, unless the tenant were able to say that his original outgoings of 375*l.* were too high, and were willing to leave rather than revert to them, the system of rating ground values, as tested by this example, would fail of its object. So far from the tenant often being determined not to incur a rent which he cannot really afford to pay, one witness declared to the Committee that, in his belief, the rents paid in some parts of London are ‘bankruptcy rents,’ which are gradually eating away the tenants’ capital. In the foregoing illustration the unexpired term of the occupation lease is only two years, and this gives the owner an early opportunity of readjusting matters. In many cases the unexpired term would be longer. The average duration of occupying leases in London, as has been shown, is not, however, more than ten years.

So much has been said in favour of the rating of ground-rents and values, that people have come to believe that it is the appointed, and indeed the only possible, way of effectually withdrawing from owners of town land some of the excessive profits which, to the detriment of other citizens, they enjoy. When the proposals, however, are carefully examined, it is seen that, even on the admission of some of their most ardent advocates, they offer but an uncertain, and possibly an unavailing, remedy. Action taken on the lines that have been too hastily marked out might only furnish a fresh example of the disappointment that follows—

When all was done that man may do,
And all was done in vain,

The Town Holdings Committee recommend that, in future, contracts, local rates, except in Scotland, shall fall equally upon occupiers and owners. The Committee, no doubt, knew, when making this recommendation, that, in the vast number of cases which are 'in the compound,' and also in respect to houses let in flats, the owners now pay all the rates; and that to call upon them to pay a half is only to ask them to do in part what they are now doing entirely. It is not by any scheme for dealing with ground-rent or values, as determined by annual assessment, that effectual and permanent means to reach the owner are possible. None of such devices are free from glaring anomalies in their operation and from inequities for which heavy allowances would have to be made. There have been gathered round existing contracts too many innocent interests which could not be brought under tribute. A well-known insurance company very largely resorted to by the industrial classes is said to have invested more than 2,000,000*l.* of its capital in ground-rents and feu-duties, and one of the most prominent of the benefit societies holds 200,000*l.* worth of ground-rents. The corporations of not a few towns have leasehold estates from which they receive rents. To rate these rents would simply be further to rate the ratepayers. Admitting that town land presents special features which are not found in any other kind of property; admitting that a monopoly of it exists; admitting that its value is permanently raised by public works, if not by public services also; admitting that the contribution of owners to the rates is uncertain in amount, and in most cases insufficient; admitting that multitudes of people suffer hardship because of the heavy rents, arising from the excessive price of town land, which they have to pay; admitting even that public works for the material, social, and intellectual comfort of the resident population—works some of which will, in the end, largely benefit the landowners—cannot be undertaken, because the burden of rental is already too heavy to be borne;—it is still necessary to declare that the schemes which principally hold the field as being remedies are not to be depended upon, and that, in operation, they might be found worse than useless. Give a landlord an excuse for raising his rent such as would be afforded by rating his ground value, and he will take advantage of it when the time comes, if there be sufficient 'economic friction,' for the purpose of extorting a great deal more than any additional charges that may have been placed upon him amount to. Rent affects the price of commodities as rates do; and it may well be that consumers pay for the dearness of the land both in the rent of their houses, and also in the cost of their daily food. The problem is to obtain a substantial contribution from town land for local purposes without materially affecting rent—in other words, without the charge being before long put back upon the persons to whom it is sought to bring relief.

The Town Holdings Committee say in their report :

If it should be determined by Parliament to impose special taxation upon the owners of reversionary interests, within the limits of urban communities, with the view of bringing such owners under direct contribution towards local public expenditure; we think it is worthy of consideration whether the imposition of a Death Duty allocated to local municipal purposes would not afford the best means of effecting this object.

The expedient of a death duty on urban landed property is not a novel one. It was advocated before the Committee by Sir Thomas Farrer and by Mr. Costelloe. It implies that, upon the death of the owner of a town estate, a municipal succession duty should be payable by the heir or legatee, calculated on the basis on which the ordinary succession duty is now reckoned. Let us assume the case of a man who succeeds by direct heirship to an estate in London, the capital value of which, according to the authorised mode of reckoning, is 100,000*l*. The amount payable upon it for municipal succession duty is, let us say, 5,000*l*. The father, anticipating that the municipal duty would amount to about that sum, had insured his life accordingly for 5,000*l*. The annual premium, supposing he began to insure at a moderately early age, would be about 125*l*. a year—that is to say that, for an annual charge of 125*l*. on the revenues of an estate having a capital value of 100,000*l*. in the hands of his son, he would meet the obligation of the municipal succession duty, and hand the estate down intact. In such a case the municipality would derive a substantial benefit and the new ground-owner would have little reason to complain. Nor would he have the inducement which a considerable rate on ground values would give him to exact severe terms from the tenants when the reversions fell in, for he would not have suffered a diminution of an income which he had previously enjoyed. Under such a system, the complications and hardships which caused Sir Thomas Farrer to adopt a tone almost of despair would not arise. There is no reason why the system should be confined to the single event of the death of the owner. A municipal duty might be levied whenever the property itself, or the ground-rents reserved upon it, passed by sale, or gift, or in any other way, to new ownership. Existing owners of ground-rents, improved or not improved, would escape as long as they continued to hold their property. The widow whose case has been mentioned, and the insurance company whose funds are so largely invested in ground-rents, would not suffer unless they realised their securities. But the successors to existing contracts, whether by death, or by purchase, or by any kind of alienation, would have to pay duty for municipal purposes. The sale value of the properties would be diminished. Some of the ‘unearned increment’ would be intercepted, if the term may still be used after the late Professor of Political Economy in the University of Oxford has declared that he does not know what it means. Under a system of municipal death and alienation duties, the existing owner would

suffer but little deprivation ; indeed he would suffer no deprivation whatever if he did not insure his life or sell the estate or its ground-rents, whereas the prospective owner would know what he had to reckon upon. Strong representations were made to the Town Holdings Committee concerning the inconvenience of subjecting ground-rents to rating, on account of the uncertainty in the amount of the annual income which would arise. Investments in ground-rents, it was urged, are now popular because the income is a fixed and stable quantity. The obvious answer to such a contention is that an unjust system ought not to be perpetuated simply because it affords a convenient means for the investment of capital. The uncertainty, however, if it actually continued to exist, would be reduced to a minimum under the system of municipal death and alienation duties. Lord Rosebery advised the meeting of the 'London Reform Union' to let experts fire at the schemes for the taxation of ground-rents, adding that 'the scheme which comes out with the fewest holes will be the most workable scheme.' It would appear that any scheme for the rating of ground rents or values might consist mainly of holes, if experts such as those whose evidence has here been cited once discovered the right range, but that a system of death and alienation duties would offer a far better resistance. The best service which those who are interested in this difficult subject can render to the community whose cause they have adopted is to lay aside schemes which, though they are attractive, seem to be of fair promise, and are easy to present to the popular mind, are found, on examination, to be of doubtful efficacy, and to accept in their stead an expedient which, though its fruits may not be gathered quite so early, is more permanent and certain in its nature and operation.

J. POWELL WILLIAMS.

THE DOOM OF THE DOMESTIC COOK

WE are all agreed that the 'good plain' and 'thorough' cook of our imagination is harder and harder to be come at; that, when come at, she demands and obtains higher and higher wages; that she is in consequence more and more inclined to better herself, to the disorganisation of households; and, in a word, that, if we could obtain our victuals better cooked and without her presence in the kitchen, the average housekeeper would thank heaven for the removal of a cause of constant friction, and the disappearance from her life of perhaps the commonest origin of worry and anxiety.

If she had nothing more to do in the morning than consult an exhaustive menu, as Mrs. Lewis suggests, speak her wishes along a telephone, and rely upon prompt attention being accorded to them, with the certainty that viands and cooking would be of the best, surely there is not one to deny that life would be, for her at least, more worth living. Who cannot picture the weary mistress, driven to desperation by the threat of her husband to dine for the future at the club if she can't give him *some* variety, seated opposite the apathetic cook, who is too lazy and ignorant to make a suggestion, and turning hopelessly over the leaves of *The Cook's Guide*, *What to do with the Cold Mutton*, or *Everybody's Pudding Book*, to find something that her empty-headed servant might by some miracle succeed in producing even passably? And then to think of the priceless time daily freed from the more than distasteful morning visit to the lower regions, which will thereby be rendered available for pleasures and duties which before had to be made subservient, or were, as likely as not, crowded out altogether. But the advantage of such a system to the thousands of women upon whom the duties of housekeeping devolve has been sufficiently pointed out by Mrs. Lewis, and to everyone the gain will be more than obvious. Indeed, many a housekeeper has had some foretaste of such a lightening of her duties in the analogous advantage to be found in the ordering of the daily groceries, fish, meat, &c., through the medium of the telephone exchange. That, however, has only been a clumsy step, so to speak, in the right direction. Here is a scheme almost as convenient as the *Hey, presto!* of the fairy tales, where, with a clap

of the hands and use of the magic words, a table loaded with delicacies in and out of season would make its welcome and prompt appearance through the most impracticable of stone floors. And it is a method which, in a detached and consequently extravagant form, is to be found and observed in operation in all great business, and many educational, centres at the present day. Hundreds of city men, boards of directors, barristers, have their mid-day meal sent into their offices from the nearest restaurants. Hundreds of undergraduates have breakfasts, luncheons, dinners of the best and hottest served to them at distances of from a quarter of a mile to a mile from their college kitchens; repasts so sybaritic indeed, that their youthful appetites are spoiled for many a day after for the more frugal and badly cooked fare with which they have to put up on their return to the parental roof. Whilst, as Mrs. Lewis has pointed out, few of us, who have lived in continental towns such as Paris, Dresden, Brussels, Pau, have not heard of, or experienced, the advantages and convenience of being fed on the well-known *Traiteur* system.

Now, what I propose to do in this article is to bring together a few facts and figures, which I have been at some trouble to obtain, with reference to the adaptation on a large scale of this system of a cooked food supply from outside, in place of a cooked food supply from inside, our own domiciles. Time was when each house collected its own water in cisterns, or drew water from a well sunk in its own back garden. We are now supplied wholesale by mains from great central supply tanks. Time was that each housewife saved up fat and made her own candles. Her house is now lighted from great central supply stations far away, and she has no more to think how the gas is manufactured, or the electricity stored, than she has to think how God's air gets purified which blows through her opened windows from day to day. Truly, the former she has to pay for, whilst the latter is not measured and charged so much per thousand feet at its ingress.

Our water and the lighting of our houses cost us now double, treble, quadruple what they did when the supply was from within, but we are content to pay more for them, not only because they are better in quality, but because we find it worth while to relieve ourselves from the anxiety, labour, and expenditure of time which their home production entailed. These developments of civilisation have come to be recognised as necessities merely because it has become evident that the resulting advantage outweighs the disadvantage of an increased monetary outlay. In vulgar parlance, the game is distinctly worth the candle.

The lengths to which people are prepared to go in such a direction may be exemplified by a case occurring as I write. A suburban district gas company of a sudden raises its prices threepence per thousand feet. A meeting of the inhabitants is at once convened to discuss the

advisability of inaugurating the electric light, and this, although the increase of the rates resulting from its introduction will greatly surpass that represented by an additional threepence per thousand feet in the gas bill. The point that has to be decided is whether the advantages of electric lighting are worth the increased expenditure now that the difference of cost is diminished by the inflated price of gas.

The matter with which I am dealing in this article is closely analogous, although, let it be clearly understood, in *this* case there will be the very gratifying incident of no further unloosing of the purse strings.

Up to the present we have cooked our food in our own homes. The costliness of that system is increasing by leaps and bounds year by year. The first question is—Have we yet arrived at that extravagant point of living at home when it will be possible to obtain a food supply of the like or better quality from outside at no increase of cost? And the answer will be found to be an unqualified affirmative, for not only is coadjuvancy stronger than disunion, but, by co-operation, wear, tear, and waste are reduced to their minimum.

For the clear demonstration of this answer I propose to take a specific area, show the annual sum of money which would be freed by the abolition of its domestic kitchens, and see whether such a sum will not be amply sufficient to run a central supply kitchen of quite first-rate constitution and commensurate with all our requirements. Barely stated, the economies, I think, will at first appear almost incredible.

To plunge, then, into the middle of things. Let us take as our central supply kitchen's position the Lowndes Street end of Pont Street. It is easy enough to picture an appropriate building occupying the site of a large public-house which is there situate, with adjacent mews. From this central point let us draw roughly a circle with a quarter-mile radius, and note the streets, squares, and places which find inclusion in that area. They are, as near as may be, Sloane Street, from Harriet Street to Cadogan Terrace, Lowndes Street, half of Lowndes Square, Wilton Crescent, Belgrave Square, Upper Belgrave Street, Belgrave Place, Halkin Street West, Motcomb Street, Chesham Place, Chesham Street, Lyall Street, Eaton Place, West Eaton Place, Eaton Square, part of Eaton Terrace, Cadogan Place, Cadogan Square, Hans Place, Hans Road, and Ellis Street, a very rich district, and one in which it would be only necessary to obtain a comparatively small proportion of adherents to make our scheme workable.

Now, these streets, squares, and places contain 1,073 houses, as near as may be, suitable for our purpose, including 106 shops, but excluding a large number of mews, which would obviously not come into the working of such a scheme. In addition to the one hundred and odd shops, there are sixty-nine sets of residential flats, 218 moderate-sized houses, such as those in Wilton Crescent, 490 large

houses, such as those in Cadogan Square, and 190 very large houses, such as those in Belgrave Square and Chesham Place. These houses contain, as near as may be, 13,638 inhabitants, of which 1,073 are cooks, and at least 520 scullery-maids.¹ These, putting the wages of the cooks, according to the above scale of houses, at 18*l.* for the shops, 25*l.* for the flats, 30*l.* for the moderate sized, 42*l.* for the large, and 47*l.* for the very large houses, and the wages of the scullery-maids in the large at 14*l.*, and in the very large at 16*l.*, represent a gross annual expenditure of 36,055*l.*² Their board at 26*l.* per head in the shops, at 30*l.* in the flats and moderate-sized houses, at 67*l.* (for cook and scullery-maid) in the large houses, and at 69*l.* (for cook and scullery-maid) in the very large, represents a gross annual expenditure of 39,796*l.*³ The kitchen fuel at 9*l.* in the shops, at 7*l.* in the flats, at 10*l.* in the moderate, at 12*l.* in the large, and at 15*l.* in the very large houses, represents a gross annual expenditure of 9,689*l.* The kitchen perquisites at 5*l.* for the shops and flats, at 10*l.* for the moderate, and at 20*l.* for the large and very large houses, represent an annual expenditure of 12,621*l.* And the grand total of all this is 98,161*l.* For easier reference I give the above figures opposite in tabulated form.

Of course, it will be objected, in the case of the large and very large houses, that it has been customary to take the cooks and scullery-maids into the country for the summer months, and that, where the families adopt the central supply kitchen system, they will be cookless and scullery-maidless in their rural homes. This is a good objection at first sight, but on consideration it will be obvious that their places will be taken partly by a class of temporary cooks and scullery-maids, who, thrown out of work at the supply kitchen during the annual exodus from town of large numbers of the supporters of the scheme, will become available for short engagements, and partly by that floating class which now only obtains employment in hotels and restaurants during the season, and is thrown upon its own resources during the late summer and autumn months.

A word must be here said of the reason for not abolishing the kitchen-maid along with her superior and inferior colleagues. In houses where, under existing circumstances, an extra hand is employed in the cooking department, a special domestic will still be required to serve up the viands received from the central kitchen, for washing up the plates, and for keeping the basement clean and

¹ In this calculation only two-thirds of the large houses are presumed to employ scullery-maids, as well as kitchen-maids. These latter will be dealt with subsequently, since here we are only mentioning those domestics who could be absolutely dispensed with under the scheme of supply kitchens.

² In this item, as will be seen from the table opposite, a three months' and five months' residence in the country respectively has been allowed for and deducted.

³ In this item washing is included in all cases except that of the shops, where, as a rule, I am given to understand, no such allowance is made.

| Houses | Inhabitants | | Cooks | Scully- maids | Wages | Board and Washing | Fuel | Perquisites | Total |
|------------------------------------------|--------------|--------|-------|------------------|------------------------|------------------------------|-----------------|-----------------|--------|
| | Aver- age | Total | | | | | | | |
| Shops | 106 | 848 | 106 | — | At £13 = £1,908 | At £26 ⁵ = £2,756 | At £9 = £954 | At £5 = £530 | £6,148 |
| Flats | 69 | 276 | 69 | — | At £25 = £1,725 | At £30 = £2,070 | At £7 = £483 | At £5 = £345 | 4,623 |
| Moderate houses | 218 | 1,744 | 218 | — | At £30 = £6,540 | At £30 = £6,540 | At £10 = £2,180 | At £10 = £2,180 | 17,440 |
| Large houses (For 9 months only) | 490 | 7,350 | 490 | 330 ⁶ | At £42 & £14 = £18,900 | At £35 & £32 = £20,783 | At £12 = £4,410 | At £20 = £7,350 | 51,443 |
| Very large houses (For 7 months only) | 190 | 3,420 | 190 | 190 | At £17 & £16 = £6,982 | At £37 & £32 = £7,647 | At £15 = £1,662 | At £20 = £2,216 | 18,507 |
| Total | 1,073 | 13,638 | 1,073 | 520 | £36,055 | £30,796 | £0,639 | £12,621 | 98,161 |

⁴ This is a low average, because many of the shops are large, and no doubt feed their employés on the premises.

⁵ Washing not allowed for in this class.

⁶ Scullery-maids allowed for in two-thirds only of these houses.

orderly. In small houses, where no kitchen-maid has hitherto been kept, this work will come to be part of the duty of a housemaid, for whom supplementary help will be provided in her house duties from outside at a few shillings a week. It may, of course, be that, as Mrs. Lewis says, the abolition of the culinary department will result in further modifications and that 'a noble army of certificated day-housemaids may arise, who will undertake the house duties, and disappear when their fairy wands have done their office.' If this be so, life will undoubtedly be further simplified.

To proceed then, we have, in the first place, the annual sum of 98,161*l.* set free by the abolition of domestic kitchens from our chosen area, with which to pay and maintain a staff for the working of a central kitchen capable of providing our one thousand and odd families with cooked food of the best, and at the same time to pay a dividend upon structure and plant, and the freehold value of the land upon which they are established.⁷

Before proceeding to the necessary details, it will be well to recognise at once that only a small proportion of households within a given area can be expected, at the first going off, to make so radical a change in their domestic economy as our system implies. There will undoubtedly be a hanging back on the part of the majority, to see how the pioneers fare under the new order of things. Nor will the mistresses who have satisfactory cooks be inclined to alter existing arrangements which are, for the moment, working well, for a system of which, however attractive it may be in theory, they and their friends have hitherto had no experience. And we are the last to wish that this should be the case. Were it not an undeniable fact that cooks, worthy the name and worthy the wages they ask, are fast dying out, this article would never have been written. By all means let it be understood that we consider those who have no serious kitchen troubles to be well advised in adhering to the present order of things, both for their own sakes and in the interest of those who are dependent upon them and are deserving of all consideration. It is not for these we write, it is for those legions of mistresses to whom the existing domestic plan has become intolerable. Amongst these our kitchens will find an ample patronage, and even if one-fourth of the domestic establishments in our quarter-mile radius (the proportion which is the basis of the following estimate) does not at once, or rather within reasonable time, make trial of the new system, there is no reason why our supporters should not be drawn from half a mile or even a mile away.

Taking then 3,500 persons, one-quarter of those included in our chosen district, as the number for which we must be prepared to cater

⁷ Necessary repairs and renewals must, of course, not be forgotten, but we need not charge our annual sum with these, for in our decentralised kitchens the expenditure under this head would largely outweigh that in a central establishment.

day by day, let us see what will be the cost of the freehold building and plant necessary to their requirements. The figures are those of a firm of City architects, to whom I owe my best thanks for their kind co-operation, and the special knowledge which they have been good enough to put at my disposal. I have thrown them into tabular form for the sake of easier reference.

Estimate

For building and fitting a supply kitchen with all necessary administrative offices, manager's residence, stabling, &c., steam-engine, boilers, refrigerators, and ovens, lifts, cooking apparatus, &c., for the supply of about 3,500 persons per diem :—

| | | |
|------------------------------------------------------------|-----------|----------|
| | | £ |
| Freehold value of land required (about 90 feet frontage by | | |
| 150 feet depth: 13,500 square feet) | | 14,000 |
| Cost of buildings | | 16,000 |
| Plant: | | £ |
| Cooking apparatus | } | 5,000 |
| Tanks, ovens, pipes, &c.) | | |
| Refrigerators | | 1,000 |
| Lifts | | 300 |
| Engines and boilers | | 1,000 |
| 50 carts at 40l. | | 2,000 |
| 100 horses at 40l. | | 4,000 |
| | | — 13,300 |
| | | 43,300 |

Thus then, to begin with, we have a round sum of 43,300l. upon which we have to pay a satisfactory dividend out of the assets put at our disposal by the abolition of the domestic kitchens from a quarter of the available houses in our district. The gross sum set free by all the houses we found would be 98,161l. Dividing this by four, we arrive roundly at the sum of 24,540l. From this we must deduct 3,031l.; being interest at the rate of 7 per cent. on our capital account of 43,300l. This leaves us with an annual sum of 21,509l. with which to cook and dispense what vulgar old Pryor called ‘belly timber’ from our supply kitchen to 3,500 persons in their own homes, within a radius of a quarter of a mile. In other words, we have, without taking any other matters into consideration, this large sum for the payment and support of our necessary staff. This alone, as we shall see, would prove wholly adequate to our purpose, but it is only a small part of our assets, for not a word has yet been said as to the enormous saving which would be made in the case of the food itself, bought, as it would be, wholesale instead of retail.

Ninety thousand pounds is, of course, an absurdly moderate estimate to take for the food bill of 3,500 persons in the class of life with which we are dealing. But I wish to state the case as strongly against myself as I can. At least one-third of this would be saved by

its acquirement in the mass, and thus we should have a further sum of 30,000*l.* per annum to add to our available working fund. In other words, we should have an annual revenue of more than 50,000*l.* with which to remunerate a staff which is to cook and dispense the food supply to 270 houses within a radius, say, of half a mile.

Now, I confess that, when my figures worked out to this result, I was tempted to throw down my pen with the feeling that it was hardly worth while writing an elaborate article to prove a thing so obvious as the advantage in point of economy of the synthetical treatment of our kitchen arrangements. But, when I remembered that it is often the broadest principles that are the hardest to grasp, and that the truth, which was now so clear, had burst upon me as something wonderful, I realised that others might, perhaps, be grateful for having it brought to their notice.

To make quite certain that it was not my ignorance of the practical working of such a scheme as that which I have foreshadowed that was at the root of my surprise, I further obtained from experts in the matter a statement of the particulars and cost of working a kitchen such as that of which specifications have been given above.

The result was as follows:—

| <i>Wages and Keep of Staff.</i> | | | | | | £ | £ |
|-------------------------------------|---|---|---|---|---|-------|-------|
| Kitchen: | | | | | | | |
| 2 chefs (at 3 <i>l.</i> per week) | . | . | . | . | . | 312 | |
| 3 second chefs (at 2 <i>l.</i>) | . | . | . | . | . | 312 | |
| 2 pastry-cooks (at 1 <i>l.</i>) | . | . | . | . | . | 104 | |
| 2 vegetable cooks (at 1 <i>l.</i>) | . | . | . | . | . | 104 | |
| 2 plate washers (at 15 <i>s.</i>) | . | . | . | . | . | 78 | |
| 2 scullery men (at 15 <i>s.</i>) | . | . | . | . | . | 78 | |
| 2 lift men (at 15 <i>s.</i>) | . | . | . | . | . | 78 | |
| 2 porters (at 15 <i>s.</i>) | . | . | . | . | . | 78 | |
| 1 kitchen clerk (at 1 <i>l.</i>) | . | . | . | . | . | 52 | |
| | | | | | | — | 1,196 |
| Despatch: | | | | | | | |
| 2 servers (at 2 <i>l.</i>) | . | . | . | . | . | 208 | |
| 2 lift men (at 15 <i>s.</i>) | . | . | . | . | . | 78 | |
| 2 porters (at 15 <i>s.</i>) | . | . | . | . | . | 78 | |
| 2 boys (at 10 <i>s.</i>) | . | . | . | . | . | 52 | |
| 2 check clerks (at 1 <i>l.</i>) | . | . | . | . | . | 104 | |
| | | | | | | — | 520 |
| Receiving: | | | | | | | |
| 2 lift men (at 15 <i>s.</i>) | . | . | . | . | . | 78 | |
| 2 porters (at 15 <i>s.</i>) | . | . | . | . | . | 78 | |
| 1 check clerk (at 1 <i>l.</i>) | . | . | . | . | . | 52 | |
| | | | | | | — | 208 |
| Delivery: | | | | | | | |
| 50 carmen (at 1 <i>l.</i>) | . | . | . | . | . | 2,600 | |
| 50 boys (at 10 <i>s.</i>) | . | . | . | . | . | 1,300 | |
| | | | | | | — | 3,900 |
| Secretary (at 6 <i>l.</i>) | . | . | . | . | . | | 312 |
| Manager and buyer (at 6 <i>l.</i>) | . | . | . | . | . | | 312 |

| | |
|-------------------------------------------------------------------------|---------|
| | £ |
| Clerk to manager (at 3 <i>l.</i>) | 156 |
| Engineer (at 2 <i>l.</i>) | 104 |
| Stoker (at 1 <i>l.</i>) | 52 |
| Feeding: | |
| Secretary } (at 10 <i>s.</i> a head) | £ 78 |
| Manager } | |
| Clerk } | |
| Staff (at 6 <i>s.</i> a head) | 2,106 |
| 100 horses, repairs, shoes, &c. (at 1 <i>l.</i> 1 <i>s.</i>) | 5,460 |
| | — 7,644 |
| Lighting and firing | 300 |
| Rates and taxes | 300 |
| | 16,004 |

So that we have this extraordinary fact demonstrated—that there are many groups of 3,500 persons, representing 270 households, who are spending in round figures 50,000*l.* per annum for the privilege of having their food cooked in their own homes, with all the inconveniences which such a system implies, in place of less than a third of that sum expended in accordance with the best known principles of co-operation, by which all those embarrassments would be avoided.

It will, of course, be noticed that nothing has been said of the cost of uncooked food, such as tea, coffee, bread, biscuits, and cheese, as well as the proportions of sugar, milk, butter, and fruit that are not used in the kitchen, which will have to be deducted from these savings; but these are, as every housekeeper knows, of comparatively small account by the side of the cooked viands.

Now I claim, by the above considerations, to have proved beyond question the feasibility of some such scheme if only our insular prejudice against radical change of any kind can be primarily surmounted. I claim to have brought the *rêve culinaire*, which Mrs. Lewis and others have vaguely dreamed, within the range of practical consideration. I affirm without hesitation that we need have no fear, in adopting the central supply kitchen system, of dilatation in the expense of housekeeping. Rather we shall have reason to rejoice in an enormous shrinkage, and that without having to enrol ourselves under the banner of Mr. Ernest Hart, who, it will be remembered, declared in the *Daily Graphic* the other day that he gave a series of dinner parties, with eight guests at each, selected from amongst the connoisseurs and gourmets of his acquaintance, at which the cost of material at each course was only 2*d.* a head!!

There are, of course, innumerable details and developments with which I cannot deal within the space of an article, such as the nature of the heated carts and vans which would have to be used, the portage of light and cold viands by boys on carrier tricycles, the necessity of hot closets in the houses heated by gas for keeping warm the various courses, which will suggest themselves to everyone, and

which will probably come to be rented out by the gas companies as are stoves and meters now.

I have said nothing about the telephones, which would cost about 10% per house; I have said nothing about the committees of taste, analogous to the wine committees of clubs, regiments, and circuits, which would give occupation to the army of superannuated veterans, and prove a godsend to them and their suffering families; but I think I have said enough to open up a matter which must be discussed and settled in the near future, as well as to prove that, what Zola calls, 'la question du ventre, impérieuse, décisive,' does not, of necessity, connote all the miseries to which we have hitherto submitted.

The Domestic Cook is dying out. What is to take her place if it be not some such system as the one I have attempted to describe? The fact of her paucity, indeed, is so obvious that, but a month or two ago, a story appeared in one of our smartest magazines in which a certain Hon. and Rev. Canon is made to marry his cook as the only means of permanently securing a satisfactory controller of his most vital interests, whereby he showed himself not unworthy to vie with Antony, who made the *Cordon Bleu*, who purveyed the banquet for Cleopatra, the present of a city.

An old rhyme runs—

As I walk'd by myself I talk'd to myself, and thus myself said to me:
Look to thyself and take care of thyself, for nobody cares for thee.
So I turn'd to myself and I answered myself, in the self-same reverie,
Look to myself, or look not to myself, the self-same thing will be.

But that is assuredly not the spirit in which abuses should be tolerated until they assume unbearable proportions. It is, I believe, only the hopelessness born of the feeling that there is no remedy which has kept us cook-ridden so long. In this article I have shown at least that there is an alternative, and one that, in addition to its other advantages, involves quite extraordinary economies. For this purpose I have not found it necessary to enter into the mass of matters which naturally suggest themselves as cognate to the central kitchen system. I refer to the fact, amongst others, which seems to me self-evident, that to the business of supply would almost certainly be added by degrees the businesses of restaurateurs, dairymen, and wine and beer merchants. Furthermore, there are the savings to be made in the case of dinner parties, routs, ball suppers, wedding breakfasts, &c., which open up visions of quite gigantic retrenchment. But it is impossible even to hint at a tithe of the matters which naturally group themselves about a subject which all must confess is far from being one of second-rate importance. A full discussion of all that is germane to it would fill many numbers of this Review.

I should have liked to enlarge upon that unholy word 'Perkur-

sites,' and shown what wonders are worked in its name. I should have liked to tell all I know about the 'Christmas Boxes' which pass annually from the shop to the kitchen, and which are drawn indirectly from the pocket of the devoted householder. I should have liked to show what scope there would be in my proposed scheme for the employment as porters of soldiers and sailors seeking work on joining the Reserve or leaving the service. I should have liked to enlarge upon the relief which the abolition of decentralised kitchens would afford to our smoke-laden atmosphere. I should have liked to discuss a hundred other matters, but possibly my readers may thank their stars that there is an editor to say 'thus far, and no farther.'

The system foreshadowed in this article may not have in it the solution of the difficulty which we shall soon have to face. It may be that common dinners in great public halls, presided over by a department of State (or the County Council), such as were organised by 'Grout Suffragan' in the 'Inner House' of Mr. Walter Besant's imagination, is what we have to look forward to. As all his readers will remember, 'at the back was an extensive range of buildings, all of brick, built in small compartments, and fire proof: they contained the kitchens, granaries, *abattoirs*, larders, cellars, dairies, still-rooms, pantries, curing-houses, ovens, breweries, and all the other offices and chambers required for the daily provisioning of a city with 24,000 inhabitants.' Something after this sort may be what we are drifting towards. In the meantime let us at least face with what fortitude we may the undoubted fact that the Domestic Cook is doomed. The bitter and dyspeptic past is irrevocable. The unknown future is at least great with possibilities.

GEORGE SOMES LAYARD.

THE HAPPINESS IN HELL.

(A REJOINDER.)

I MUCH rejoice that Father Clarke, of the Society of Jesus, has, by his criticisms on my recent article, given me the opportunity of amplifying and explaining views I there put forward. I have, however, nothing to retract or apologise for, though I wish to mention one circumstance which may have added to the excitement which my modest contribution to theological literature seems to have produced. Every Catholic knows that in Hell (when that term is used in its wide and proper meaning) there is, and must be, some happiness.¹ Now, my wish was to consider how great and how widely extended, according to Catholic doctrine, the happiness known to exist there might possibly be. The title I gave my paper, therefore, was 'The Happiness in Hell.' Great was my surprise when my paper appeared to find the definite article omitted, and to read as its title simply 'Happiness in Hell.' The latter phrase may well have led persons to suppose that I thought I had made some great discovery, or was proclaiming doctrines the foundations of which were altogether new instead of undisputed.

But the extension I have given to views which were already widely received I admit to be (so far as I knew) novel, and to have excited a certain amount of opposition.

I therefore feel it necessary in the first place to guard my non-Catholic readers against the mistake of supposing that the fact of my opponent in the *Nineteenth Century* being a priest and a Jesuit gives him any power to bind the Catholic conscience. Not only does no single priest or bishop (save the Bishop of Rome) possess such authority, but not even an entire religious order can claim it. This is manifest from the fact that the views which Father Clarke's order professed and acted on in China were positively condemned by Pope Benedict XIV.

Thank God, the liberty of Catholics, both clergy and laity, is very much greater than it is commonly supposed by outsiders to be, as I hope to make manifest in the following pages.

My treatment of the question of Hell and its torments seems to

¹ As is excellently expressed in the *Tablet* of the 3rd of December, 1892, and in that of the 31st of December, p. 1061.

have excited much opposition amongst persons who, I should have supposed, would have done their utmost to welcome conciliatory views. Such is evidently not the case, since my critic has been so unfortunate as to meet with none but persons who condemn my thesis. I think that the Rev. Father Clarke, S.J., must, like the hypothetical members of the *perduta gente* in my article, have only sought the society of persons like-minded with himself—kindred souls, hugging self-imposed chains which bind them to narrow views and lower desires.

I am reluctantly compelled to think so on account of the number of letters I have received from clergy as well as laity, foreign priests as well as English-speaking ones, thanking me for doing what I have done. One of the former is anxious to translate my article for circulation on the Continent. One of the latter tells me it is ‘an able presentment of a side of the question for the enunciation of which the time has come.’ Two of my previously unknown priestly sympathisers have separately supplied me with a reference to the *Irish Ecclesiastical Record*, to which I shall shortly call attention. Two laymen inform me that my views have saved them from abandoning the Church. Another says he has ‘been very much strengthened in’ his ‘religion,’ and, referring to my two previous articles (on Galileo² and Biblical Criticism³), speaks of them as ‘the most valuable contributions in explanation of the apparent conflict between science and religion that a Catholic could possess.’ Even my critic admits⁴ that ‘Catholic writers in Catholic newspapers have spoken very gently,’ and those who, like Father Clarke, S.J., are behind the scenes of Catholic journalism, must know very well that such ‘gentleness’ means *a great deal*. Many a learned priest of broad views is often prevented by his environment from giving them public expression, while there is everything to tempt the shallow and silly to make a display in print of what the ignorant may take for orthodoxy.

Altogether I am abundantly consoled by the experience I have gained, and I remain convinced that some such manifestation was called for by our present circumstances, as also that it has supplied a want keenly felt by many excellent Catholics, as well as by persons outside the Church.

Amongst the letters which have appeared on this subject, I would specially direct my readers’ attention to one written by a priest who to a thorough knowledge of theology and philosophy adds a large acquaintance with and a keen love for biological science. Strange to say, his name, like that of my critic, is R. F. Clarke; but he is ‘Robert,’ not ‘Richard,’ and is a secular priest and not a religious. He is a Fellow of the Linnean Society, and some years ago we

² See *Nineteenth Century* for July 1885.

³ *Ibid.* for July 1887.

⁴ P. 84.

together published, in its *Transactions*, a joint paper on the 'Sacra Plexus of Reptiles.' I refer to all this in justice to him, as it has been asserted that I had his approval and even his aid in writing my recent article. I desire, therefore, emphatically to state that he had no knowledge whatever of my intention, nor any part in carrying that intention into effect. Highly as I esteem him, and much as I have profited by his advice years ago, I have in this case had no recourse to it. I would further say, that not only has he nothing to do with this rejoinder to his namesake's criticism, but that it is written entirely on my own responsibility, and *no one* is in any way answerable for it save myself.

That Father Clarke, S.J., should have written as he has may seem a little surprising, since he declares⁵ my article to contain 'a good deal that is true, and that is put with great force and clearness'—though, unfortunately, he does not tell us what. He professes also to 'thoroughly recognise in Professor Mivart the best intentions and a laudable anxiety to make the crooked ways straight and the rough places smooth,' and concludes⁶ by saying: 'I would not be so presumptuous as to take upon myself to attach any theological censure to his statements.' Under such circumstances, and considering that he has expressly stated⁷ that the time 'that has elapsed since the publication of the article is too short to allow of the opinion prevalent respecting it being formulated,' it seems strange he did not pause a little before making his attack. His tone also in addressing a Catholic whose good intentions he recognises contrasts somewhat strangely with the unstinted eulogy he has bestowed on Mrs. Besant.

But Father Clarke's friends and admirers know well that he is a man not likely long to pause about or count the cost of an assault. He is one of those very zealous souls who, in the defence of the good cause, are ever ready to rush in with a vehemence and a celerity which sometimes lead them, as in the present instance, to disregard (I am sure unintentionally) the demands of justice. Thus my critic begins by selecting certain propositions which he declares to be recognised as the *raison d'être* of my article. I can only say that persons who entertain that opinion must either be wanting in intelligence (possibly blinded by zeal) or sadly devoid of charity. Happily, I shall be able, a little further on, to put Father Clarke, S.J., right about this matter. I will take the second of his three propositions first. This he expresses (using mostly my own words) as follows:—

The damned in hell find a certain harmony with their own mental condition, and, as it were, hug their chains, esteeming as preferable those lower activities and desires which had been their choice and solace here on earth.

Instead of the promulgation of such a conception being a funda-

mental reason for my article, instead of the absolute and dogmatic assertion which Father Clarke, S.J., represents me as having made, I threw out the idea as a mere possibility. My words were:⁸ 'It may be they seek and meet with the society of souls like-minded with themselves,' &c., and I referred to Revelation xxii. 11 as giving some colour to it.

But it is a conception to which I attached, and attach, little importance; it has no special attraction for me, and I am quite ready to repudiate it the moment I see any reason so to do. What I *do* wish to believe is another matter, as I will shortly declare. Yet it is difficult from any authoritative judgment or decree, of which I have so far been reminded, to show that the view objected to is heretical. The damned are no longer in a state of probation, and, do what they may, they cannot, as theologians teach, increase their demerits. It would be easy to say a good deal more than I have said concerning such possibilities, and about the characters of, to us repulsive, actions (which cause no demerit) as they may appear in the sight of God and His angels. Even with regard to the happiness of the devils in Hell, I may remind Father Clarke, S.J., that the very meritorious Bishop of Ypres, Herincx, the great opponent of the Jansenists, seriously considered the question, *Utrum sit gaudium inter dæmones*—and declared: *De hoc non certe constare!* So much for the second of the three propositions selected for attack. Father Clarke's first proposition is thus worded:—

The condition of the damned in hell is one of evolution and gradual amelioration. Many of the Fathers held that a mitigation of their sufferings is vouchsafed to them from time to time, and theologians of weight recognise this as a tenable opinion.

That they do so recognise it can no longer be disputed, since Father Clarke, S.J., has been so good as to draw out at length⁹ passages which I had but briefly referred to, trying, of course, at the same time to imply that they mean as little as possible.

He quotes¹⁰ Bellarmine's remark in deprecation of Prudentius's words: 'Nihil aliud dico, nisi more poetico lusisse Prudentium.' I confess I can have but small confidence in the value of any of Bellarmine's criticisms, when I consider his blind and narrow judgment about Scripture, expressed in his letter to Father Foscarini, the Carmelite.¹¹ Nevertheless, in justice to the great Society of Jesus, I must admit that it was a member of it who first taught me my mild and charitable view about Hell, as also that the priest, whose sermon at the Church of St. John and Elizabeth, in Great Ormond Street, I before referred to,¹² was likewise a Jesuit.

⁸ See *Nineteenth Century*, December 1892, p. 916.

⁹ P. 86. ¹⁰ P. 87.

¹¹ See *Nineteenth Century* for July 1885, p. 37.

¹² *Ibid.* for December 1892, p. 914, note 30.

My critic reproaches me with having misrepresented Petavius, because I said ¹³ he had affirmed 'that this opinion, which has been entertained by Fathers of the Church, is *not to be lightly treated*.' Father Clarke, S.J., correcting me, tells us that what Petavius really says is—'The opinion is *not to be lightly brushed aside as an absurdity*;' adding that it is 'opposed to the general agreement (*aliena à communis sensu*) of Catholics' of his day; but I care nothing for his private opinion of its truth. I cited him merely as a witness that it was not to be treated lightly, and this now it is absolutely impossible to deny. His actual words are:—

De hac damnatorum saltem hominum respiratione, nihil adhuc certi decretum est ab Ecclesiâ Catholicâ: ut propterea non temerè, tanquam absurda, sit explodenda sanctissimorum Patrum hæc opinio: quamvis a communi sensu Catholicorum hoc tempore sit aliena.

But the question of what Bellarmine, Prudentius, or even St. Augustine may have said, is, after all, quite a subordinate one for Catholics, since they belong to a Church with a living voice, and are thus very independent of antiquity. I could, therefore, were it needed, throw aside all the theologians and Fathers to whom either I or my critic have referred, and confine myself to the pages of the *Irish Ecclesiastical Record*, a work every paper published in which is required to receive not only the *nihil obstat* of a duly appointed ecclesiastical censor but the *imprimatur* of the Archbishop himself. The paper to which I have been referred by my two clerical sympathisers is in the fifth number of the sixth volume of the third series of that periodical. It was published in May 1885, and bears the *imprimatur* of Archbishop Walsh. There, at page 304, may be read the following words:—

But a hope that a time may come when endless loss may be *mitigated* into *something like* submissive contentment, however much it may be opposed to *Catholic teaching*, does not appear to involve a denial of any *dogma of faith*.

For one may hold without heresy that the damned enjoy certain intervals of rest when they are free from pain (Mazella, *De Deo Creante*, n. 1306). Nor do the theologians quote any decree to the effect that the pain of loss shall be felt as it were sensibly for ever.¹⁴ Two things only are of faith: that there is future punishment for sin,¹⁵ consisting, at least, in exclusion from heaven; and that it will last always (Perrone, n. 799). Nothing more has been defined as to the nature of the punishment. Hence it would appear that one may without heresy hold that there will be such a mitigation.

Here, then, is allowed all that 'evolution' for which I contended. There is evolution, probably, everywhere and always. As men of

¹³ P. 906.

¹⁴ Thus not even the *pœna damni*, which is of the very essence of damnation!

¹⁵ Here, of course, is meant 'mortal sin.' All venial sin is, the Church teaches, cleansed from the soul in Purgatory. As to this St. Catherine of Genoa says: 'I do not believe it would be possible to find any joy comparable to that of a soul in Purgatory except the joy of the blessed in Paradise, and joy which goes on increasing day by day, as God flows in more and more upon the soul, which He does abundantly in proportion as every hindrance to His entrance is consumed away.'

physical science, we know there has been, and is, evolution in this world, and in the starry spheres which on all sides surround us. Thanks to Cardinal Newman, no one can now deny that there has been dogmatic evolution in the Christian Church, and the study of the 'science of religions' will soon make it abundantly clear that as there has been evolution in philosophy, literature, art, politics, and commerce, amongst the many races of mankind, so also there has been evolution in religion. It is of faith that a process of evolution takes place in Purgatory, and justice and reason seem to demand that it should also have its place in Hell. And as to Heaven, all that we can learn of happiness from human experience would seem to show that it is inconsistent with immobility, and immobility is not, we are taught, by any means a necessary condition of the blessed. In their endless duration of happiness there may, therefore, be vast mutations. But such mutations cannot be to a lower degree of happiness, but must be either within the same degree or to degrees yet higher. If the latter, then such mutations would constitute a celestial evolution.

And here I may be permitted to state what the doctrine is which I lately said I *do* wish to believe in. In the first place, it is not a matter of faith that the aversion of the damned from God is eternal. I desire to believe, then, that together with that process of evolution and amelioration which I have advocated there also goes on a gradual cessation of aversion from God, and ultimately a positive attraction towards Him on the part of the damned. This must not only mitigate their pains, but also—which is of much more importance—gradually improve their moral condition to an enormous extent. As aversion from what is highest and best naturally means more or less suffering, so attraction towards it must imply a certain degree of happiness.

It is difficult to see how Catholics can avoid admitting the existence of such a beneficent process of evolution, for two reasons: (1) Christians may be expected to possess a perception, acute in proportion to their sanctity, of the evils involved in losing God; therefore, the least worthy would have such perceptions more or less enormously impaired. Now if, as is commonly supposed, the damned on entering the next world obtain a clearer knowledge of what their loss is, and of the superior value of virtue and of grace, they would thus, *ipso facto*, be raised to a higher spiritual *status* than they enjoyed in this life. But it would manifestly be most unjust that such higher condition should have a retrospective action as to the consequences of offences committed in a lower intellectual condition. (2) The lost would at first have to endure the consequences of all their venial as well as their mortal sins. But the penalty of the former terminates, and, in this way, there *must*, according to Catholic doctrine, be an amelioration.

And what has Father Clarke, S.J., to say against such permissible and charitable views, so concordant with God's love for, and mercy towards, sinners? Nothing but that it is opposed to the ordinary teaching current amongst Catholics! Such a plea must, indeed, try the patience of any man possessing common-sense who feels a real interest in the matter. As to this plea of Father Clarke's, the *Irish Ecclesiastical Record* has given us¹⁶ the following excellent and salutary warning: 'We should always remember that common opinions are not the dogmatic teaching of the Church.'

And are the common opinions and current teaching about this matter never to be opposed or questioned when so many preceding ones have been so successfully attacked and so triumphantly overthrown? How many religious doctrines which my critic himself firmly holds have been established by opposition to the sentiments and opinions current amongst Churchmen at different epochs?

Such was the case with the doctrine of the Immaculate Conception, as Father Martigné has well shown.¹⁷ Its great advocate, Scotus, was in opposition to all the most illustrious commentators. The celebrated Book of the Sentences was against it, and Albertus Magnus, fifty years before, had even declared it to be a heresy!

What was the common opinion, what the current teaching in France and Germany, even in Ireland and England, concerning Papal Infallibility a hundred and fifty years ago? It would be easy to bring forward many other analogous instances in the domain of theology proper. As to mixed questions, there are most striking instances in which opinions current and commonly held by Churchmen have turned out to be quite wrong. The first serious error which occurs to my mind is the opinion that the world was quickly coming to an end. This error again broke out as the year A.D. 1000 drew nigh. Many were the broad lands gained by ecclesiastics owing to the prevalence of the opinion, and many deeds granting wide possessions began with the words: *Appropinquante magni judicii die!*

Then, putting aside the dispute about the existence of Antipodes and other minor questions, we come to that concerning the motion of the earth about the sun, which I have before considered at some length. What has Father Clarke, S.J., to say about the common teaching of the Church in those days? Bellarmine and his Jesuit and Dominican advisers went utterly wrong; though, had they consulted St. Bonaventure's works, they would have found that the Seraphic Doctor had, nearly three centuries earlier, regarded as allowable what they so unwisely condemned. At that time, as I have pointed out,¹⁸ the ecclesiastics were not only wrong about

¹⁶ *Loc. cit.* pp. 301-302.

¹⁷ *La Scholastique et les Traditions Franciscaines*, p. 291.

¹⁸ See *Nineteenth Century* for July 1885, p. 39.

physical science, which was not their province, but were wrong about the interpretation of Scripture, which *was* their province. That memorable lesson has shown us once for all that it is possible that men of physical science and 'amateur theologians,' like Galileo, may be appointed by God to teach professional theologians what even may be the truth as to religious doctrine. This is absolutely certain, since no one now dares deny that as to this matter—the interpretation of Scripture—Galileo was right, while those who judged and condemned him were hopelessly, grossly, and irretrievably wrong.

Looking back, ecclesiastics now, of course, can see (those who are not absolutely blind to the course of events) that the wise thing for them to have done would have been to have made Galileo a Cardinal instead of having condemned him. But had they done so, modern Catholics might have been under a bondage from which the narrow-mindedness and stupidity of the ecclesiastics of those days has set us for ever free.

Then came the era of geological science, when, to their eternal honour, Italian men of science, priests and friars as well as laymen, set a happy example to Protestants of liberality of mind. But later on, in France, Buffon had to suffer from the narrow views of the Sorbonne, and the objections of leaders of thought in the eighteenth century were met with most untenable affirmations on the part of French ecclesiastics.

It is also notorious that the teaching of geologists about the earth's age and the antiquity of man were quite opposed to what Catholic ecclesiastics commonly taught. It is possible that, even now, a priest stationed in some very retired mission might be startled if he were told that 100,000 years was regarded as the minimum of human life upon the surface of this planet.

Lastly came the clear perception, long before dimly foreseen, that new species of animals and plants have from time to time arisen by the operation of ordinary secondary laws. Great was the outcry thereupon, and Catholics, such as the late Richard Simpson and myself, had to combat vigorously the ordinary teaching, in the interest of both science and religion.

My *Genesis of Species* was published in 1870, and therein I did not hesitate to promulgate the idea that Adam's body might have arisen from a non-human animal, the rational soul being subsequently infused. Great, once more, was the outcry against such a view; but I forwarded my little book to the Supreme Pontiff, and thereupon Pius IX. benignantly granted me a Doctor's hat, which the late Cardinal-Archbishop of Westminster bestowed on me at a public function.

Lastly, we had the opposition of the Obscurantists to modern Biblical criticism. It was a profound satisfaction to me, after being pressingly invited to accept a Professorship at the ancient Catholic

University of Louvain, to hear my illustrious colleague, Monsignor de Harlez—a man of very broad views—inveigh against the absurdity of Catholic apologists and critics who confined themselves to combating views current in the days of Louis the Eleventh of France, instead of applying themselves to refute the errors, mingled with important truths, put forward by the most modern Biblical critics and the investigators of the ‘science of religions.’

How can the God of truth be served by any neglect of science? How can God’s Church be served by a timid tolerance of error? ‘He that is not with Me is against Me,’ and that man is most truly with Christ’s Church who tries to purge away poisonous errors, even though so patronised by well-meaning but mistaken ecclesiastics as, for a time, to appear to be its teaching.

Encouraged by my experience of the sentiments of Catholics in England and on the Continent, who are at once devout and intelligent, I venture to express my belief that the time has come when men of science who are also faithful Catholics should issue their condemnation, which may be thus expressed: If any one, in the interest of obsolete and untenable views, should dare to say that what is evidently true from physical, critical, or ethical science is not to be welcomed and cordially received by science, *Anathema sit*.

But we may now ask what are the common opinions and what is the current teaching which faithful Catholics are bidden not to oppose? Certain of my critics have supplied the world with some rather noteworthy specimens thereof.

Thus, Mr. Achilles Daunt has drawn out the following representations of Hell, which he professes to have gained by the study of the writings of Saint Alphonsus Liguori. He, at least, refers¹⁹ to him as declaring that in Hell

there is a kind of horrible gloom, where the dim light only serves to reveal objects of horror—a vast expanse overarched and searched by torrents of devouring flame, where lie in heaps the carcasses of the damned, incapable of motion from their first casting down, and as long as God shall be God; the brains within the head, the marrow within the bones, the bowels within the body, the blood within the veins, the heart within the breast shall be searched and interpenetrated by quenchless fire. In that dim and glimmering light the senses of the damned shall each receive its own particular torture; the sight shall be appalled by the view of devils who trample upon the bodies of their victims, assuming shapes the most horrible to increase the terrors of their presence; the sense of smell shall be assailed with a stench so great that by comparison all earthly stench would seem jasmine or attar of roses. . . . The ears of the damned shall ever echo to the unceasing howling of the devils and of their own shrieks of despair, of agony, and of impotent rage. How painful, says St. Liguori, to listen to the groans of a sick man, and what must be the torture to the inhabitants of hell to listen, not for an hour, a day, a week, to the dreadful sounds that fill the air of hell, but for ever and ever! . . . In that fiery deluge must the souls of the lost for ever toss to and fro, like chips upon an ocean, but chips consubstantiated with fire.

¹⁹ See *Tablet* of the 17th of December, 1892, p. 980.

St. Alphonsus Liguori is a great and illustrious saint and the founder of a most admirable religious order—the Redemptorists—but, nevertheless, if his teaching is not here misrepresented—and I have no means at hand for determining the matter—it is impossible to wonder at the mental troubles which his biographers tell us he so often had to endure.

What must non-Catholics think of such views, and, indeed, of others which have been put forward since the publication of my article? We have seen a letter²⁰ of one who seems ever willing to believe in the eternal torture of unbaptized infants;²¹ while yet another correspondent²² declares my recent publication to be ‘the most dangerous and pernicious article that was ever traced by the hand of believer or infidel,’ and piles up his own list of horrors.

There can be no doubt that such horrors are commonly enough put forward in sermons, especially in ‘retreats,’ by well-meaning missionaries, who think they are doing good, and in popular books of instruction and devotion which meet the eyes of many readers for whom they were never intended.

But now it is time once more to declare what was the real *raison d’être* of my recent article, though I should have thought that to every man of ordinary intelligence, whose judgment had not been warped by bigotry,²³ my motive must have already appeared sufficiently evident.

I look abroad upon the world and I see, outside the Christian Church, a multitude of men and women whose many good qualities are abundantly evident to me. Amongst those I personally know are many who, I am persuaded, earnestly desire to find religious truth, and are quite ready to make considerable sacrifices to obtain it. They are zealous philanthropists—earnest, serious, chaste, self-denying, and generous. They grope blindly after the truth and

²⁰ In the *Tablet* for the 17th of December, 1892, p. 980.

²¹ It may be said that St. Augustine seems to have so believed, but he affirms their future condition to be the best of all those excluded from Heaven. In writing to St. Jerome he shows that the only thing of which he was sure was their exclusion from the Beatific Vision, and, evidently ill at ease, asks St. Jerome to instruct him how any positive punishment could in their case be consistent with God’s justice. In writing on this matter, it is plain his one great object is to oppose Pelagianism, which confounded the natural with the supernatural by teaching that such children enjoyed the light of glory.

²² See the *Tablet* for the 31st of December, 1892, p. 1062.

²³ The words ‘bigotry’ and ‘bigots’ are often used unreasonably and applied to states of mind and to persons only deserving of praise as sincerely religious; I therefore wish plainly to signify what my meaning is. By a ‘bigot’ I mean a person who is ready to sacrifice his intellect to his feelings—one who will disregard and turn away from the declarations of his reason in the domain of ethics, either from sloth or from reluctance to abandon *phantasmata* or ‘feelings’ which are pleasant to him concerning matters of religion. A bigot, as I understand the word, is not merely an irrational man, but one who culpably prostitutes his intellect to his imagination, an act which, in ethical science, is necessarily blameworthy.

pathetically ask, with a cry which comes from the profoundest depths of their hearts, 'Who can show us any good?'

There is another and increasing multitude of souls, within the Church, who suffer from the conflict between their own intellectual perceptions—above all, in the domain of ethics—and the teaching current around them, which is, of course, necessarily a survival of a less highly evolved epoch of human intelligence. No year passes in which some choice souls are not thus lost to us—lost, apparently, because they are not aware that their own clear perceptions are congruous with the strictest Catholic orthodoxy in all which concerns the faith—all which, technically speaking, is *de fide*.

Who that possesses in his heart one spark of Christian charity would not desire to open the gates of the Heavenly Jerusalem to the former multitude and to restrain the others from issuing from its golden gates to wander and be lost in the wild and savage wilderness which on all sides surrounds that city of the blessed? Who would not gain for the one and preserve for the other those graces and consolations, that blessed hope, that firm support, those gracious visions, and those ennobling aspirations which are nowhere to be found but in the wide domain of the Christian Church?

In the creed of St. Pius the Fifth there is to be found abundant materials and motives for the noblest and the happiest of lives; while no modern science, no modern development of ethics even, tends to come in conflict therewith.

But the human mind needs not only to believe in the realisation of its highest conceptions of truth, goodness, and beauty, but also to give active expression to its conceptions of its relations thereto. It desires a reasonable service, a satisfying worship, and, as we before said, the worship of God is the highest privilege of a rational nature.²⁴

With what words can finite creatures, such as we are, venture to address the Infinite exemplar of all beauty and all goodness? Evidently no words can be adequate; still less can gestures and material adjuncts serve such a purpose. If words are so inadequate,

²⁴ This expression I derived from Dr. Gasquet (of Brighton), either in conversation with him or by reading something he had written, and I desire to here gratefully acknowledge the obligation. Dr. Gasquet is a man whose modesty and humility have prevented that wide and general acquaintance with his remarkable gifts and his great virtues, which are known but to the relatively few who have the great privilege of his personal acquaintance. Dr. Gasquet was most highly esteemed and beloved by the late Cardinal-Archbishop of Westminster. Intellectually he is remarkable for being at the same time familiar with all most recently invented hypotheses of biology, and especially physiology, and also with the most ancient facts of Christian antiquity and the teachings of Christian philosophy. He is the brother of the Benedictine monk Dom Aidan Gasquet, whose learned and most interesting work on the suppression of the monasteries has been succeeded by another on the Prayer Book, undertaken in common with one whose learning is only exceeded by his modesty, Mr. Edmund Bishop.

it is evident that no 'Common Prayer' can be a really satisfying form of worship. Only by words, aided by gestures and material adjuncts—almost nothing in themselves, but serving as symbols of some ineffable sacrifice—can the majesty of God be adequately approached by the mere rational animals men are. It is the glory of the Catholic Church to have elaborated and set forth a form of worship at once satisfying to the intellect, gratifying to our highest æsthetic emotions, and profoundly in accord with our deepest spiritual needs.

To try and bring those who are strangers to it to a participation in what is so majestic and soul-satisfying—to what, while it enforces the sternest dictates of conscience, helps to make obedience easy by opening a direct channel to the source and justification of the purest human love—must be both a supreme satisfaction and an imperative duty to every faithful Churchman.

Such is the true *raison d'être* of my recent article, and such also was the *raison d'être* of my two former articles above referred to.

Non-Catholics and many Catholics have been severely tried by the apparent conflict between Christianity and natural science. To such I have offered my *Genesis of Species*, my *Lessons from Nature*, and my article on Galileo.

Non-Catholics and many Catholics have been tried by the problems suggested by modern Biblical criticism, thanks to the neglect of the advice and warnings so long ago addressed by Friar Roger Bacon to his contemporaries. To such I offered my pages on the Church and Biblical criticism.

Now multitudes of non-Catholics and very many Catholics are tried by the general teaching of the clergy with respect to Hell and its eternal fiery torments. To such persons I have offered my lately published inquiry as to how far we may be permitted to hope that teaching of the kind was exaggerated and unauthoritative, as I am fully persuaded it is. My determination to offer it was fixed by various circumstances. The first of these reposed on certain facts of personal experience. I had already succeeded in persuading several persons not to leave the Church by writing to them letters substantially to the same effect as my article, but I was yet more induced to write by my non-success in another case—that of a young friend devoted to biological science, which he cultivated very fruitfully. He was a charming man, of blameless life, gentle, affectionate, with a reverent mind, and much inclined towards the Church. His one obstacle was what he believed to be the Catholic doctrine about Hell. I put before him the same considerations as I had before to the others, and, had I been able to convince him that such views were to be freely entertained by Catholics, he might have joined the Church. But of this I could not persuade him, and soon

after our last conversation he died. Not long ago I had the pleasure of conversing with an American priest of much experience. He assured me that the one great obstacle to conversions in America was the moral disapproval so generally felt to the doctrine of Hell as commonly understood.

Then I became convinced that it was my duty to try and clear the road in that direction, as I had previously done in others. It is with much satisfaction and deep thankfulness that I look back on the destruction of superstitions (as to the origin of species and of man, the age of the world, the universality of the Deluge, the authorship and date of various canonical books, and last, not least, the nature of the torments of Hell) in which I, though unworthy, have been permitted to bear a modest part.

The educated men and women I have talked to on the subject of future punishment I have found to range themselves in two sections with respect to the representations of Hell current amongst Catholics, and which they suppose to accurately represent the doctrine of the Church.

For one of these sections such representations are matters of amusement. They regard them as representing a barbarous, grotesque, or comic side of the Catholic system.

The other more earnest section regard the matter gravely and calmly, or with a sigh confess they amount to a demonstration that the Christian Church cannot embody a Divine revelation.

Nor is this wonderful when we consider the nature of the representations (above referred to) which they thus assume to be Catholic dogmas.

St. Paul has declared: 'If Christ be not risen from the dead, then is our preaching vain, and your faith is also vain.' Catholics, following his example, may say: 'If supreme authority has declared false anything which physical science has absolutely demonstrated to be true, then, once more, is our faith vain.'

If also it has declared to be true anything about Holy Writ which modern criticism should absolutely demonstrate to be false, then, of course, also would our faith be vain.

Finally, should supreme authority declare to be *de fide* any doctrine or principle which contradicts a distinct ethical intuition, then, once more, would our faith be vain.

It is now clear that there is no possible danger of even apparently fatal conflict between the Church and science, either as to Scripture or physics. I am, of course, as a Catholic, profoundly convinced that there will and can be no fatal conflict as regards ethical science. I am not, however, at all sure (in fact there seems to be grave danger) that ~~hasty~~ ecclesiastics may not produce the appearance of a distressing conflict, such as existed in the period which intervened between the condemnation of Galileo and the permission to freely teach, as true,

the Newtonian astronomical system. That conflict was deeply distressing to a multitude of pious souls, and necessarily tended to degrade authority. Faithful sons of the Church must earnestly hope that no incontinence of speech on the part of theologians may do similar damage now by abruptly and dogmatically declaiming against modern ethical convictions.

What, indeed, I ask once more, are modern non-Catholics likely to think of such teaching as that before referred to? Will they be content to regard it as merely a demonstration of the falsehood of Catholicity which they will otherwise regard with equanimity? Will it not rather be looked upon as a demoralising agency?

Such an opinion will of course be most unjust; for Catholics are utterly misrepresented by those men who rush forward in print to clamour for hell-fire in all its hellishness—not, of course, for themselves! Its injustice may be illustrated by a remark spontaneously made to me a short time ago by a most exemplary man devoted to the cause of Catholicity, which his learning and acuteness have enabled him to serve with great efficiency. Speaking of the apostasy of a popular preacher which has lately given pain to many, my friend said:—

How changed are the ideas of us Catholics from what they were centuries ago! There is not one of us who would wish him to be burnt!

The remark was most true. I am sure there is no existing Catholic amongst my friends who would not exert himself with might and main to save from so horrible a punishment the priest in question. If such are the sentiments of Catholics, what must be the feelings of non-Catholics about the opinions of my opponents concerning Hell? It is not improbable that, in their ignorance of the exact force of theological terms and the niceties of Catholic dogma, they might express themselves as follows:

‘Such then is your gospel—your “good news” to mankind, and yet you cry out against the abominations of Pagan religions! Let us consider one of the most cruel. It seems to me that the Mexican god before whose image the priests cut open the breasts of living victims in order to smear its lips with blood from their torn-out but yet palpitating hearts, was a god of benevolence and mercy compared with the Divine monster you set before us. The Mexican’s sufferings, after all, were short, and he was often a voluntary victim; but the God you would have us adore regards with complacency torments compared with which burning alive is but a small suffering, endured by thousands on thousands of human beings for an endless duration which we can only picture by millions on millions of years recurring without end. Such a God we refuse to worship, and, come what might, did we believe in his existence, we would but regard him with disdain as well as execration.’

Nor could the most rigid Catholic theologian blame them for

thus speaking, so long as they were convinced they were ethically right in so doing.

Mill was, of course, perfectly right, although it was absurd in him, as a utilitarian,²⁵ to say it, when he declared :—

If I am informed that the world is ruled by a being whose attributes are infinite, but what they are we cannot learn, nor what are the principles of his government, except that the highest human morality we are capable of conceiving does not sanction them; convince me of it, and I will bear my fate as I may. But when I am told I must believe this, and at the same time call this being by the names which express and affirm the highest human morality, I say in plain terms that I will not. Whatever power such a being may have over me, there is one thing he shall not do—he shall not compel me to worship him. I will call no being good who is not what I mean when I apply that epithet to my fellow-creatures, and if such a being can sentence me to hell for not so calling him, to hell I will go.²⁶

As Cardinal Newman has so eloquently declared,²⁷ our supreme guide is and must always be our own individual conscience. Many persons are apt to forget that even Spanish Inquisitors, however ready to burn relapsed heretics, always rigidly maintained—like the Carmelites of Salamanca²⁸—the doctrine that every man was bound to follow the dictates of his conscience, and that if he was really convinced that it was sinful to partake in Catholic worship he was morally bound not to partake in it.²⁹ But they did not believe that it was possible to be really so convinced. The principle they laid down was perfect, though they made many dire mistakes as to such matters of fact.

I recollect being very much struck with a remark made to me one evening at the Metaphysical Club by the late Mr. W. R. Gregg. I was explaining to him certain points of the Catholic faith, when he exclaimed to me : ‘ If *that* is your true doctrine, why on earth don’t you Catholics put your best leg foremost ? ’ I saw at once how much justice there was in his complaint, and I have often, since that, remarked how many Catholics seem to delight in representing their religion in the most repellent manner possible. Many write as if mere opinions which have come down to us from semi-barbarous times were so many articles of the Christian faith. Yet in reality there is, I believe, no Broad Church so broad as is the more orthodox and distinctively *Roman* theology.

The third point Father Clarke, S.J., selects for his condemnation runs as follows :—

For all the lost existence is better than non-existence, and St. Augustine distinctly affirms that they prefer their existence as damned souls to non-existence.

²⁵ See my book, *On Truth*, p. 246.

²⁶ See his examination of Sir William Hamilton’s *Philosophy*, p. 103.

²⁷ See his *Letter to the Duke of Norfolk*, p. 57.

²⁸ Who laid down the broad proposition that conscience is ever to be obeyed, whether it tells us truly or erroneously, and that whether the error is the fault of the person thus erring or not.

²⁹ The Jesuit Busenbaum distinctly declares that those who sincerely believe Catholics to be idolaters and deceivers cannot with a good conscience listen to them.

Thereinafter³⁰ he censures me for misrepresenting St. Augustine. It is quite true that in the passages referred to St. Augustine does not expressly mention the damned, though I consider it evident that they are there implicitly included. I referred to those passages because in them St. Augustine, according to his custom, lays down an absolute and universal principle. This principle he then proceeds to illustrate profusely by examples of misery on earth. But he makes use of it again in his work *contra Julianum*, and there does apply it to the damned. In not a single instance, so far as I can ascertain, did St. Thomas, St. Bonaventure, or any other of the scholastics who held the opposite view, answer St. Augustine in Father Clarke's way, or assert that the great doctor did not hold that his assertion applied to the lost. I adhere, then, firmly to the principle laid down by St. Augustine (*De Civ. Dei*, xi. 26). Father Clarke must justify his novel interpretation and show that the damned are excluded.

However, in this matter (as in the case of mitigation in Hell) it is quite safe to affirm the position I have taken up. It is an opinion which has never been condemned. If it had been so, it would matter very little what either St. Augustine or St. Thomas thought about it. Even if the positive suffering for some exceeds, as I said it might,³¹ any suffering here, it would not follow that such souls would desire annihilation; since they may have a clearer view than is possible for us of the overbalancing advantage of existence even for them. That sufferings in this life should be severely felt is in no way surprising to a Catholic, since he holds that some far more than compensating advantage attends such suffering in the case of every individual man or woman who suffers. For many, such sufferings are potent aids in developing virtue and increasing merit, while in other instances they have efficacy in atonement and expiation. But if in Hell there were no mitigation and no evolution, existence could, as far as we can see, serve no useful purpose for each individual lost, and they would be thus simply maintained in existence to endure an aimless, useless misery for eternity, so far as either reason or revelation as yet enables us to perceive.

Not, of course, that I maintain—I have expressly said the contrary—that some kind of positive suffering will not, with or without mitigations, endure eternally; but that is a very different matter from the tortures and undying hatred of God, which so many preachers set forward. The opinion that the reprobate do not hate God is certainly tenable, for Scotus holds it. It is true this is opposed to the ideas of St. Thomas, but even Father Clarke, S.J., tells us that he is not always³² to be followed, which indeed cannot be denied by any Catholic. His words are:—

³⁰ P. 89.³¹ P. 915.³² P. 85.

Even in St. Thomas, the greatest³³ of all theologians, there are to be found passages that are almost universally regarded as untenable, and one or two that can scarcely be reconciled with what the Church has since defined.

But I may be met by an objection, drawn from my own words,³⁴ to the effect 'that there may be useful and benevolent ends subserved by suffering which we cannot fathom, and there may be Divine purposes which transcend even goodness, and which our faculties are quite unable to conceive of.' But I have also there said that such Divine purposes cannot '*contradict*' our ethical intuitions, and that, if there are any which transcend goodness, they must do so 'without *contradicting*' it.

The passage of Father Clarke's reply which is to me the most surprising is that³⁵ wherein he endeavours to refute my contention that the frightful symbols and representations of the state of the damned were not to be taken as representing, with judicial accuracy, what their state is as compared with existence *in this life*, but rather to enable Christians to better understand how inexpressible is the loss of those who by their own malice are for ever excluded from Heaven. Since no words could possibly give adequate expression thereto, I thought, and I think, that the language of theologians, and especially of homilists, has been permitted to take the form it has in order to give the best attainable *practical* apprehension of what the inconceivable blessedness of Heaven may be.

Father Clarke, S.J., one might have supposed, would have gained some perception of the fact that the perfection of Almighty God and the bliss of enjoying Him through the light of glory is, according to Catholic doctrine, infinite, and therefore simply inexpressible and inconceivable. Yet he compares the difference between it and the highest natural happiness to the difference between an income like that of the late Mr. Jay Gould (more than 1,000,000*l.*) and that of an annuitant of 50*l.* a year!

But he strangely misunderstands my meaning and intention. He says: ³⁶—

To attribute to mediæval writers such an economy as this is nothing less than a cruel injustice to the writers who have drawn such a picture, and an utter misrepresentation of their teaching.

But I never thought of attributing to them such an 'economy.' I never dreamt that any such meaning *consciously* underlaid their expressions. When, years ago, contending (successfully as it proved) that the words of St. Augustine, St. Thomas, Suarez and others, accorded with the modern views about creation and organic evolution, I never was so absurd as to suppose that such modern doctrines³⁷

³³ This is his opinion, and it is one widely prevalent. Others, whose opinions I share, prefer Scotus. It seems to me that the latter, in his criticisms of St. Thomas, generally has the best of it.

³⁴ P. 909.

³⁵ P. 90, 91.

³⁶ P. 90.

³⁷ See *Lessons from Nature*, pp. 447-449.

were before the minds of any one of them. I now affirm that exactly as the expressions of early writers, justly esteemed, gave utterance to sayings which can easily be made to harmonise with the doctrine of organic evolution which they would doubtless have anathematised had they had any idea of it, so the expressions of similar writers about the torments of Hell and the general condition of the damned can easily be made to accord with modern ethical perceptions, if treated as I have treated them. I can only say that to my mind it is amply sufficient if concord can be established between modern conceptions about Hell and the words of theologians uttered in semi-barbarous times. There are many expressions of saints which sound intolerable to modern ears. We read in that delightful *Life of St. Louis*, written by his devoted follower, De Joinville,³⁸ an account of a conference between Jews and Clergy held in the great Abbey of Cluny, when a knight, who was there charitably maintained, lost patience, and by his untimely violence put an end to the conference. On the abbot remonstrating with him, he justified his action on the danger to the faith of Christians which might otherwise have ensued. The saintly king, who relates this circumstance to De Joinville, is stated by him to have added these words:—

Therefore I tell you that no one, if he is not a very clever clerk, ought to dispute with unbelievers; but a layman, when he hears the Christian law evil spoken of, should not defend that law save only with his sword, which he ought to run into the infidel's belly as far as it will go.

The *principles* the saint entertained were doubtless perfect, but it is plain that the growth of ethics enables us now to see that the circumstances of his environment forced him to make a mistaken application of them.

As the Rev. Robert Clarke, F.L.S., has well said: ³⁹—

Our ancestors thought little of pain. They had few good roads, little change of diet, no glass to their windows, no shirts to their backs, no carpets to their floors, no hot-water bottles, no umbrellas, no opiates, no carefully calculated medicines, no means (except the actual cautery) of stopping the flow of blood after an amputation. Consequently their prisons were what we should consider utterly barbarous, and their civil and criminal punishments had to be very much more severe than ours, in order to produce a deterrent effect.

The men of such a period cannot possibly have had the same conceptions that we have as to what are the representations most proper to bring home to the minds of the thoughtless or erring, ideas as to the justice and the mercy of Almighty God with respect to such future punishment.

One member, at least, of Father Clarke's own society regards my former article with complacency because it has caused Hell and eternal condemnation to be discussed in places whence such topics

³⁸ See *Saint Louis, King of France*, by the Sire de Joinville. Translated by James Hutton. London: Sampson Low, Son, & Marston, 1868, pp. 9-10.

³⁹ *Tablet*, 14th of January, 1893, p. 61.

have been very unreasonably banished by tacit social convention. They the more demand express recognition in our country, because the words of the English Burial Service expressing 'a sure and certain hope' with respect to every sinner buried, has caused a sentiment to be generally diffused which calm reason can never justify.

Father Clarke, S.J., supports his own judgment and his 'aversion from the doctrine' of mitigation and mercy by an authority higher than himself. But space does not allow me now to enter upon the important question thus presented by my critic to the readers of this Review. I shall hope to consider it fully on another occasion.

ST. GEORGE MIVART.

COMMERCIAL UNITY WITH THE COLONIES

THE Question of Imperial Federation, or, in other words, 'a System for the blending of the Colonies with the Mother Country,' thus forming one great Empire, bound by the ties of common origin, of language, and of material interests, has been now for some time under discussion, and revolving, as it were in a circle from which no practical action or decision has resulted. During this period the question has been thoroughly ventilated, and the time has now arrived for that action which the statesmen of the day may deem advisable to bring about a closer union between Great Britain and her dependencies.

It is a question of the greatest importance and interest to the vast Empire over which our Gracious Sovereign the Queen rules, but it is one also of a most complicated nature, and is encircled with difficulties of no ordinary kind. Its solution is rendered the more difficult by the absence of any previous example or precedent to guide our statesmen, no country having held sway over such vast possessions as form the British Empire—composed of different races, different climates, and different systems of government.

To produce commercial unity in such a heterogeneous mass, without clashing with separate and divergent interests and national sensibilities, would appear to be an Herculean task, but in view of its urgency, of its importance as regards the material interests of all concerned, and of its action on the future integrity of the Empire, it is the duty of all patriots, while it is yet time and before other combinations are brought about prejudicial to our common interests, to devise some fixed and definite system which will place the Empire on a solid basis of unity and strength.

The unity of the Empire, as now existing, is represented by the Sovereign and Downing Street. With the exception of the few remaining Crown Colonies, entire power of self-government has been granted to the Colonies, subject only to a veto by the Crown, a right seldom exercised.

They have a separate flag in addition to the Imperial flag, separate institutions, separate laws, separate tariffs, and, in some Colonies, protective duties are levied on English goods.

I refer merely to this as proving the diversity of legislation and the divergence of the commercial systems in the several dependencies of the Empire; and showing the absence of 'Unity' either as regards each other or the Mother Country.

I was employed officially for nearly thirty-five years in Germany, and witnessed the gradual growth from its infancy of the German Customs Union, or, as it is generally termed, the 'German Zollverein.'

The object of Prussia at that time was to strengthen her political position in Germany by a system of commercial 'unity' with the minor German States, esteeming that golden links were more reliable and binding than political treaties or personal unions. Her prudence and foresight were fully justified, for it may be truly said that the restoration of the German Empire under the hereditary supremacy of the Sovereign of Prussia is mainly attributable to the creation of the Zollverein. I refer to this as the only precedent in history at all applicable to the relations of Great Britain with her Colonies.

I may observe that there are two distinct questions of Federation, viz. '*Imperial Federation*' and '*Inter-Colonial Federation*,' each being very much allied with, and dependent on, the other. The object of this paper solely refers to the former; the latter I consider to be a question merely affecting Australasia, and which can only be brought about by the Colonies themselves. Canada has been already formed into one Dominion, and offers an example worthy of imitation by Australasia.

The question of Imperial Federation bears another character. The interpretation of it is, in fact, embodied in a resolution proposed by the late Right Hon. W. H. Smith at a meeting of the Imperial Federation League, viz. 'That in order to avoid *disintegration*, and to secure the permanent "unity" of the Empire, some form of Federation is indispensable.' A similar opinion was expressed by Lord Rosebery in 1886, who observed, 'I am led to the conviction that there is on all sides a growing desire to draw closer in every practicable way the bonds which unite the various parts of the Empire.'

Sir Julius Vogel discusses this question in an able article in this Review (December 1889). In this article he mentions two difficulties, from an Imperial point of view, which oppose any scheme of Federation, viz. (1) the questions of tariff, and (2) the mode in which it might affect Ireland.

In regard to the first, I may observe that the suggestion I am about to make is based on free trade between Great Britain and her Colonies, leaving to them complete liberty to formulate their tariffs as regards Foreign States.

The latter difficulty referred to I leave altogether out of account, as my scheme will in no way regard Ireland, or affect her position towards Great Britain; nor will I touch on the question of the

possible secession of any of the Colonies referred to in the article of Sir Julius Vogel, for I am convinced that none of them have the slightest wish to secede from the Mother Country, and the suggestion which I am about to make will, in my opinion, offer the best preservative against a secession.

My chief object is to show the desirableness, if not the necessity, of a *Commercial Federation* equivalent as regards all the requirements of unity, and leading, to *Political Federation*, the former being an urgent and essential necessity, the latter being the natural corollary resulting from it.

It is true, as stated by Sir G. Dibbs in his able speech at the meeting of the second Congress of the Chambers of Commerce in London in July of this year, 'that the Australasians hold that they are a portion of the British Empire, and require no agency or league to constitute them as such.'

They fully admit their allegiance, and are proud of being subjects of the greatest Empire in the world, while they equally value their own free institutions and entire self-government.

The scheme I have in view, and which I herewith submit, is as follows:

1. The formation of a Customs Union between Great Britain and all her dependencies, founded on the principle of Free Trade, leaving to the Colonies entire freedom to make their own arrangements in regard to Inter-colonial Federation (this latter would only apply to Australasia).

2. Entire freedom to each self-governing Colony to formulate its tariff as regards Foreign States, and to negotiate and conclude with them commercial treaties with the assent and ratification of the Crown.

3. This latter is only possible when the existing commercial treaties between Great Britain and Foreign States expire.

4. Special arrangements to be entered into between Great Britain and her Colonies in regard to the duties on wines, spirits, and tobacco, as questions of fiscal importance, and not in the light of protective duties.

5. Each Colony to be free to enter the Customs Union or not. The non-entry of any Colony will deprive it of the advantages of Free Trade with Great Britain offered by the Customs Union, and place it on the same footing with Foreign States.

6. The establishment throughout the Customs Union of one system of weights and measures.

7. Delegates from each Colony to meet in London every three years, under the presidency of the Secretary of State for the Colonies, to discuss and revise commercial and financial questions as a deliberative body, forming, as it were, a Colonial Commercial Parliament, the English delegates to be elected by the several Chambers of Commerce

in Great Britain and Ireland. The idea is to connect the Colonies with Great Britian in one commercial union, and to unite them not only in name but virtually as members of an Empire, whose material interests and prosperity are intimately interwoven, thus forming the grandest and most powerful Federation in the world.

It must be borne in mind that our food products—which comprise a very large amount of our imports, and on which it is impossible to levy any duty—can be supplied by our Colonies at as cheap a rate as are now supplied by foreign countries, in return for which our manufactures would be supplied to the Colonies, where strong competition with France, Germany, Austria, Italy, and America in our trade is manifesting itself. I may state as an instance that when I first went to Australia, in 1879, every article of cutlery and iron-work was imported from England. I believe that the German wire-netting, of which there is a very large consumption in Australia, is being now sold at Sydney at a trifle under the English price, and is competing with the English production.

Cutlery and especially axes, of which there is a large importation—is now being largely supplied from Germany and America, the articles being reported as of a superior quality to the English and at no greater cost. I may observe that the importation of foreign goods into New South Wales has largely increased since the exhibition in 1879.

In a paper read by Mr. Tallerman before the members of the Working Men's Association on the 16th of October 1886 on 'Food for the People,' he stated that the 'food products we are accustomed to are procurable in abundance in every direction from different parts of the British Empire.' He further showed the nature and amount of these imports from foreign countries into Great Britain during the previous year, 1885. Mr. Tallerman stated that his statistical figures were derived from an official source. They are as follows :—

| | | Value |
|----------------------------------------------------------------|----------------|-------------|
| Cattle of all sorts | 1,013,960 head | £7,181,338 |
| Dead meat of all sorts (excepting preserved meat) | 275,726 tons | £12,204,627 |
| Preserved meat | 15,870 „ | £1,042,481 |

Under the foregoing headings respectively the imports from British possessions were :—

| | | Value |
|----------------------------------------------------------------|--------------|------------|
| Cattle of all sorts | 110,004 head | £1,490,168 |
| Dead meat of all sorts (excepting preserved meat) | 33,501 tons | £1,525,295 |
| Preserved meat | 10,518 „ | £507,315 |

| | Tons | Value |
|--------------------------|-----------|-------------|
| Sugar and molasses— | | |
| From Foreign Countries . | 1,055,727 | £10,803,465 |
| „ British Possessions . | 201,197 | £2,965,927 |

While the foreigner received over 2,000,000*l.* for nearly half a million tons of lump and loaf beet sugar, the trade with our own dependencies was 'nil.'

Other important totals from foreign countries and British possessions respectively were:

| | Tons | Value |
|------------------------------|-----------|-------------|
| Wheat, wheat meal and flour— | | |
| From Foreign Countries . | 2,286,061 | £26,051,278 |
| „ British Possessions . | 975,529 | £7,685,085 |
| Indian corn or maize— | | |
| From Foreign Countries . | 1,522,990 | £8,236,967 |
| „ British Possessions . | 48,347 | £251,728 |
| Rice, corn or maize— | | |
| From Foreign Countries . | 36,029 | £381,114 |
| „ British Possessions . | 243,404 | £2,185,664 |
| Fish, fresh and salt— | | |
| From Foreign Countries . | 61,428 | |
| „ British Possessions . | 14,602 | |
| Butter and butterine— | | |
| From Foreign Countries . | 160,463 | £14,458,610 |
| „ British Possessions . | 1,970 | £159,577 |

With these interesting figures before him Mr. Tallerman asks—

What will be the effect of the rapid extension of the growth of wheat in India where there is an unlimited supply of cheap labour?

In what form could inducements be held out to Canada and Australia to cultivate their vast territories?

What is to be the future position of the sugar supplies from the West Indies, Australia, Fiji, Natal, and the Mauritius, as against the bounty-aided supplies from the Continent?

Should we continue to spend fourteen and a half millions sterling annually with foreign countries for butter and butterine whilst we possess in Ireland the richest milk-yielding district in the world, with an abundance of available labour that could be profitably employed in its utilisation?

Should we continue to expend eight millions sterling annually in the purchase of live and dead meat from abroad while the rich grazing lands of Ireland could be readily made to increase its exports to us by an equal quantity?

The foregoing questions so forcibly put by Mr. Tallerman are worthy of deep thought and consideration by English statesmen.

In an able article in this Review for September 1892, Sir Julius Vogel again resumes the discussion on the important question of 'How to secure closer commercial union between the Mother Country and her Colonies.' He treats the subject with his usual ability and

skill, although I cannot concur in his proposals for attaining the desired aim.

He says:—

The obstacles to a complete Customs Union of the British Dominions are:—

1. That the United Kingdom sets a great store upon the free admission of food and raw materials.

2. That the Colonies, or some of them, being anxious to employ their populations, are inclined to stimulate local manufactures by heavy duties on manufactured goods.

To these objections I reply that, as regards the first, a Customs Union with the United Kingdom on the basis of Free Trade will stimulate the production in the Colonies of raw materials, such as grain, tallow, hides, bristles, wool, timber, minerals, &c. &c., and thereby give increased occupation to their population. In addition to these there will be an annually increasing export from the Australasian Colonies to Great Britain of dead and preserved meat, of butter, sugar, fruit, cheese, &c., and possibly of wines, under exceptionally favourable duties. I further believe that within a short time the cultivation of cotton will be introduced on a large scale.

With regard to the second objection referred to by Sir Julius Vogel, viz. 'the desire of some of the Colonies to stimulate local manufactures by heavy protective duties,' I may observe that the price of labour, specially in Australasia, will, for some time at least, preclude the possibility of competition with British manufactured goods. The population in Australia is too small and too scattered to embark in manufactories. Then, again, the price of labour is too high to make industries of that nature remunerative.

I remember seeing at Lithgow, near Sydney, some iron-works for the construction of rails, and, although under the most favourable circumstances—coal and iron being on the spot—the manager told me that the rail from England, even with the cost of transport, was cheaper and of a superior quality to that produced at Lithgow. Unless, therefore, there should be a great reduction in the price of labour in Australia, which would invoke serious opposition on the part of the working population, there is little chance for some time to come of Australia becoming a manufacturing country.

According to Sir Julius Vogel, the United Kingdom during the year 1891 imported goods to the value of 435 millions sterling, of which in round numbers 336 millions came from foreign countries, and 99 millions from British possessions. It may be hoped that under the benefits of a Customs Union with our Colonies within a few years the above figures may be transposed, and that our exports to British possessions will amount to a much larger figure than they now present.

Sir Julius Vogel says that—

The main obstacle on the part of the Colonies to Federation is, that they attach great value to their power to make their own fiscal arrangements, and the insuperable objection they have to any 'union' that might be the means of coercing their fiscal policy.

This is quite true. The scheme I propose fully meets this objection :

1. It leaves to the Colonies (as regards Australasia specially) full power to make their own fiscal arrangements for Inter-Colonial Federation, and also to formulate their own tariffs in regard to Foreign Powers, subject to the assent and ratification of the Crown.

2. It leaves them free to form one Dominion, as in the case of Canada.

3. It gives to their trade the maritime protection of Great Britain, and they enjoy also the diplomatic and consular protection of the Mother Country in all parts of the globe. The scheme I propose will not only increase their productiveness and wealth, but give a stimulus to their shipping interests. It will foster and encourage emigration under prudent and careful regulation.

Although there are objections to any tax of a differential nature to favour the British and Colonial shipping interests, what is termed in France a *surtaxe* might be levied in the Colonies on all imports and exports carried in foreign vessels ; but I confess that I am opposed to the principle of imposing any such differential tax.

The chief difficulty (it appears to me) in the formation of a Customs Union with our Colonies will consist in the loss of revenue. Great Britain will lose on the dutiable goods supplied from the British possessions, but she will gain in wealth by the increase in the export of her manufactures.

The Colonies will also lose a portion of their Customs revenue, but they will gain in general wealth by the great expansion given to the production of all raw material and other commodities by the increased cultivation of their extensive territories, and by the stimulus given to general trade and to their shipping interests, for which a large field would be opened. They would also gain by the freedom to formulate their tariffs as regards Foreign Powers.

There can be no question of imposing any duties in England on articles of food or raw material, but by a readjustment of the tariff and an increase of duty on all articles of luxury, which would not affect the working man or the lower classes, a considerable portion of the loss to the British Exchequer would be recouped.

I heartily concur in Sir Julius Vogel's opinion that the question is now not one of 'federating the Empire, but of guarding against its disintegration,' and that a 'Commercial Customs Union' has become of paramount importance, and is the most practical mode of effecting a closer union between Great Britain and her Colonies.

This Customs Union, according to Sir Julius Vogel, will represent

an area of eight millions of square miles, with a population of about 300,000,000 !

That the idea of so vast a project is not a novel one is proved by the attempt of the United States of America to form a Customs Union with the whole of South America, in which it was hoped that Canada would sooner or later join. The attempt was made before the fall of the Brazilian Empire, and the proposal was declined on the part of the Brazils, being the only refusal ; but, under the altered circumstances, if renewed, the proposal might meet with a more favourable response. I have no doubt that the American idea is only deferred and not abandoned, and that if carried out it will be most prejudicial to our trade, formed, as it will be, on the basis of Protective duties.

I cannot concur with Sir Julius Vogel's scheme of bounties or bonus, to bridge over the period of the dislocation of the present fiscal systems. Although it is very ingenious, I do not think that it would be found practicable in its working, or acceptable on principle either to public opinion in England or in the Colonies.

The Bounty system has been quite discarded in England, and struck out of our Commercial Code. Only lately we have been urging—though unsuccessfully—its abolition on beet sugar from Austria, Germany, France, and Belgium. How then could we introduce a system in violation of our commercial principles, and which we have so strongly denounced to Foreign States ?

I do not feel myself competent to suggest any plan ' for bridging over the time it will take to qualify the British possessions to supply the United Kingdom with a large portion of the imports now derived from foreign countries,' as referred to by Sir Julius Vogel, but I think that the proposed change might be rendered gradual in its operation, extending over three or five years, at the expiration of which the Customs Union—based on Free Trade—would come into full effect. Time would thus be allowed to the Colonies to prepare for the large increase of production by them, which will inevitably result from the free exchange of commodities throughout the British Empire.

AUGUSTUS LOFTUS,

September 10, 1892.

Late Governor of New South Wales.

THE REVIVAL OF WITCHCRAFT

IN the by-ways of science, as on the scenes of a theatre and in the pages of fiction, an *alias* is often found to serve a very convenient purpose. But it is always a little disappointing, to those in search of a veritable novelty, to find in place of it only a discredited piece of antiquity, though varnished, polished, and faced with a new colour; and it is not inspiriting, even to the *dilettante* of the drama or of fiction, to be put off with old and worn-out characters, masquerading under new names, with fantastic costumes and modern effects, however ingenious and startling.

The modern Athenians, who dignify themselves with the title of psychical researchers, have for some time been inviting us to the investigation of what they have led us to believe were altogether new departures into the domain of mental philosophy. A new horizon was opened out before us; methods of the communication of thought were described which set distance at nought, which dispensed with speech or gesture, touch, sight or smell. Sensation, we were told, was transmissible without material expression; mental impressions could be conveyed by the unexpressed power of the will, character could be transferred by subtle and invisible channels into those whose morality required strengthening, or whose self-control needed bracing. All this has been indicated with some confidence, and with a careful and measured approximation to methods of rational inquiry, by some English observers whose competence in literature and some departments of physical research were calculated to invite confidence. But it must be confessed that the results which they had obtained, and the very rudimentary evidence which they had adduced in this country, were far from sufficing to persuade any but a very select band of idealists that there was anything substantial either in their premisses or their conclusions. For the last year or two, however, public attention has been invited to a series of phenomena which were seriously alleged to afford positive evidence of the existence of a variety of endowments of the human body, and of marvellous powers of mental action, which realised some of the promised wonders of 'the new psychology.' France was now, as in the

last century, the chosen land of marvel. There appears to be something in the temperament of the Latin race which lends itself easily to neurotic disorder, to hysterical excitement, and to the production of startling displays of mental eccentricity. We have never been celebrated in this country, even in the middle ages, for our demoniacs, our dancing hysterics, or our miraculous cures. We have nothing to rival the ancient histories of St. Medard and Port Royal, or the modern pilgrimages of Lourdes. But if the modern hypnotists, psychists, and faith-curers are allowed the full play which has recently been given to them, in infecting the public mind with the follies of the 'new hypnotism,' the 'profound hypnosis,' the 'new mesmerism,' the 'magnetisation of hypnotics,' and the 'externalisation of sensation,' which they have been so solemnly propounding and so profusely describing in the pages of our leading newspapers and serials, we may yet see here an abundant harvest of mentally disordered and pathological creatures, such as have now for some years been permanently on show across the Channel; we may expect, also, to find our more solid literature poisoned with this evil influence, as our literature of romance and fiction already has been. From what I hear and know of the attractions which these false phenomena, these dangerous tricks, and this practice of mental subordination to another will, are already exercising on some ladies of the upper class in England, and on some writers of influence, it appears high time that a thorough exposure should be made of the imposture and the self-deception which underlie the performances. Some of them have been rehearsed before eminent British journalists on their visits to Paris, and by them described in good faith, with no small literary power and considerable although imperfect detail, to the readers of the great English journals. The most vivid descriptions of the modern development of the new superstitions appeared in a series of articles in the *Pall Mall Gazette* early in last December, and in the *Times* at the end of December and the beginning of the present year. I was induced thereby to devote a fortnight at the end of the year to an investigation of the facts described and the phenomena produced, and to an endeavour to find out how they were produced, and, as is always important in an inquiry of the sort, in what sort of people they took place. As a result I was able briefly to affirm in the columns of the *Times* that I found the whole series of performances to be based upon fraud, and that I had succeeded in reproducing the phenomena without employing any occult means or invoking any new powers of mind or body. This statement was welcomed by persons whose opinion I value, and by many of whom the articles in question had been read, as Professor Tyndall writes, with 'disfavour and indeed dismay.' I am urged to lose no time in sweeping away this mass of rubbish, and 'the disgusting superstitions' which these letters and publications have tended to promote. This I will attempt

to do by stating in some detail precisely what the performances at the Charité are, and removing from them the halo of false science which has rendered them attractive and credible, and has to some extent obscured their demoralising character. The business of demonstrating the marvels of the new hypnotism has been going on now for upwards of twenty years, with very mischievous effects. It has culminated in performances of the patients of Dr. Luys in the wards of one of the greatest and most historically celebrated of the Paris hospitals. The Hospital of La Charité is a hospital with great traditions, dignified by great names, and still the seat of sound and able clinical instruction by a staff who must, I am sure, feel humiliated at finding the name of the great institution to which they belong becoming thus notorious throughout Europe for its connection with proceedings which they can but view with extreme disfavour.

In the first place, two patients were presented (who must be among the patients referred to), for they are and have been for some time the main subjects for demonstration at La Charité. One of these is a man named Mervel, an unhappy being of whom Dr. Luys promised to give me the clinical history, and of whom briefly it may be said that he has been all his life a wretched hysteric, subject to fits, to sleep-walking, and to catalepsy. He has passed through all the phases of this form of extreme nerve disorder. If he had been let alone, as he would have been in this country, or treated to a sound course of tonics, cold water (internally and externally), and field labour, he might have lived a more healthy life. He is now a miserable object, trained to all the tricks and the pathological aptitudes for simulation of a highly trained hypnotic, and on him were demonstrated phenomena which might indeed be 'marvels' if they were not almost wholly frauds. I will run rapidly over a series of this man's performances as they were shown to me in the wards by Dr. Luys in the presence of observers, and I will presently add some of the other performances of other patients and trained subjects of Dr. Luys who have differing aptitudes and a various *répertoire*. The man was brought in from the waiting-room and put in an arm-chair: a finger held up before his eyes sufficed to plunge him into induced sleep. This was clearly not simulated, and in a highly trained subject is exceedingly common. The eyelids were then lifted, and a little performance was gone through, which is described in the programme set out in Dr. Luys' *Leçons Cliniques* as the *prise du regard*. A finger is held before him; he gazes at it, sits bolt upright, and follows it as though fascinated around the room. This is, of course, a very ordinary performance, and is only, so to speak, the *lever de rideau*. He is taken back to his chair, and then begins the second performance. He is shown a magnetic bar, and here the true stage play begins, as it does in so many of these mesmeric performances, with the utterly irrelevant introduction of the apparatus of magnetism.

He sees now from one pole of the magnet the 'odic' effluvia, the blue flames, which are familiar to the readers of Reichenbach. He is delighted with them; he caresses the bar like a child with a toy; he follows it all over the place, and when the opposite pole of the magnet is presented to him he is struck with horror at the red flames which issue from it, and shows every sign of fear and disgust. There are infinite variations of this marvel. Thus a photograph of the poles of a magnet affect him in a similar way, no matter how old the photograph. On the face of Dr. Luys he sees red flames proceeding from the eyes and nostrils on one side of the face, and blue flames on the other, which is supposed to coincide with the duality of the nerve-centres of the brain and the opposite polarity of the two sides of the body—puerile deductions which bear upon their face ignorant credulity, but which are supposed to derive evidential strength from these heightenings of the visual perception of this individual and the other performers of the same school. For these subjects quickly learn how to pretend to see the same thing; and Colonel de Rochas d'Aiglun, the *administrateur* of the Polytechnic School in Paris, whom Dr. Luys was good enough to introduce to me, has subjects who have made for him also a considerable series of drawings showing these flames playing about magnets and parts of magnets, surrounding crystals, and irradiating the features of himself and others. One patient has done me the honour of making my portrait with all its magnetic accompaniments. To the heightened visual perception of these ladies and gentlemen it seems that from one side of my face issues a sheet of lambent blue flame, and my eyes dart rays of blue fire; the other side is equally luminous with red flame, while down the middle of my face is a bright streak of yellow. Mervel drew this interesting picture, and the others confirmed it; and as this was done in the wards of a hospital and by a patient in a state of 'lucid somnambulism,' and of good faith, I suppose I ought to have assumed that 'there was no room for fraud or imposture.' I ventured, however, to think otherwise. I took with me on the third occasion a magnet, lent to me by Dr. Johnson of London, which had been thoroughly demagnetised by being thrust into the fire, and a series of steel pins which had been variously magnetised in inverse senses, and I found that the heightened senses of Mervel were quite incapable of distinguishing between the inert magnet, the variously magnetised needles, and the true magnet. I even placed the needles and the magnet in the hands of Dr. Luys and asked him to determine what Mervel saw. He saw always, in reply to Dr. Luys' questions, the orthodox thing. I then gently suggested to Dr. Luys that he should try some test experiments and use an electro-magnet, in which he could at will put on and take off the current and try for himself whether the patient did or did not really perceive what he described. I ventured to repeat the same suggestion when Mervel was describing the coloured lights he

saw around the poles of a faradic machine. My suggestions, however, were not favourably received; and Dr. Luys observed that he must be allowed to make his experiments in his own way. At these sittings, Dr. Sajous, Dr. Lutaud, M. Crémière of St. Petersburg, and others, were present. To end this part of the matter, I should state that I took successively three other subjects of demonstration whom Dr. Luys has presented to his classes, and tested still more decisively their pretended powers of distinguishing emanations from the north and south poles of the magnet and seeing the coloured flames of Reichenbach. These subjects were a person named Jeanne, an accomplished impostor, and the most distinguished and highly trained of M. Luys' subjects, whose portrait occurs repeatedly in the illustrations of his lectures, and who describes herself as his *premier sujet*; a person named Clarice, whose marvellous powers are also much described in the publications of Dr. Luys; and a patient now in the wards named Marguerite. I tested these subjects repeatedly in the presence sometimes of the gentlemen above named, sometimes of Dr. Olivier, of Dr. Meurice, and of others whom I need not at present name. The results were that Mervel, whether sent to sleep by Dr. Luys, or by myself, or by the wardsman, was never really asleep to the extent of not being able to gather verbal and visual suggestions as to his course of action, as to what he ought to do and what he ought to see, and that his hysterical or hypnotic slumber did not prevent him from simultaneously carrying on a course of elaborate imposture. When I rapidly displaced the magnetic photographs of Dr. Luys or my own, he blundered over them, but immediately he understood that he was blundering he corrected his mistake and saw what he ought to have seen. He was quite unable to distinguish an inert piece of iron from a true magnet, and unless he were guided by words let fall by the bystanders, or by the adoption of a systematic proceeding to which he was accustomed, he was quite at sea. Clarice and Jeanne, in their lucid somnambulistic state, never knew whether the current was on or off; unless they had a clue to the answers they ought to give they were ludicrously wrong. They saw enormous flames issuing from the powerful magnet which I used. When I told the assistant to put on the current, acting on my previous instructions, he always did exactly the opposite of what I said, and they always fell into the trap. The culminating absurdity of this phase of the performance was the famous show for which this *clinique* has become famous, known as the magnetic skull-cap, with its therapeutic and physical influences. 'In this magnetic circlet,' said Dr. Luys (speaking in the presence of his somnambulistic patient, who was supposed not to hear), 'are stored up the thoughts and mental characteristics of an individual who suffered from melancholia and hallucinations of persecution. I will now put it on Mervel's head, and you will see what follows;' whereupon Mervel showed dramatic signs of the hallucination

of persecution, suffering apparently great pain of mind and body. Possibly it was too cleverly acted to be wholly simulation, but it afforded a good example of the mixture of hysterical readiness to accept any suggestion with unlimited powers of deception; for this took place at the same sitting, and in the same state in which he pretended to see red flames and blue flames at random, accordingly as he supposed the magnet, or the photographs which I showed him, or the prints, or the pins, to be of the north pole or of the south pole. I repeated the experiment, always with the like results. Dr. Olivier, the editor of the *Revue des Sciences Physiques*, writes to me that the exposure was complete.

There was no correspondence between the phenomena manifested by the hypnotised person and the production of the current of magnetisation, &c. You repeated the experiments of Dr. Luys and those of M. de Rochas, avoiding all suggestion, whether involuntary or unconscious, capable of vitiating the results, and you were careful to conceal from the subjects of experiment the moment at which the opening or the closing of the current of the magnet took place.

At any rate, therefore, we may exclude from the positive results which I attained in the presence of many witnesses the possibility of the electrical or magnetic current having any real relation whatever to the phenomena shown, and, as far as the utmost care could go, we may exclude also the influence of suggestion in any occult sense. Where the subjects thought they knew what was expected of them in their state of lucid somnambulism, they did it or saw it, whether I operated or Dr. Luys, or his ward assistant. Where they did not know they tried to guess, and with ludicrous results. Habitually they produced results exactly opposite to those which should have occurred, had the magnetic current had any influence whatever as a causal agent. I will now go further, and will affirm that there never was, any more than there now is, the slightest ground for believing that the most powerful magnets are capable of exercising any such influence as Dr. Luys and others are in the habit of assuming that they can exert over the animal organism. Opportunely enough, I find in the *New York Medical Journal* of the 31st of December a report of the experiments made by F. Peterson and A. E. Kennelly, with the most powerful magnets in the Edison laboratory, of which Mr. Kennelly is the chief electrician. Very powerful electro-magnets of 2,000 to 5,000 C. G. S. units to the square centimetre were employed. Not only was no visible effect produced in the polarisation within the magnetic field of the hæmoglobin of the blood, or in the circulation in the web of the frog's foot, but when a dog was placed for five hours under the influence of a magnetic field with an intensity of from 1,000 to 2,000 C. G. S. units to the square centimetre the dog was in no way affected and was very lively when liberated. A photograph is given of a boy sitting in a cylinder two feet in diameter and seven inches deep, upon which a set of field magnets converged: he was in no way affected. The

next experiments were made by introducing the head into the field of a very powerful electro-magnet (2,000 C. G. S. units). The current could be turned on or off the coils of the electro-magnet without the knowledge of the subject. No effect on consciousness, sensation, circulation, respiration, or tendon reflex could be perceived. The subject was quite unable to say when the current was turned on or off. The last series of experiments were made with an electro-magnet in which the current was reversed 280 times a second. No effect whatever was perceived when the head was introduced within the magnetic field of this potent instrument. The authors conclude that the human organism is in nowise appreciably affected by the most powerful magnets known to modern science; that neither direct nor reversed magnetism exerts any perceptible influence upon the iron contained in the blood, upon the circulation, upon ciliary or protoplasmic movements, upon sensory or motor nerves, or upon the brain. The authors further observe that they find it difficult to understand why magnetism appears to have no influence whatever upon the human organism. The experiments of like kind recorded by Sir William Thomson and in *Pflüger's Archiv* gave equally negative results.

The complete exposure which the results of my experiments effected of the valuelessness of the so-called magnetic effects on the patients of Dr. Luys tallies with the negative results of Peterson and Kennelly, but it is perhaps too much to hope that it will put an end to the habitual exploitation of magnetic superstitions in this connection.

I come now to another series of phenomena which various eminent journalists have noted as illustrations of what the *Times* correspondent described as a perfectly genuine exhibition, and one which, as he said, in concluding his description of it, 'proved that suggestions and impressions can be conveyed from one person to another by mere contact, and even across an intervening space.' As he professes to be an impartial and guarded observer, I will quote his report, which, so far as some obvious occurrences are concerned, describes accurately what appears to go on in the extravagant folly which they have described so seriously, known as 'L'Envoûtement.' This is a title taken from the practices of the Middle Ages, when the magicians of France and Italy exercised (as the magicians of the Far East do now) their powers of sorcery upon a wax image, which, being duly endowed with mystical relationship to a human subject, was pinched, tortured, wasted, or destroyed, with corresponding results to the unhappy individual in whose effigy it was made. Here is the modern counterpart in the new mesmerism of which the modern historian gives the explanation which I have just quoted:

There remains, however, one set of recent experiments, which, from their novel and startling character, deserve special attention. I refer to the transference of

sensibility from a hypnotic subject to inanimate objects. I have been fortunate enough to witness some of these experiments, and will describe what I saw. They were not carried out by Dr. Luys, but by an amateur who attends his *clinique*. This gentleman had a roughly-constructed figure, about a foot high, resembling the human form, and made of gutta-percha or some such material, and he experimented with it on a hysterical young woman, one of the hospital patients, and an extremely sensitive subject. She was placed in an arm-chair and hypnotised, and he seated himself immediately opposite in close contact with her, their legs touching, and her hands upon his knees. After some preliminary business of stroking her arms and so forth, he produced the figure and held it up in front of her, presumably to be charged with her magnetism, for these experiments rest on the magnetic theory. Then he placed it out of her sight and pinched it. Sometimes she appeared to feel it and sometimes she did not, but he was all the time in actual contact with her. Then he held it where she could see it, and this time she *obviously suffered acutely* whenever he touched the figure and in the place where he touched it, although she did not look at it or seem to observe it. Especially when he touched the sole of the foot, it *evidently tickled her beyond endurance*. Then the figure was placed aside on a table out of the sight both of the girl and of the operator, while another put one hand on the operator's back and the other on the image. I was in such a position as to see them all, and whenever the second gentleman touched the figure the girl felt it. Then she was told that she was to feel it just the same after being woke up, and an attempt was made to wake her, but she was by this time very profoundly affected, and the statement was only partially successful. In this state—that is, still somnambulistic—she stood up and moved from her place, the operator did the same, and, being separated from her by some feet, he turned his back to her and held the figure in such a position that she could not possibly see it. Then he pinched at the back of the neck, and she felt it at the same moment, but at the wrong place. The place where she did feel it caused her some embarrassment, though harmless enough, as she informed him of the locality in a whisper, which I overheard. *I can answer for it that she felt something* at the moment when he touched the image, but that she could not see it and was not in contact with him, because I was standing almost between them. But she felt it far more acutely when he pinched his own wrist under the same circumstances. That brought the experiments to a conclusion. They occupied at least half an hour, and included a number of interesting details which I have been obliged to omit.

Thus his exhibition, which was 'perfectly genuine,' proved that suggestions and impressions can be 'conveyed across space.' The fact is that it did not prove the one any more than the other; and if the writer had instituted a few control experiments such as those which I forthwith carried out on the same subject, he would have saved himself from having been the medium of introducing thus impressively to the English reading public, through the pages of a great newspaper, a solemn description of what was easily proved to be a common imposture of a vulgar kind, by which the good faith and unquestionable sincerity and honour of the amateur of whom he speaks, and of Dr. Luys, had been surprised. There is no secret about the name of the amateur, for he has published much about the matter in great detail, with an abundance of highly technical and scientific nomenclature, and the performances had already been described, under his name, in the *Pall Mall Gazette* in this country, and in *La Justice* and *L'Echo de Paris*, and other journals in France.

Colonel de Rochas d'Aiglun, who was the operator in this case in the ward of La Charité, gave a similar demonstration for my benefit at the invitation of Dr. Luys in the ward of La Charité in the presence of several witnesses. Subsequently he gave me and Dr. Sajous a like demonstration with fuller developments at the Ecole Polytechnique, of which he is the *administrateur*; and I gave him a counter demonstration in the rooms of Dr. Sajous before leaving Paris. To appreciate all the details of these performances one should read his book, entitled *Les Etats profonds de l'Hypnose.*¹

To the subject, Madame Vix, being plunged into 'profound hypnosis,' as it was alleged, was handed a glass of water. To this she transferred by contact her sensitiveness; the atmosphere surrounding her was also similarly charged with her sensibility; she herself becoming anæsthetic. When pinches were made in the air at given distances which were supposed to represent points of contact and lines of cleavage of the atmospheric planes, such pinches at these given points were always felt by her and gave what is above described as 'evident pain.' I was shown drawings of these planes. When the water was removed to a distance and the glass was stroked or imaginary pinches made in the air just above the water, or the water itself was touched, she gave similar manifestations. This water, we were told, was charged with her vitality, and terrible consequences might ensue if the water were maltreated, either then or subsequently. Fantastic stories are related by Colonel de Rochas of the terrible effects following from the throwing away of this water and from people stepping on it, or from watering the flowers with it. In one case, where some one incautiously drank the water, the patient fell into a swoon which lasted for a fortnight. The only correct proceeding was to allow the subject herself to drink the water at the close of the *séance*, and thus enable her to protect herself from the sad effects which might follow any careless treatment of it. She herself was supposed to be insensitive while under operation, and her sensibilities were externalised and communicated to others either by 'contact' directly to the operator, or in another hypnotised patient who was placed in contact with her, or, as the reporter solemnly describes, 'across space.' Whenever her magnetiser was touched she felt it in the same place.

Now Madame Vix furnishes *séances* for a fixed consideration. On page 28 of his book on the profound stages of hypnosis, Colonel de Rochas refers to her as being a subject 'well known in Paris,' 'very distinctly polarised,' and 'who passes with extreme regularity' through all the phases described at length in his first chapter, and,

¹ *Les Etats profonds de l'Hypnose.* Par le Lt.-Colonel de Rochas d'Aiglun, Administrateur de l'Ecole Polytechnique. Paris: Chamuel, 29 Rue de Trévis; and G. Carré, 58 Rue St. André-des-Arts, 1892. See also *Les Limites de l'Inconnu*, by Georges Vitoux. Chamuel, 29 Rue de Trévis, Paris, 1892; and *Le Figaro*, January 10, 1893, p. 2.

besides, 'through some phases of an indeterminate character up to the point of syncope.' She presented indeed, 'when the left hand was placed on her head instead of the right, general paralysis so closely resembling death in appearance,' that he did not dare to continue his experiments. She did the wax-image business, the state of sympathy by contact, and the rest, with such perfection before me under the manipulations of Colonel de Rochas at the Charité and at the Polytechnique School, that I asked her to favour me with some professional sittings, which she readily consented to do. She had an extensive *répertoire*, and on three separate occasions she went through her performances with great precision and completeness in the presence of a variety of witnesses, some of whose names I have already cited. I determined, however, to do everything *en faux*. On the first occasion I solemnly went through all the series of passes and strokings and head pressure with the right hand, which Colonel de Rochas considers so essential, and we had all the correct successive stages of credulity (or *credulité*), of lethargy, catalepsy, again lethargy, somnambulism, lethargy, and *rapport*, and I then tested the statements of Colonel de Rochas. In the first place I found that in all the phases of the stage of *rapport* the subject perceived other objects and other persons quite as well as the individual, my humble self, who was supposed to be 'the magnetiser.' When anyone pretended to be in contact with me, it had the same effect upon her as if he were really in contact, and it was evident that she guessed at what we were doing. Visions were as easily produced by pressure with the left hand as with the right, and, as to the seeing of coloured odic flames from the magnet, she saw them 'six yards long;' but, in fact, when proper tests were applied, she was found, to be absolutely incapable of distinguishing a true magnet from a false one. She never knew whether the current was on or off my electro-magnet; and her whole performance in this respect, although she was not made aware of it, was so manifest and ludicrous an imposture that the bystanders had great difficulty in retaining their gravity. I tested now the phenomena to which the sham scientific terms of 'externalisation of sensation,' 'communication by contact,' and 'transference across space,' are pretentiously applied. Behind a little pile of books on the writing table I concealed a tumbler containing some water. In duly solemn fashion I poured out from a carafe a little water into a similar glass and placed it in her hands. I then quickly substituted, without her perceiving it, the hidden glass of water, which she had neither seen nor touched. We had then a full-dress rehearsal of all the performances which I had previously witnessed. She showed the same 'obvious' marks of pleasure or of pain when the water was caressed or pinched as were witnessed by the *Times* correspondent or the *Pall Mall Gazette* reporter. When one of the spectators was placed in imaginary contact with me, she became equally sensible of his actions; she writhed, she smiled,

she was tickled, she was hurt, she was pleased, and she was 'exhausted' in the orthodox manner. I now introduced the 'wax figure.' Sceptic as I was, but willing to be convinced, I had purchased two rather pretty little sailor dolls, twin brothers of the navy, at a neighbouring toy-shop. One of these she held until it was sufficiently 'charged with her sensitiveness' by contact. I then rapidly substituted the twin doll from my pocket, and put away the sensitivised doll for future service. To make the performance quite regular, I cut off a minute lock of her hair and pretended to affix it to the doll. To this proceeding, which I had seen Colonel de Rochas gravely go through, she rather objected in her profound sleep, much to our quiet amusement. 'C'est trop, c'est trop,' she murmured, apparently thinking that I was taking too much hair for the money. I need not say that I did not affix it to the head of the doll, although I went through the motions of doing so. I have now, and shall preserve, the two little doll 'witnesses' and the valuable tress of hair as mementoes of this interesting performance. It may take its place by the side of the famous tress cut from the locks of the spirit form of Katie King. We then produced, with the aid of the untouched doll, just unrolled from the tissue paper of the toy-shop, all the phenomena of the *envoûtement* of the sorcerers, of which so much has been heard lately and which have figured so largely in the pages of the great newspapers of England and France. She felt acutely when its imaginary lock was touched and pulled, whether by myself or by Dr. Sajous, by M. Crémère, or by anyone else in the room. She greatly resented its being pricked; she felt all sorts of indescribable and generalised heats and pains when the doll was touched in places of which she could not well make out the locality owing to our backs being turned to her, and she was duly suffocated when we pretended to sit down on the doll. I am ashamed to say that the real doll was lying there all the time, cruelly stabbed by me to the heart with a stout pin, of which she was unconscious. Its maltreatment, which ought theoretically to have been fatal to her, produced no visible effect. These performances she went through three times. On the third occasion Colonel de Rochas was himself present, and assisted to put her into a complete state of hypnosis, for by this time I had become a little indifferent to the stages of preliminary mummary, and, as there were three subjects on hand at the final sitting, I rather abbreviated the proceeding. Colonel de Rochas was a little astonished when I produced my toy-shop doll, clothed in woollen trousers and jacket, for demonstrating the *envoûtement*; but he explained that he was not so surprised as he should have been at an earlier date, for he had only that week observed that in a classic author, where these magical proceedings were described, it was noted that woollen stuff was a very good conductor; and he quoted a passage from a Latin author—of which I am sorry that I do not retain

the exact recollection—in evidence of the fact that the woollen dress might prove an effective medium; otherwise, he observed, he should have been doubtful of securing good results, as the doll was of composition and not of wax. It did prove a very good conductor. In the course of the experiment, however, he sceptically tweaked the nose of the little composition doll face (of the doll which had not been ‘sensitivated’), and we had all of us the satisfaction of observing that the material made no difference to Madame Vix, and that the result was as perfectly satisfactory as if it had been made of real wax, for she immediately exclaimed that somebody was pulling her nose, and resented it accordingly. At the close of this final *séance*, at which I had invited the presence of Colonel de Rochas, I explained to him the extent of the imposture, and showed him the false glass of water and the twin doll, the sham magnet, and the method which we had pursued in working the electro-magnet under a system of contradictory directions. I may venture to repeat that Colonel de Rochas acted in this, as throughout, as a gentleman of the most perfect good faith. He was duly and adequately impressed with this new order of facts. It is of course impossible to say what may be the conclusions at which he will ultimately arrive, but I understood him to incline to the vague belief that ‘it was all suggestion.’

Finally, I must refer to another set of experiments which Dr. Luys conducted before us at La Charité on two of the patients there (on whom I subsequently performed counter-experiments). Having thrown these patients into the state of artificial sleep, he took from his pocket some sealed glass tubes. ‘This tube,’ he said, ‘contains alcohol.’ He placed the tube in contact with the skin of the patient inside the collar of her dress. After a minute she began to complain of feeling giddy and oppressed. Presently she manifested all the signs of incipient drunkenness—she was gay and disposed to sing. A little later she fell from the chair on to the floor in a state of complete inebriety, and with a simulation of the various stages of drunkenness so effectively dramatic that I doubt if any woman so uneducated could go through such a performance, except an hysteric of this class, when ‘sleep-waking’ and freed from the restraint of the fully conscious action of the upper brain. It is this mixture of hysteria, partially numbed consciousness, trained automatism, and imposture, which so often takes in either the wholly credulous or ignorantly sceptical spectator. Of the imposture there was, as I shall presently show, *pace* the intelligent reporters, no doubt whatever. Nor do I doubt at any rate that this girl was a thorough-paced hysteric and trained hypnotic, and that she was in an artificially induced and pathological condition when she went through these elaborate and brilliantly-performed antics. She was lifted into the chair and another hypnotised person placed alongside her in another chair. Their hands were clasped together. ‘We will now see,’ said Dr. Luys,

whether 'the vibrations will be communicated from one to the other,' and the state of drunkenness transferred. So said, so done; and a similar performance, not, however, so skilfully executed, was gone through by the second and less experienced subject. On the following day we had yet a more picturesque performance. I was told beforehand that this was 'the day of the cat,' and that I might expect to see a highly-trained subject who usually presented herself at the *clinique* on that day for what was commonly spoken of as 'the cat performance.' This was a Mlle. V., much described by Dr. Luys in his *Leçons Cliniques sur les Phénomènes de l'Hypnotisme*.

Of her Dr. Luys speaks as follows in his lectures to his pupils, to whom he presents her in set phrase as 'an example of the degree of exaltation which memory and imagination may acquire in certain somnambulic subjects when other regions of the brain are in the condition of functional inhibition.'

Here is Mlle. V., a professor of foreign languages, who is endowed with exquisite sensibility for hypnotic phenomena. For her, hypnotisation has become an actual necessity, like morphine for morphinomaniacs. She is interested in all questions of this kind, for some time she followed punctually all the lectures which I gave here, and, as you will see, when I ask her if it interests her, she replies that she comes with pleasure, but she understands nothing about it; it is too technical. She only comes, she says, to assist in the experimental part of my lectures, and now when I question her she will tell you that she has not retained anything in her mind; that she has a very bad memory, and that she is incapable of giving the least account of the matter. That is what she is in the normal state, as you see, and you can accept the sincerity of her words. Now I will throw her into somnambulism, and you will see that the picture will change altogether. I say to her: 'You are no longer Mlle. V., you are M. Luys, you are at the Charité, in his amphitheatre, and you are going to give his lecture on suggestion in his place.' You see, she accepts my words with docility; she incarnates herself in my person; she takes my habits of language and of gesture, and, once started, you see with what facility, although a foreigner, she talks French, and with what correct sequence of ideas her explanations are given. She is never wrong; she finds the correct technical word; she varies her intonations, and presents really the innate qualities of a professor. More than that, you will now see a curious scene. I have a subject brought in and, placed in this arm-chair in front of her, tell her, 'Here is a hypnotisable subject, whom you will send to sleep,' and you will be surprised to see her repeat point by point the various proceedings for producing hypnosis; she explains to you accurately the symptomatic characters of lethargy, those of catalepsy, of somnambulism, in which state she is herself at this moment actually plunged, the different peculiarities belonging to these various states, [details of the habits and manners peculiar to hypnotics, and, if I were not to interrupt her, she would go on talking thus for whole hours, until her strength was completely exhausted, and she would fall back again into lethargy.

This account of this remarkable person, which I had read beforehand, so much interested me that I was desirous to see her, and very sorry that she was not there on the usual day to play the cat. But not to disappoint us, the male patient, of whom I have spoken, was introduced in her place. He was rapidly hypnotised by holding a finger in front of his eyes, and when he had arrived at the proper

stage Dr. Luys took out a tube and said: 'We will try the valerian on him, but I am not sure it will succeed.' The tube was, however, put inside his coat-collar in contact with his skin. Presently he became very uneasy, disturbed in countenance, and moving awkwardly about in the chair. I asked him what was the matter. 'He cannot answer you,' said Dr. Luys; 'he is dumb, he cannot speak; he is transformed; he is no longer a man and cannot use the speech of men; he is assuming the nature of a cat.' And, sure enough, presently the unhappy creature threw himself on to the ground with every sign of excitement and congestion; he began scratching about the floor on all fours, and presently mewling like a cat—a disagreeable but striking imitation—and when the valerian tube was taken from his neck and held in front of him he came scratching and spitting along the floor on all fours, as though irresistibly attracted, as a cat might be, to the person who held it. This astonishing gymnastic lasted for some minutes and seemed to fatigue him, as well it might. On the following day I secured the presence in my apartments of Mlle. V. above mentioned. On calling on her with M. Crémière I found her installed as a hypnotiser as well as a hypnotic subject, and with a plate on her door accordingly. We arranged for a *séance* on her usual terms. She insisted, however, on bringing 'her subject' with her, for she apparently now finds the passive and performing state rather fatiguing and not sufficiently profitable, and prefers the *double emploi*. When she arrived a very amusing scene followed. Acting Dr. Luys to the life, she proceeded to place her subject before her, and began to give us the magistral demonstration based on his lectures on suggestion, which he describes above as the peculiar endowment of her somnambulistic condition, and of which, as he observes artlessly, he believes her to be quite incapable in her waking state, thinking it only possible when her faculties are peculiarly 'exalted' by his manipulation. I have no doubt that, as he says, she would have gone on indefinitely and until she was exhausted; but we were very soon tired of her glib impudence, and stopped the performance after she had shown us how she had trained this new subject in three weeks to a number of the required manifestations. We had the 'passional attitudes,' 'fascination,' the *prise du regard*, &c. The eyelids were duly opened by order for further performances, for she intelligently observed:

The eyelids, gentlemen, are the windows of the soul, are they not? and in order that her heightened faculties may acquire their full perception, the light must penetrate; but she sees only me, she knows nothing of what goes on around her, she thinks my thoughts, she is *en rapport* with me alone.

Here we stopped her, for we were beginning to be fatigued, although she was not. We now requested herself to become the subject, and duly regretted her absence at the *clinique* of Dr. Luys on the previous day.

Oh (she said), I am very sorry I was not there, but I did not come because it is the off season. At the New Year everyone is making holiday; very few people come to the *clinique*, and there are not many strangers, and so I was told that it was not worth while my coming for the next week or two, and Dr. Luys did not expect me.

She then gave us a long list of her capacities, which run through the whole gamut of the phenomena described in the volumes of the Professor at La Charité. She was duly put to sleep, and then I produced my tube. I had on the mantel-piece a number of tubes which I had taken at random from the laboratory of my brother-in-law, M. Vignal, containing a great variety of crystalline substances. These, however, she had already spied on the mantel-piece on coming in, and she said, 'Oh, I must warn you that I am not at all susceptible to dry powders in tubes, only to fluids, and you won't get any effects with those.' Respecting her scientific prudery and affected hypnotic exclusiveness, I humoured her by immediately sending to the neighbouring chemist for some tubes containing alcohol, valerian, cherry-laurel water, distilled water, and solution of burnt sugar. One of the medical frequenters of the Charité was kind enough to go and get them, and he was good enough to see also that all the tubes were incorrectly labelled. A private mark on the corks indicated the true contents, which were duly entered in the notes of the sitting. I now said to him, 'Kindly give me the valerian,' in a low voice which she was supposed not to hear. This was duly placed in contact with the skin of the neck, the actual contents of the tube being *alcohol*. Then came the cat performance to perfection. I will do Jeanne (the other name under which this lady will be found spoken of in the lectures of Dr. Luys) the justice to say that she was by far the most accomplished performer of the three of his subjects whom I saw go through this performance at my rooms and at the Charité under similar circumstances. She scratched, she mewed to perfection, she washed imaginary whiskers, she spat, she licked her hands, she lapped milk from a saucer; and when you 'pressed the button' at her back she sat up rigid as on hind quarters and caressed her face with her paws with a truly feline grace. She came back to her chair, or was supported back, for she was still supposed to be in deep somnambulism, and we brought into use the tube which was *labelled* cherry-laurel water, but which really contained valerian. Now commenced another performance, which among the trained subjects of the Charité is supposed to be identified with the 'effect at a distance' of the fluid described on the label. After a decent period of waiting she fell slowly on her knees, her face assumed the characters of ecstasy, her eyes were fixed on space, and her features composed with great art to an affected expression of pious rapture; the hands were held up imploringly, then her head dropped and her arms folded across her breast as in prayer. Her hands presently were extended and her face upturned as towards

a vision of beauty, and she exclaimed in low and broken tones of rapturous emotion, 'She comes, she comes; she is all in white!' and as this sacred vision died away her head dropped in solemn resignation, and after a short interval of resignation and grief the play was over, and she was brought back once more to her chair in a state of well-simulated lethargy. This same performance she repeated under similar conditions at the final *séance* at Dr. Sajous' rooms, where I organised a continued representation before a number of spectators by Jeanne, by Madame Vix, and Clarice, in all cases with tubes containing anything else but valerians. Clarice was a third subject who figures largely in the writings of Dr. Luys, and whom I met at his *clinique*. She also was for a long time a patient: she is a thorough hysteric and trained hypnotic, and she goes through some of these performances with even better grace and more seductive accomplishment than Madame Jeanne. We repeated with her twice all these performances, and also some others. For Clarice is now also a 'professional;' she is younger and prettier, and charges a higher fee than that of the others; she has hypnotic specialities of her own. She requested that for the final *séance* she might be permitted to bring 'her *pianiste*,' for she told us that what she was particularly celebrated for was the beauty and grace of her *attitudes passionnelles*, which were best performed when the person who hypnotised her could play to her appropriate music, gay or melancholy. Accordingly, on the final occasion, she came with a pianist, who duly made a few of the customary passes, to put her into the somnambulistic state, then put her in the middle of the room and began playing suitable music. He supplied her with castanettes, and she danced a gay and lively measure; he rose from the piano and took them from her, and then sad music threw her into attitudes of picturesque despair and delicately acted grief. We had no time to go through the whole performance, or I have no doubt it would have been well worth the money. I need not go through the entire category of proceedings. Professor Luys told us that he had had as many as three of these people at once engaged in their cat performance, licking their paws, mewling, jumping, and scratching about the place; as he said, 'un véritable Sabbat'—a true witches' Sabbath. He dwelt upon the importance of these manifestations (which he takes quite seriously) as opening up new realms of psychological inquiry. I quote from my notes.

Here (he said) is a new domain for psychical researchers. It will enable us, at any rate, to catch glimpses of the animal mind, and perhaps to learn what they feel and think. I had a patient who in the somnambulistic stage was transformed into a cock and entered into the cock nature. I tried to make him remember when he awoke what he had been thinking of when he was thus transformed, by ordering him to do so when still somnambulistic. I asked him what he had been doing. He said he had been crowing. I asked him why he crowed; he said he did not know, he crowed because he could not help it. I asked him what he had been thinking of, and his answer was, 'Je pensais à mes poules' ('I was thinking of my hens').

This, however, appeared to be as far as we have yet got in this new excursion into psychical research of animals; it is not very instructive or edifying. So far as all these persons went they must be pronounced impudent impostors, and it is difficult to conceive how they can have succeeded in duping serious people, or how they can be permitted to have carried on the fraud for so many years. So also with the imaginary effects of the various medicinal substances in sealed tubes. I repeated this performance on every one of these five subjects of M. Luys, on whom he has for years been lecturing, whom he has photographed, and of whose good faith he gives so many assurances. We made notes (sometimes written by myself, sometimes by Dr. Sajous, sometimes by M. Crémière) of the results. The subjects were never once right, even by accident. When Mervel at the hospital supposed the tube to contain mercury although it really contained diabetic sugar, he suffered agonies of the kind which he supposed mercury to produce. He had gnawing pains; his limbs were being eaten away, and he was in dire agony from the worst effects which a prolonged mercurial course used often to produce, and of which the repute is still a tradition in the hospitals. Madame Vix, at my rooms, had another opinion of the effect of mercury, gathered apparently from its use in infantile ailments; for she was a mother. When she thought the tube contained mercury she began to suffer acute pains—'colique d'enfants,' she said; and to stop the comedy I had to apply to her neck what was supposed to be a tube of cinnamon water, but which was really charged with bi-sulphide of mercury. This quickly calmed her pains, which were beginning to be indecorous. With Mervel at the hospital, when I had him to myself and hypnotised by the ward attendant, all the effects supposed to be due to valerian were produced with burnt sugar. He was duly and quickly transformed into a cat, and the whole drama was enacted in the ward, but this time under the influence of a tube of sugar-water, with vivid feline effects. Strychnine, of which I was warned that the effects were most dangerous, for, as Dr. Luys observed to me, 'You might kill a patient with it through incautiously applying the tube,' I used repeatedly and most incautiously without producing any effects, for I was careful never to mention its name. I may emphasise that on this occasion it was not I who hypnotised Mervel, but a person who was well accustomed to do so.

Leaving now the detail of the various scenes of this tragi-comedy, let us consider for a moment the interpretation of it and the lesson it teaches. It was not, I think, always and in all its stages wholly an imposture, although generally it was. Two at least of the subjects, Mervel and Marguerite, and, I think, perhaps Clarice, were pronounced hysterics and thoroughly trained hypnotics; they mingled pathological conditions and an artificially induced state of partial automatism with their abundant frauds. They were at once, as

Voltaire puts it, speaking of like impostors, 'duped and dupers, deceived and deceivers.' Jeanne and Vix appeared to me from first to last to be acting a part with full consciousness of all their frauds. They were, moreover, anxious to accomplish them to my satisfaction, and in such a way, as they both openly stated, to procure from me what Jeanne called '*a réclame*' and Vix 'the favour of my recommendation.' After I was gone Jeanne, the 'professor of languages,' and 'sincere subject' of Dr. Luys' lectures, sent after me the following letter, which I think too interesting a document not to put upon record. I omit the address and the final paragraph, but I preserve the original spelling:—

Monsieur le Docteur,—Ayant eu l'honneur Samedi dernier de servir de Sujet à une Seance d'hypnotism chez vous, Monsieur le Docteur, j'espère que vous voudrez bien m'excuser, Monsieur le Docteur, la liberté que je prends de vous faire parvenir une petite nomenclature—des expériences et des phénomènes—que Mr. le Dr. Luys obtien, depuis bien tot 7 ans, sur moi.

1. On obtien sur moi tres facilement --

Les trois états classiques,
Léthargie, Catalepsie, Somnambulisme.

En Léthargie

Anestésie complète.

Tous les différents effets et contracture -- au contacte—des différents
Métaux.

Les Contractures Neuro-Musculaires.

Le jeu du Diaphragm.

En Catalepsie

Prise du regard—le point fixe—autométisme—les attitudes—Effets des
Couleurs.

Suggestions par gestes.

Effets des Aimants.

Cessation du battement du poux.

Raideur cadaverique.

Somnambulisme

Tous les phénomènes de l'hyperestésie de la peau.

Les attractions.

Effets de médicaments à distance.

Suggestion—instantanée et à échéance.

Changement de personnalité.

Mneumonie.

Vision.

Vue *absolue* à travers tous les corps opaques sans *aucun secours des yeux*.

Double vue—transmission des pensées.

Voilà Mr. le Docteur les phénomènes qu'on obtien très facilement sur moi—*sans jamais les rater*. Mr. Le Docteur Luys n'hésitera pas à le confirmer—d'ailleurs j'offre de le prouver—quand on voudra.

Je travail en ce moment comme Sujet (passif) à la Charité avec Mr. le Dr. Louys—et comme Sujet *active* avec mes sujets—chez moi tous les jours de 2 heures à 6 heures—et dans tous les Salons de la haute Aristocratie Parisienne en soirée hypnotique ou Spirite.

Anciennements Mdle. . . . que Samedi Mr. le Docteur j'avais aperçue dans votre Salon²—à été employée par moi—pendant 8 mois *comme mon sujet*. J'ai été forcé de la congédier pour un fait—assez sérieux. Cette petite dont les aptitudes sont absolument aussi nules que le Cabotinage, est grand profité des visites chez moi de quelques toutes jeunes dames du plus grand monde qui dans l'après midi venaient me consulter et naturellement en cachette de moi, pour grossir ces gages de sujet, cette petite fille sans conscience vendai de la morphine au morphinomane et de l'opium aux opiomanes, une de mes cliente, Mme. la Vicomtesse de . . . devenue absolument opiomane par l'opium procurai en secret par . . . a manqué payer cela de sa vie. Par un hasard ayant découvert la vérité j'ai mise . . . immédiatement à la porte. Voilà pourquoi j'ai été désagréablement impressionnée voyant cette triste personne singer avec aplomb dans le salon de Mr. le Docteur tous ce qu'elle m'avait vu faire étant chez moi.

This document is perfect; its spelling, its jargon, its revelation of the underside of the genuine 'marvels' of the new and old mesmerism, will make it historic.

We see here to what excesses this so-called science of hypnotism may lead, and we catch a glimpse, and only a glimpse, of some of its evil connections. The rest remain to be followed out, and ought to be followed out, by the Paris police, and no doubt the administrative council which presides over the hospital system of Paris will take some steps in the matter. It is hardly possible (except under a system of highly concentrated centralisation, in which the true central governing body is so far removed from its peripheral members as to take little notice of what is going on there), that such things should happen, or should continue. In any English hospital in which the controlling governors are on the spot, and the staff in habitual communication with them, such proceedings would long before have attracted inquiry, and would have been controlled. That is by the way. How much harm they can do in some directions, M. Luys knows very well and expresses very clearly, for he says in his lectures:³

From the social point of view these new states of instantaneous loss of consciousness into which hypnotic or merely fascinated subjects may be made to pass deserve to be considered with lively interest. As I shall have to explain to you later, the individual in these novel conditions no longer belongs to himself; he is surrendered, an inert being, to the enterprise of those who surround him. At one moment in the passive stage in this condition of lethargy or of catalepsy, he is absolutely defenceless and exposed to any criminal attempt on the part of those who surround him. He can be poisoned and mutilated. Where a woman is concerned, she may be violated and even infected with syphilis, of which I have recently observed a painful example in my practice. She may become a mother without any trace existing of a criminal assault, and without the patient having the smallest recollection of what has passed after she has awakened. Sometimes, in the active condition, the state of lucid somnambulism, and even in the condition of simple fascination, the subject may be exposed to the influence of suggestions of the most varied kind on the part of the person directing his actions. He may be

² This is another favourite subject of the Charité.

³ *Leçons cliniques sur les principaux Phénomènes de l'Hypnotisme dans leurs Rapports avec la Pathologie mentale.* Par J. Luys. Paris: Georges Carré, Editeur, 58 Rue St. André-des-Arts, 1890.

induced to become a homicide, an incendiary or suicide, and all these impulses deposited in his brain during sleep become forces stored up silently, which will burst forth at a given moment with the precision, accuracy of performance, and automatic impetuosity of acts performed by the really insane. Gentlemen, bear this well in mind; all these acts, all these phenomena unconsciously accomplished, are no mere vague apprehensions and vain suppositions; they are real facts which you may meet with this very day in ordinary life. They are apt to develop, and to appear around you and before you in the most inexplicable manner.

Of course the question will be asked, Are the practical uses or the applications of the artificial sleep (the induction of which is the residuum of this psychological puddle) of such value as to counter-balance its evils? As to its surgical uses, which at first sight are the most obvious, Luys himself says:—

At the first appearance of hypnotism, when Braid had shown that hypnotised subjects are insensitive to external stimuli, surgeons conceived the idea of using this method for the performance of certain operations. In fact, some among them had the opportunity of testing it with a certain amount of advantage. But since the wonderful discovery of chloroform (and, it might be added, of local anæsthesia by cocaine, the vaporisation of ether, &c.) these attempts so far as concern surgical anæsthesia have been justly abandoned. At the present time the application of hypnotism to surgical therapeutics is of absolutely no account, since it concerns only a small number of persons—namely, the class of hypnotisable subjects.⁴

In the domain of medicine M. Luys is naturally more hopeful and more affirmative, but obviously inspires less confidence than his calmer and more critical colleagues at the Salpêtrière, who have abstained from following him in these new developments and who regard them with disfavour and distrust. To me the so-called medical cures by hypnotism seem to rank in precisely the same class as those of the faith-curer.

The hypnotic *endormeur* is very well able to explain the miracles of faith-cure and pilgrimage by the light of his own experience. They result, as he explains accurately, from the reaction of mind on body, the effects of imagination, of self-suggestion, or of suggestion from without. Those who benefit by them are especially the fervent and the enthusiastic, the vividly imaginative, the mentally dependent, and, above all, the hysterical—male or female. But clearly, the faith-curer may retort upon the hypnotiser that they are brothers in their therapeutic results, if not in their faith and philosophy. The one can work about the same percentage of cures as the other—and no more; and the intervening apparatus, whether of magnets, mirrors, or of grottoes, only serve to affect the imagination, and to supply 'the external stimulus' which is necessary.

To this category belong also the long series of thousands of asserted cures of people who wear what they are pleased to call magnetic belts, or who used to wear magnetic rings, who were cured by the Perkins

⁴ *Applications thérapeutiques de l'Hypnotisme.* Par le Dr. J. Luys. Paris: Imprimerie F. Lèze, 17 Rue Cassette, 1889.

tractors whether of wood or of iron—they are the prey of the quacks of all ages and countries.

One essential part is, however, I conceive, that no new faculty was ever yet developed in any of these hypnotics. The frauds of clairvoyance, of spirit perceptions, of gifts of language, of slate-writing, of spirit-writing, of far-sight, of 'communication across space,' of 'transfer of mental impressions,' of the development of any new sense or ghost of a new sense, remain now as ever, for the most part, demonstrable frauds or perhaps in a few cases self-deceptions. At the Salpêtrière, at Nancy, wherever the facts have been impartially and critically examined, this has been the result. It results once more now from my test of the subjects of the Charité and the Ecole Polytechnique. It will, I suppose, be too much to expect that we shall hear no more of the 'New Mesmerism,' but it will be easy for any one thus experimentally to reduce it to its true dimensions.

Finally, as to the practical question, which has perhaps a greater interest for the sociologist than any which have suggested themselves up to this point. Since the hypnotist faith-curer of the hospital ward and the priestly faith-curer of the grotto are in truth utilising the same human elements and employing cognate resources, although masked by a different outward garb, we may ask ourselves which can approximate to the greater successes and which does the least harm.

So far as I can see, the balance is in favour of the faith-curer of the chapel and the grotto. The results at least are proportionately as numerous, and they are more rapid. Numerically there are, I incline to think, more faith-cures at Lourdes than there are 'suggestion-cures' in the Salpêtrière or the Charité. So far as hypnotism is good for anything as a curative agent, its sphere is limited, by Charcot, Féré, Babinski, and all the most trustworthy medical observers of Paris, to the relief of functional disorder and symptoms in hysterical patients. The Nancy school put their pretensions higher; but any one who will analyse for himself, or who will study Babinski's able analysis of the Nancy reputed cases of cure, will easily satisfy himself that such claims are not valid. As to the use of 'suggestion' as an anæsthetic substitute of chloroform for operation purposes, that 'suggestion' dates back now beyond the ages of Esdaile and of Elliotson. It has been given up and fallen into disuse because of its unreliability and limited application. It is now sagely proposed to use hypnotism for 'tooth-drawing,' for the treatment of drunkards and of school children. The proposition is self-condemned. To enable a dentist to draw a tooth painlessly, the average man or woman is, by a series of sittings, to be reduced to the state of a trained automaton; but happily only a very small proportion can be. The criminal courts have seen enough of hypnotic dentists. As to the 'suggestion' cure of drunkards or the 'suggestion' treatment of backward or naughty children, systematic and intelligent suggestion is what every clergy-

man, every doctor, and every schoolmaster tries to carry out in such cases and often does successfully,—and in a better form than the degrading shape of hypnotism. Moreover, for drunkenness it is, so far as my inquiries go, a failure.

If a striking effect is to be produced by an apparatus destined powerfully to affect the imagination, the faith-curer of the grotto has this advantage over the *endormeur* of the platform or the hospital. He does not intrude his own personality and train his patient to subject his mental *ego* to that of his 'operator.' The 'mesmeriser' seeks to dominate his subject; he weakens the will power, which it is desirable to strengthen. He aims at becoming the master of a slave. I do not need to emphasise the dangers of this practice. I need not even relate them. I have briefly quoted the warnings of one of its apostles, or at least so much of them as it is seemly here to relate.

The faith-curer of the grotto strengthens the weaker individuality. He plays upon the spring of self-suggestion. The patient is told to believe that he will be cured, to wish it fervently, and he shall be cured. So far as he is cured, he returns perhaps a better and a stronger man, and his cure is quite as real and likely to be quite as lasting as if he had become the puppet of a hypnotiser. The experiments of the Salpêtrière have served to enable us to analyse more clearly the nature of faith-cures generally, and they have thrown a ray of light on a series of phenomena of human automatism never before studied so clearly or philosophically, but they have added practically little, if anything, to our curative resources. It is hardly to be set down to their discredit that they have incidentally favoured the reign of the platform hypnotiser or the vagaries of the subjects at La Charité; that is their misfortune rather than their fault, but it is a grave misfortune. But the intervention of authority might at the present, in respect to the latter, cut short these absurdities and put an end to some social mischiefs which have fastened on to them and hang to their skirts. Thus much as to the sociological question. To the student of 'psychological phenomena' it has a great interest to note how successive functions may be separately abolished as the brain is partially set to sleep, and in what exaggerated forms the remaining activities may be brought upon the stage when restraining self-consciousness is stilled. The vulgar, too, may find an ignoble amusement in the antics of these drinkers of petroleum and vinegar, in the semi-idiotic postures and proceedings of the hypnotised mannikin, as they do in a *fantocchini* show or a puppet play. But against such philosophic satisfactions and vulgar amusements must be set the avowed and the unconfessed mischiefs, and who can doubt that these outbalance any good result which can be discerned?

ERNEST HART.

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THE HOME RULE BILL

THE Home Rule Bill, in my opinion, will pass the House of Commons this Session. But I do not expect it to pass the House of Lords this Session. The Peers will no doubt reject it. Some people talk of the possibility of a dissolution in consequence. There will be no dissolution. Nothing is less likely than that Mr. Gladstone would allow the Peers by any action of theirs to decree a dissolution. The Bill, when thrown out by the House of Lords, will in all probability be brought in again in an autumn session, and by the time it passes the Commons there will have been agitation enough in the country to induce the House of Lords to think twice before venturing upon a second veto. The reception which the Bill has got has thus far been highly satisfactory to Home Rulers. The Bill is not all that I would have. Its financial clauses, as I shall endeavour to show later on, and upon authority far better than mine, are anything but satisfactory. I have naturally the strongest objection to seeing Ireland started on her course of self-government with a financial arrangement that threatens at the very outset something like early national bankruptcy. But there is no reason to doubt that the financial arrangements can be considerably modified in the future; and of one thing I am certain, and that is that the Liberal constituencies throughout Great Britain have not the slightest desire to be niggardly in their dealings with Ireland. I have never met with an English, Scotch, or Welsh Liberal or Radical who did not say that he wanted to have the Home Rule Bill made a measure that could

really satisfy the Irish people and settle once and for all a most trying controversy.

The one great and crying demand of the Irish people is for a measure which shall allow them to manage their own domestic and national affairs for themselves. More than a quarter of a century has passed since Stuart Mill predicted that if things were allowed to go on as they were then going on, the Irish people would come to ask nothing of England but that the English Government should take itself off out of Ireland on any conditions whatever. I want to put it bluntly. It has come to that already. The Irish people are anxious above all things that England shall take her centralised government off the neck of Ireland. They are willing to welcome any measure which gives them, under almost any restrictions, the real government of their own affairs. They are sick of being governed from Westminster. Therefore they welcome Mr. Gladstone's new Home Rule Bill because they believe that it will at least do that much for them. They do not trouble themselves greatly about the Veto—and neither do I. The Veto is a solid fact embedded in our constitution, and is not to be got rid of. The Veto applies to all the colonies and is applied to each of them sometimes. It does not give most of them any trouble. In Canada, for example, the Veto is not wantonly or vexatiously applied. I admit that the case of Ireland is different. Canada lies far away—across three thousand miles of ocean. The frontier line of Canada is the border line of the richest and the strongest Republic in the world—a republic which although not desiring to annex Canada would be perfectly willing to consider Canada's claim for admission into the Union. Therefore we need not think much about the possibility of Canada's being worried by any frequent and vexatious exercise of the imperial right of Veto. Then, again, Canada has not got in the Imperial Parliament a number of Canadian Orangemen, always ready to start up and make objection to the doings of the Dominion Parliament at Ottawa. But Ireland has not the three thousand dividing miles of ocean—Ireland has not a frontier conterminous with that of a great and sympathetic Republic—and Ireland has her Orange party in the House of Commons. Yet all the same Ireland, I think, is likely to be satisfied with the conditions of the Veto in the Home Rule Bill. Something must always be taken on trust; no strictest lawyer-like bonds can bind down everything to be satisfactory at all times and under all conditions. We must have something like reciprocal trust and confidence, and this is just what the Irish people feel at present. They have a quiet conviction—and so have I—that the Veto will never be exercised with any wanton and vexatious purpose. They feel convinced—as I feel convinced—that the Veto will never be used even by the most reactionary Tory Ministry unless when there is some reasonable or at all events plausible excuse for its intervention. I do not believe

that any such excuse is ever likely to arise. It utterly passes my power of imagination to think of an Irish Home Rule Parliament endeavouring to oppress anybody because of his religion. I do not believe that a Home Rule Parliament would ever want to take anybody's land from him without giving him just compensation. I do not think, therefore, that we shall give any occasion for the frequent use of the Veto—and I do not believe that unless we give occasion for its frequent use it will frequently be used.

I prefer very much the arrangement about the Second Chamber in the present Bill to the arrangement about the Second Order in the first Bill. I thought the plan about the two orders meeting in one chamber grotesque and indeed impossible. I felt sure that it would never get through committee, and I said so in the House of Commons, as many other men also said. But I believe it is inevitable that we should have a second chamber; and if we must have a second chamber, I do not see how we could have it under a better arrangement. Of course I do not like the idea of a second and a larger franchise. But if you want to have what may be called a superior chamber, you must have some condition of superiority. In Canada there is a Senate which is nominated, and no one cares three straws about what it says or what it tries to do. In the United States they have a Senate elected indeed, but elected on a different basis and under different conditions from the basis and the conditions which govern the election of the House of Representatives; and the Senate is the more powerful body in Congress, and is perhaps the most powerful Upper Chamber in the world. Now in Ireland we have not as yet the conditions—we have not the very elements of the conditions—out of which a Senate could be elected as the Senate of the United States is elected. We have had in Ireland until very lately no really representative domestic and municipal institutions. We must take things as they are. I do not know that we can do anything better than to accept the principle of the franchise 'of a rateable value of more than twenty pounds' in the election of members of the Irish Legislative Council. I wish the Chamber were not called a Legislative Council. I wish the representative chamber were not called a Legislative Assembly. Legislative Council and Legislative Assembly are names very well understood, of course, in most of our colonies, but they are not very well understood here at home. I would rather have it, as in the Dominion of Canada, a Senate and a House of Commons, but I believe there was a sort of alarm at the idea of a second House of Commons in these islands; and we must remember that Wilkie Collins's Count Fosco declares that when an Englishman begins to be suspicious he is always suspicious in the wrong place. So there was some uneasiness about the House of Commons and uneasiness even about the Senate, and therefore we have come to Legislative Council and Legislative Assembly. I have a

dismal anticipation of seeing myself set down at some coming day as Assembly-man McCarthy.

I am not fond of large legislative assemblies, but I think a representative chamber of 103 is rather a small proportionate number for Ireland. I believe it will be almost, if not quite, the very smallest representative chamber in the world. I do not particularly object to the reduced number of Irish representatives in the Imperial Parliament. I do think that the whole number of Irish representatives ought to be kept up until the Land Question is either settled in the Imperial Parliament or relegated to the Parliament in College Green, Dublin. I was and I am under the impression that this was the understanding between the Liberal leaders and the Irish Nationalist Party since the far-off days of the Boulogne negotiations. But it really is not a matter of great importance; I cannot believe that the Imperial Parliament will be very eager to deal with the Irish Land Question. There will be a good many subjects to occupy its attention before the three years have expired after the Home Rule Bill shall have come to be a law. There will be some pressing questions then awaiting settlement for England, Scotland, and Wales. If the Imperial Parliament is allowed an alternative—to settle the Irish Land Question within three years or to hand it on for settlement to the Irish Parliament—I fancy that, human nature being what it is, there will be no settlement of the question at Westminster. Therefore I am not passionately concerned about the exact number of the Irish members who may be left at Westminster during the three years following the creation of an Irish Parliament.

As to the financial question, and the doubt that I have concerning the sufficiency of the arrangements contained in the Home Rule Bill, I have taken counsel of a better judgment than my own. I have asked my friend Mr. Sexton, who, among his many other gifts, has a perfect genius for finance, to put down for me on paper his objections to the present scheme. He has given me his precise views, and, with his permission, I submit them to the judgment of the readers of this Review.

There are three main reasons for objection to the proposed financial arrangement. Each of them is founded on a principle which we cannot disregard, and any one of them is sufficient to prevent us from accepting the proposal. Our reasons are:—

1. The terms are less favourable to Ireland than those of the Bill of '86. By that measure it was proposed that the contribution of Ireland to Imperial charges should be 3,600,000*l.* a year, but as Irish revenue was to be reckoned to include 2,400,000*l.* a year duty paid in Ireland on articles consumed in Great Britain, the scheme of '86 was, in effect, to appropriate 2,200,000*l.* out of the revenue really contributed by Ireland. This proposal was condemned

by the Irish Party as one demanding from Ireland more than her equitable share, according to the measure of her resources, and notice was given of an amendment, which would have been pressed if the Bill had reached Committee. Since '86 we have always been given to understand that the financial scheme, at any rate, would be made better for Ireland; but now it is proposed to take as Ireland's contribution the whole of her Customs duties—an expanding revenue, yielding at present, after deducting cost of collection, 2,360,000*l.* a year, or 160,000*l.* more than was asked for by the plan of '86.

'2. The contribution of 2,360,000*l.* is greatly in excess of the actual gain at present to the Imperial Exchequer from the revenue of Ireland. I do not here refer to any particular year, but to the general average. The contribution, once fixed, will stand unaltered for many years. In fixing it, therefore, regard should be had, not to one year or another, but to the experience of a considerable period, and we maintain that the average profit, so ascertained, of the Imperial Treasury from Ireland has not amounted to two millions a year, nor has it approached that sum. When we are asked to consent to a contribution of 2,360,000*l.* (likely to increase by expansion of Customs revenue), it is our duty to reply that the grant of Home Rule should not be made the occasion for extracting from Ireland a heavier tribute than she has yielded to Imperial administration.

'3. The contribution demanded would not leave to Ireland a safe surplus of half a million, or of any amount whatever. It is extremely doubtful that Irish revenue will continue to reach the level of Mr. Gladstone's estimate for the present year, because the population is still diminishing, and the revenue comes mainly from excise. But, even assuming an undiminished income, the existence of the surplus of half a million must depend upon keeping the cost of civil government within limits. It is proposed that Ireland should find two-thirds of the pay and pensions of the existing police as well as the whole cost of the new civil force. So far as these charges exceeded a million in any year, they would consume the surplus, and as they are certain to be greatly in excess of a million, the present plan would oblige the Irish Legislature to impose new taxes in order to do any useful work. This prospect we certainly cannot accept. We ask for a real surplus.'

These are serious objections. They are made by a man who is as anxious to pass the Home Rule Bill as I am, but who is a master of his subject and cannot help seeing difficulties when difficulties are in the way. I can only hope that the difficulties may be got out of the way, and can only repeat the conviction which I expressed at the beginning of this article, that the English constituencies have not the

slightest desire to be niggardly with Ireland, or to turn her out into her new life, like Chaucer's Griselda, in nothing but her smock. I think a man might stump the Liberal constituencies of England, Scotland, and Wales, from end to end, and make the appeal that the new Irish Parliament should not be turned out by Great Britain as a pauper Parliament, and find no single No given to his appeal.

JUSTIN MCCARTHY.

THE FINANCIAL CAUSES OF THE FRENCH REVOLUTION

HISTORIANS and men of letters, in England as well as in France, have expended so much research and skill in elucidating every phase of the French Revolution, that the social and political fabric of the *Ancien Régime* may be said to have no more secrets to reveal. We have been satiated with descriptions of the luxurious customs and fascinating fashions of the French Court and its satellites, are familiar with the levity of the ruling classes, the scenes of the Reign of Terror, nay, even with the proverbial phrases and sayings of the prominent actors in the revolutionary drama, and, finally, we have learned to appreciate the achievements of the democratic leaders in the cause of liberty—that liberty, as Madame Roland said at the foot of the guillotine, in whose name so many crimes had been committed.

Still, there is the temptation to ignore, if not to forget, the fact that whilst the Revolution demolished the ancient constitution of France, and accomplished the entire transformation of her political administration and social organisation, as it were, in a day, the sudden collapse of the monarchy and the political orgies of the democracy were the result of almost innumerable and most intricate causes, many of which dated from a remote past. Perhaps, foremost among the causes which determined the Revolution, as it necessitated the summoning of the States-General, was the financial condition of the country. We are indebted to M. Gomel for giving us in a recently published volume—the first of a comprehensive work—an exhaustive account of the taxation, the financial and fiscal administration of France in the eighteenth century, as well as for making a minute examination of the Ministry of Turgot, and the first Ministry of Necker. M. Gomel conducts us skilfully through the well-nigh impenetrable maze of the public finance of the country, and almost throughout he leads us to infer that nothing could have preserved the State from bankruptcy and the monarchy from destruction. It is only in the closing pages of the volume that M. Gomel propounds the view, that if Necker, whose first Ministry ended in 1781, had not succumbed to the jealousy of the Prime Minister Maurepas

the monarchy might have been saved ; and that had the King, even then, persevered with fiscal reforms, at any rate the history of the Revolution would not have been written in letters of blood. It is not my purpose, however, to attempt to show what history might have been. That would be altogether beyond the scope of an article which is merely intended to be a sketch of the financial condition of France at the time of the accession of Louis the Sixteenth, and the reader must be left to decide whether the financial crisis could have been surmounted in view of the multitude of other causes of acute discontent which were indissolubly connected with it.

During the whole of the eighteenth century, indeed, since the latter part of the seventeenth, France was in a state of imminent when not in a state of actual insolvency. It is needless to dwell here on the many causes which tended to keep the royal treasury in a condition of chronic distress. Incessant and, as a rule, useless or disastrous wars, the erection of costly palaces, the revocation of the Edict of Nantes, the prodigality of Louis the Fifteenth, his selfish disregard of the most elementary principles of economy, constituted a perpetual drain on the resources of the country. The glamour which the commanding personality of Louis the Fourteenth shed on the throne ; the success of his arms during the earlier part of his reign, which had raised France to the foremost place among European powers ; the literary and artistic efflorescence which consecrated the pomp of Versailles, and the person of the King himself—all these influences combined to enhance the majesty of the Crown and of its wearer. And though the reign of Louis the Fourteenth ended in domestic gloom, saw the overthrow of the French forces, and brought about the impoverishment of the country, yet the memory of the King's achievements was still far from being obliterated, and the greatness France had attained under autocratic rule served to blind the people to the evils of that rule itself. Whatever knowledge we may possess of French history, it is still somewhat difficult to appreciate to the full the unrestricted absolutism of the French monarchy in all that related to the finances. Of contemporary absolute monarchies Russia may be taken as a fair example. Yet, even in Russia there is some show of deference to public opinion. The Russian Finance Minister annually publishes a budget of the income and expenditure of the country ; though how far his estimates represent the genuine revenue resources of the country ; what limits are set to the private expenditure of the Czar ; in short, to what extent his figures—which almost invariably show an even balance of income and expenditure—are trustworthy, may be difficult to decide. In France there was no such thing as a budget of any shape or kind, nor were there any limits set to the expenditure of the King. Profound secrecy was maintained as to the administration of the finances until the Ministry of Turgot, and, strange

as it may appear, the nation was content that this should be the case. The people were aware, it is true, that that administration was a very tangled web, and the heavy taxes extorted from them could not fail to make them conscious that the treasury was not overflowing; but they allowed matters to abide under the belief that the King, in whom France was incarnate, was, of all Frenchmen, the one to whom a sound financial administration was most important. The King, for his part, was only too anxious to foster this delusion, which left his subjects in a state of blissful ignorance, so that he could tax them at his discretion, and apply the proceeds according to his own personal inclinations. From the secrecy thus maintained, the people fancied the King was as rich as he seemed from his profuse expenditure, they were less enraged than they otherwise might have been at his extravagance, and their displeasure vented itself chiefly on his ministers whenever taxation was increased. Murmurs, it is true, occasionally arose from them, especially in years when bread was exceptionally dear, and when they could not fail to note the contrast between the reckless profusion of the Court and of their absentee landlords, and their own abject want and misery. The sense of wrong rankled in their hearts, the cleavage between them and the governing classes became wider and deeper, but, as tradition and custom still made them inclined to believe that their hard lot was part of the proper order of nature, they bore their yoke sullenly, but with more patience than might have been expected.

In the first place, it must be borne in mind that, during the whole of the eighteenth century, even up to the day of the Revolution, the system of public finance in France was so crude, its fundamental rules so misunderstood and misapplied, that even human ingenuity of the highest class might well have been baffled in the attempt to reduce it to order. The rulers of France did not appear to understand that there is a limit to the extent of taxation even in the richest country, and that there must be a certain element of justice in its incidence, even under the most autocratic rulers, if ultimate bankruptcy and ruin are to be avoided. It is true that her bad financial condition did not greatly injure the credit of France, and her pecuniary needs were supplied by loans from her own financiers. But however freely one can borrow, the time must come sooner or later when the debt has to be repaid, and the bridge by which difficulties are temporarily surmounted becomes so over-weighted by its constantly increasing burdens that it must some day collapse into the chaos beneath. The misgovernment of Louis the Fifteenth paved the way for this catastrophe in the case of the edifice of French credit.

Whether he is regarded as a ruler or as a man, it would be hard to pass too severe a judgment on Louis the Fifteenth. If a slight extenuation of his shortcomings in either capacity can be found, it is

by a generous consideration of the peculiar conditions of his regal position. He inherited the traditions of a monarchy in which his predecessor had been deified up to his last hour; circumstances conspired to imbue him not only with the conviction of his own infallibility, but that France, which he regarded as his personal property, was primarily intended by Providence to minister to his whims and pleasures. During the first thirty years of his reign he was apparently animated by the desire to emulate the example of his great predecessor, by seeking distinction in the field and earning the esteem of his subjects. Nor did he wholly fail in his attempt, as was proved by the title of *bien-aimé*, which a grateful people prematurely bestowed upon him. Like many a Roman emperor, however, he soon fell a prey to the inherent vices of his character, which his unquestioned authority and surroundings afforded him only too much scope for indulging. He was supported by a corrupt clergy and by a nobility equally corrupt; as, though the French nobles of the eighteenth century were, as a class, brave, dignified and cultivated, their ambition had been narrowed by the personal supremacy of Louis the Fourteenth and had been debased by the evil days of the Regency. But still their territorial possessions and wealth, and the maintenance of their ancient privileges, enabled them to exercise a great influence over the King, from which he was too indolent and selfish to attempt to liberate himself. They were mutually dependent on each other, and any separation of their interests would have been fatal to both. As a rule the leading ambition of the French nobles during the eighteenth century was to dip their hands as deep as possible into the public purse, to obtain the means of gratifying that inordinate love of display and luxury which was the bane of their order.

Behind the nobles stood the *tiers état*, who may be divided into two classes. The first consisted of the wealthy *bourgeoisie*, always striving to gain entrance into a society to which they were admitted on sufferance, and by which they were treated with contemptuous familiarity. They fawned on those whom they looked upon as their social superiors, while they enviously resented that superiority. The second class was composed of men of letters, lawyers, and officials. This was the section of his subjects on whose education and enlightenment, on whose sympathy with the then budding new ideas, the King might have relied for advisers who would have been best fitted to assist him in reorganising the administration of the country. But they hardly dreamed of sharing the honours of Versailles, and were either kept in subordinate positions or scornfully ignored. Under these circumstances their attitude to the Crown was naturally one of hostility, and they had neither the opportunity nor the inclination to suggest a policy that might have saved the country.

Though Louis the Fifteenth was not devoid of statesmanlike

qualities, and possessed some natural shrewdness and wit, to all intents and purposes he was a mere slave in the hands of his favourites. Another Louis the Fourteenth might have raised another Colbert or Louvois from the ranks of the bourgeoisie to reform the internal economy of France, and to lead its arms to victory, but Louis the Fifteenth only thought of advancing mediocrities who pandered to his vices. It must also be added that he inherited a colossal debt, which not even the ministers of the last years of Louis the Fourteenth had been able to diminish, and it would have demanded a self-abnegation entirely foreign to the nature of Louis the Fifteenth to have curtailed the splendour of the Court, a splendour which was deemed the necessary accompaniment of the first throne in the civilised world. To ensure an effectual economy, Versailles must have been denuded of all its glories, peace been maintained at any price, the colonies well governed, and the whole system of financial administration and local government entirely reconstructed.

In the following pages it is proposed to attempt a very brief sketch of the local administration and the financial system of France at that time; and though it must necessarily be incomplete, still it may to some extent illustrate the difficulties which even a stronger king than Louis the Sixteenth would have found it an heroic task to overcome at the time he ascended the throne.

France, until the Revolution, was divided into provinces of two kinds, the *pays d'état*, which had provincial States, and the *pays d'élection*, which were not so provided. About one-quarter only of the provinces had States, which were situated at the furthest boundaries of the kingdom, and these were better governed than the electoral provinces, as they were supplied with comparatively free and efficient municipalities. The States were local assemblies consisting of the representatives of the three orders, the clergy, the nobility, and the *tiers état*, performing very similar functions to those of our own County Councils, but possessing the additional right of levying taxes and applying their proceeds within the limits of their province. Still, their power was limited. The members of the States were nominated by the Crown, and, as a rule, were induced either by bribery or intimidation to carry out the mandates of the ministers of the King. The money they raised, instead of being applied to purposes of public utility, was often squandered in gifts to influential personages or in useless festivities, and whenever the King was in pecuniary difficulties—occasions which were of but too frequent occurrence—the States were coaxed or coerced into voting a subsidy to him under the pompous and misleading appellation of a *don gratuit*. The electoral provinces, which had neither provincial assemblies nor municipalities, were autocratically governed in the King's name by his officials. But both the *pays d'état* and the *pays d'élection* not only differed from each other in their powers and financial administration, but in their constitution.

Every province had its peculiar laws, customs, and feudal rights, and was fenced in by protection from its neighbours; while some had their own special standard of weights and measures, rendering uniformity of administration almost impossible. The numerous duties charged on raw materials or on manufactured goods on their passage from one province into another constituted a serious obstacle to trade and consequent loss to the country, a loss which was further aggravated by the exactions of a horde of greedy members of a tyrannical executive. The difficulties and disorder such a state of affairs occasioned at the treasury can be imagined.

But if the system of administration was complicated, the whole system of land tenure was more involved still. Real property consisted of nobiliary fiefs and *censives*, held by plebeians; the fiefs were exempt from, the *censives* were subject to, the *taille*. In early days the greater part of France consisted of fiefs, which, in the course of time, had been dismembered, parcelled out, and sold; but on the eve of the Revolution there were still thirty thousand of them. Though the fiefs had passed by sale into the hands of plebeians or of peasants, they were in some cases only held nominally as tenancies, and were liable to an infinite variety of feudal rights which were enforced by their paramount lords; whilst, in others, the owners entered into the full exercise of the feudal rights which were inherent in the soil. Some faint analogy may be said to exist between the English copyhold system and the service which had to be rendered under feudal customs. The copyhold system in England is, of course, either being rapidly commuted or is obsolete, and the writer of this paper, for instance, is in possession of a meadow for which he has to do three days' work at haymaking time—a duty to which he has not yet been summoned, fortunately for the lord of the manor, the meadow, and himself. These duties in France were numerous and irksome. A peasant was compelled to use exclusively, and to pay for the use of, a certain mill, bakehouse, or wine-press; he was subjected to the *corvée*, or unpaid labour; he had to pay a tax on the sale of his crops as well as on manufactured goods; and on every recurrent sale on any portion of the land that had been acquired originally from the feudal lord. He was not allowed to sell the wine he had grown until the feudal lord had sold the produce of his own vineyards, and, even then—but this applied to all wine that was grown by nobles as well as peasants—duty had to be paid on its transit from one province to another, and it was, moreover, subject to certain feudal rights levied by persons in high station on its passage through their private domains. It frequently occurred that duty was levied on a barrel of wine twenty-seven times in being conveyed from the place it was grown to that in which it was sold, and it was said that it would have been cheaper to send wine from Peking to France than from Pontoise to Paris. This particular impost was

known as a *péage*. But there were *péages* of other kinds. A horse with four white legs had to pay for this natural endowment, and a tinker, whenever he passed the gates of a castle with his stove, had to pay some coppers, and, in the event of his being unable to do so, he was obliged to kneel on the hard ground and recite a *Pater* and *Ave*.

It would be superfluous to dwell on the vexations from which the agriculturists suffered; but it may be useful to remind the reader that these numerous and conflicting feudal rights and privileges constituted a serious obstacle to the transfer of land, affording an opportunity, which was eagerly seized in many cases, for litigation of a protracted and unscrupulous character. Still, it must be remembered that in those days the notion of caste was so firmly rooted in every portion of the community by tradition and custom, that the third estate looked upon the drawbacks of their condition very much as a matter of course. The privileges of the nobility were in their eyes justly earned because of their military services, and the clergy, because of their divine mission and the alms they dispensed—or were supposed to dispense—amongst the poor. Centuries of subjection and oppression had secured the people in the chains of a bondage and ignorance from which their rulers took good care not to release them. Until the end of the sixteenth century slavery may be said to have existed in France, as men and even women were bartered for money, and until the end of the seventeenth century the purchase of negroes for domestic service was openly countenanced. Until the Revolution, the labourer was occasionally sold with the soil, and there were one hundred and fifty thousand serfs in France at the end of the eighteenth century.

But, on the whole, the exemption of the governing classes from certain taxes exasperated the lower orders less than the peculiar form of taxation and the irritating methods employed for its collection. The direct taxes were first of all the *taille*, which has already been mentioned. The *taille* was not levied in a uniform manner. In some provinces it was a poll tax, in others a land tax; in others again it was a combined poll and land tax. But, in all cases, both the clergy and nobility were exempt from it. Various offices besides entitled their holders to immunity from the *taille*, some because of the patent of nobility they brought to the plebeian purchaser, all Government offices being purchasable. The Crown, which lost no opportunity of increasing its income, went on steadily multiplying these appointments with the object of selling them, and before the Revolution broke out, they numbered as many as four thousand. There were many minor offices also which enjoyed exemption from the *taille*, though they carried no patent of nobility with them. The consequence of this was that the tax was chiefly concentrated on the agricultural interest, the very one which it would have been

advisable to develop. * The *taille* levied on the agricultural interest was, comparatively speaking, unprofitable in the first place because of the expenses of collection; and, in the second, as in most cases when a plebeian acquired a competence, he secured his exemption from this tax by purchasing an estate with feudal rights appertaining to it.

The population of France at that time has been variously computed, but at the accession of Louis the Sixteenth M. Gomet puts it down approximately at 25,300,000 persons. The odd 300,000 may be evenly distributed between the clergy and the nobility, who, as has been said, were exempt from the payment of the *taille*. The 25,000,000 were more or less liable to it—that is to say, the portion of them belonging to the rural classes. To realise fully the hardship caused by the incidence of this tax, we must take into account that about half of the whole soil of France belonged to the clergy and the nobility, and thus the wealthiest section of the landed community contributed nothing to the tax, which fell exclusively on the small and struggling proprietors amongst whom the other half of agricultural France was divided. But the mode in which the *taille* was levied still further illustrates its iniquity. The Controller-General of the finances, in the first instance, decreed that a certain aggregate sum was to be raised by it, and then the subordinate officials and the local landlords in each province and parish were left to decide amongst themselves how the prescribed amount was to be extracted from the taxpayers. The combined forces of jobbery and absolute authority rendered its incidence grossly unfair, the poorer localities generally paying the larger share, while the richer ones escaped lightly. Thus there was brought about a condition of things in which the most miserable section of the community were made to feel their inferiority in every relation of life, they were humbled in all their feelings, and they could not but loathe those whom birth or favouritism had placed above them. As late as 1779, the Abbé Very, one of the reporters of the Committee of Taxation, wrote that the collectors of the *taille* had no other rule to go upon for its assessment than their own personal opinion as to the relative resources of each taxpayer. The difficulty of effecting any reform in the system of taxation was made apparent in 1776, when it was proposed that the incumbents of some few offices, until then free from the *taille*, should be subjected to it. The Cour des Aides, a supreme court with power to deal with certain taxes and the administration of some feudal dues, at once addressed a remonstrance to the King on the ground that he was seeking to encroach indirectly upon the inherent rights of the exempted classes. The members of the Cour des Aides were themselves in this category, and as it was their own privileges that were assailed, they were able to secure that the King's decree should be no more than so much waste-paper. Turgot's short tenancy of power

did not allow him time to deal with the *taille*, and Necker, when he assumed office, found that those who paid it still belonged to the poorest portion of the population.* So the *taille* continued to be enforced under Louis the Sixteenth, and the taxpayer was defrauded of his means by unfair assessments, unless, in self-defence, he was able to defraud the State by an assumed impecuniosity.

Rousseau, in his *Confessions*, relates an anecdote which, in a brief compass, conveys to us a more realistic impression of the vexatious evils of the taxation than might possibly be gathered from a much more elaborate dissertation. During one of those pedestrian tours in which he delighted in his earlier days, he was impelled by hunger and thirst to enter the cottage of a peasant. He thought that he would find there the comforts and meet with the hospitality he had experienced in Switzerland under similar circumstances. He asked for some dinner, for which he offered payment; and the peasant said that skimmed milk and barley bread was all he could offer him. Rousseau, however, sat down and thoroughly enjoyed his fare, frugal as it was, but he noticed that all the time his host was scanning him narrowly.* Being satisfied, apparently, that Rousseau was an honest young fellow and not a tax-collector in disguise, he opened a concealed cupboard from which he produced some ham and excellent bread and wine, which were followed by an omelette. Rousseau could not conceive what had alarmed his host, who refused to take any money, but he finally explained that he had hidden his wine and bread to escape the duty and the *taille*, as, were he not thought to be starving, he would be a ruined man. The future author of the *Contrat Social* significantly adds that on that day the seed was laid in his heart of an undying hatred for the oppressors of a suffering people. The man he had just left dared not eat the bread that he had earned by the sweat of his brow, and, though making a good livelihood, he could only stave off ruin by pretending he was as poor as those amongst whom he lived.

The second direct tax was called the capitation tax; a kind of graduated tax on capital, which was levied on the nobility as well as on the *tiers état*.* The clergy had purchased their exemption from this tax in 1807, for the sum of 23,000,000 livres (or francs); and the members of the royal family, the royal household, the heads of noble families, and such members of the *tiers état* as had appointments in the royal household, contributed only 800,000 livres out of the 42,000,000 livres the tax realised, a proportion entirely inadequate to their wealth. But this 42,000,000 livres was a much lower figure than the

* Until the beginning of the eighteenth century all the members of the royal household were noblemen, but their appointments had to be purchased, and as money was becoming scarce amongst the nobility, many of the wealthy *bourgeois* stepped in and bought the vacant places.

capitation tax ought to have produced, did not the inefficient system of administration render a fair assessment of it impossible. The collectors formed their estimates arbitrarily, and any protest on the part of the taxed gave rise to inquisitorial investigations which were often aggravated by private spite and jealousy, unless the fear of giving offence to influential persons or private friendship secured immunity from payment altogether.

The third direct tax, instituted by Colbert, was the *vingtième*, an income tax supposed to be levied on every class. The clergy bought themselves out occasionally for a term of years by the payment of a lump sum, their great wealth enabling them to save their pockets in this manner, as the *vingtième* was frequently reduced to a tenth, and the tenth occasionally to a fifth, but whatever the sum they paid it was never in full proportion to the taxable value of their property.

M. Taine puts down the capitalised value of the property of the clergy at four milliards, producing an income of from 80,000,000 livres to 100,000,000 livres, which was brought up to 200,000,000 livres by the addition of the tithes. Out of this they kept the ecclesiastical edifices in repair, and maintained their schools, but that is all that can be said on their behalf, and they fully deserved the obloquy and discredit they incurred because of the immoral conduct of most of their dignitaries, who squandered the money of the Church in profligacy. They possessed not only broad domains in the country, but their palatial mansions, surrounded by extensive gardens, formed a striking feature of the towns, and the middle classes looked with resentment upon these richly-endowed priests, whose ostentatious grandeur and pretensions were a constant source of offence to the people.

The suffering inflicted on the rural classes by the fiscal system can be realised when it is stated that out of every hundred francs of net revenue, no less than fifty-three francs were paid in direct taxation, fourteen francs twenty-eight centimes in tithes, and fourteen francs twenty-eight centimes in feudal dues, leaving less than one-fifth part for the support of the taxpayer and his family.² 'The taxation in France bore a higher proportion to its wealth than under any of the governments up to the fall of Napoleon the Third, with the exception of that of the Reign of Terror. In some provinces the proportion of taxation to the revenue borne by those who were *taillable* was about five times as great as at present, and its enormity was mainly due to the exemption enjoyed by almost all the wealthiest members of the community.'³

It is not difficult to understand, therefore, how these direct taxes

² Sybel's *Histoire de la Révolution*.

³ Lecky's *History of England in the Eighteenth Century*.

were cordially detested, how their incidence opened the way for gross abuse, and ultimately caused the entire system to be embraced in one sweeping condemnation.

The indirect taxes were very numerous, comprising amongst them the customs, the *octroi*, the excise, the taxes on wine, oil, tobacco, cards, manufactured goods, and the *gabelle* or salt tax. It must be remembered that customs duties were not only levied at the frontiers of the kingdom, but between every French province. All these indirect taxes were farmed to a company, consisting of sixty *fermiers généraux*, ironically termed the sixty pillars of the State, a system first established in 1697, when the ministers of Louis the Fourteenth were face to face with an appalling deficit, and were at their wits' end to raise money. A syndicate of financiers relieved the immediate wants of the King by advancing a sum of ready money to meet the emergency, and they received in return the right of collecting the taxes. The *fermiers généraux* were appointed by the King for a period of six years, paying each year in advance a stipulated sum for the term. Their profits on the collection were estimated at a certain sum, and if it was discovered that the value of their 'farms' appreciably exceeded the estimate, the amount of the contract, when it came to be renewed, was proportionately increased. Nominally the *fermiers*, as has been said, were sixty in number, but the King appointed twenty-seven more, under the name of 'adjuncts.' Then, again, in many cases the *fermier* was himself a man of straw, to whom the King gave the appointment as a favour. The office, however, was so profitable that men of wealth were always ready not only to supply the nominal *fermier* with the money to purchase the contract, but to subsidise him handsomely for the privilege of doing so. These partners were called *croupiers*—hence the modern term; but they were of two classes. The legitimate *croupier*, who invested his money in the speculation, was, according to the feeling of the time, engaged in a fair transaction; but the illegitimate *croupier*, who invested no money, and was placed as a charge on the 'farm,' was one of the most prolific causes of abuse connected with a bad system. This latter class of *croupiers* were either notabilities or Court favourites—mere licensed plunderers of the people. Louis the Fifteenth gave *croupes* to his mistresses, and even had a share in one himself. The 'farms' were also saddled with pensions imposed upon them by the King, whose daughters and daughters-in-law had their incomes augmented from this source. When Louis the Sixteenth ascended the throne, however, he transferred part of the *croupe* he had inherited from his predecessor to his faithful servant, Thierry, and restored the remainder to the treasury. In addition to these impositions, the *fermiers généraux* were expected to ensure the good will of each successive Controller-General by a

considerable gift of money, and in 1774 the Abbé Terray received in this way a sum of 300,000 livres.

The extravagant expenditure of some of the *fermiers généraux* conveyed an exaggerated impression to the minds of the people as to the profit they derived from their contracts, and the odium which fairly attached to some of their number was indiscriminately applied to the whole body of them, though they included many honest and conscientious financiers and such distinguished men as Helvétius, Lavoisier, and Beaujon, the founder of the well-known hospital in Paris.

A more immediate cause of the hatred with which the masses regarded the *fermiers généraux*, and which ultimately sent thirty-two of them to the guillotine, was rather the nature of their work than the exorbitant profit they derived from it. They were perpetually brought into collision with the people through their agents, who were invested with power to make domiciliary visits, to seize goods suspected of being smuggled, and to take other measures of an invidious character to enable them to extort the taxes, so that they incurred the execration of the entire population.

The most harassing and arbitrary tax of all was the *gabelle*, and it may well appear inconceivable that in a populous and civilised country such an impost could be maintained at all. Out of the six districts into which France was divided for the purpose of this tax, it was levied only in four, as one had never been subjected to it, while another had in early times purchased its exemption from it. One of the inevitable consequences of this partial distribution of the tax was that the price of salt varied in different districts to an extraordinary degree, being as much as thirty times as dear in one part of France as in another. It was only natural that the inhabitants where the weight of the impost fell so oppressively should regard their neighbours in the more favoured parts with envy, and that they should endeavour to equalise matters by smuggling salt into their districts. Carts and carriages were stopped on the highway and searched by the tax collectors; no private house was safe from a visit from them night or day; and on the slightest suspicion they used the power of arrest that was vested in them. It has been stated that during the first few years of the reign of Louis the Sixteenth, these arrests averaged 3,700 per annum; that upwards of 4,000 adults and 6,500 children were apprehended for smuggling salt alone; but whilst the majority were shortly released and others only fined, 300 were condemned to the galleys.⁴

Still, the unequal assessment of the tax might have been borne without much heartburning, but for the tyrannical laws under which the people were forced to purchase this commodity. No retail dealing in it was permitted, and Government warehouses were established

⁴ Some writers give a very much larger number.

at which the inhabitants were compelled to purchase their stores of salt. These warehouses were numerous in some provinces, and few in others, but, whether sufficient or insufficient for the needs of the population, they were often situated at a considerable distance from the towns and villages, whose inhabitants had to trudge miles along bad roads to buy their salt. But this was not all. It was prescribed by law that the head of every family must lay in his stock of salt, not at such times as might suit his own convenience, but on one stated day in the year. Should he fail in this observance he was fined, and he was also fined if he purchased a smaller quantity than the law prescribed. His hardships did not stop even there. On making this annual purchase, he had to state the different purposes for which he intended to use the salt during the ensuing year, and in the event of his being discovered salting his soup instead of his pork according to his statement, or his pork instead of his soup on the day he had named, he was also liable to a fine. His kitchen was never secure from the intrusion of the inspecting officer, and woe to the housewife who was detected in any petty infraction of this law.

As a matter of course, some of the important towns were exempt from the *gabelle*, as well as influential officials and magistrates in the country, whilst nobles escaped it altogether by receiving donations of salt under the name of *franc-salé*. We may well ask why this law was never abolished or modified? Simply because it returned millions of francs to an empty exchequer. And why was it not imposed on the untaxed provinces? Because these provinces had provincial States in which the clerical and noble element preponderated, who would have resisted to the utmost an infringement of their privileges, and whom the Government was afraid to offend.

Though not directly a tax, the *corvée* came within the spirit and had the result of taxation, and oppressed the lower orders as much as the *gabelle* itself. The provisions of the *corvée*, too, were as complicated and as varied as those of the salt tax. It may be sufficient to say, for the present purpose, that the rural population had to keep the main roads in repair without being remunerated for their labour. They were forced away from the fields at the time they could least be spared, occasionally having to travel twelve days to reach their allotted work, and they were compelled to repair the main roads, which were useless to them, while the parish roads on which they were dependent for their communications were allowed to go derelict.

These are some examples of the oppressions to which the rural classes in France were subjected until the eve of the Revolution, forming part of a system by which labour was hampered and the agricultural interest impaired. But the position of the artisan in the

towns was not much more enviable, as there, too, the blighting influence of obsolete feudal institutions and false ideas of political economy operated to restrict trade, and fetter the energies of the skilled worker. In Continental countries, as well as in England, the control of the different trades had been in the hands of guilds from the earliest period of the dark ages. But though in their origin, and in the objects for which they were established, a general resemblance existed between the trade guilds of England and France, in their gradual development, and especially in their later history, that resemblance diminished, until eventually it is no longer discernible. In England the trade guilds formed the basis of municipal institutions, in which, in process of time, they became absorbed; while the enormous industrial movement of the country, together with the growth of individual enterprise, proved fatal to the preservation of monopolies that were obnoxious to that national sentiment which the Tudor monarchs knew so well how to direct and utilise. Labour was practically free in England from the middle of the sixteenth century. Not so in France. There in the middle ages the merchants and artisans, harassed by the rapacity of the feudal lords, banded themselves together in self-defence in corporations, under charters which they purchased from the Crown. By this means they were enabled to pursue their avocations with comparative freedom; the wages of the workmen were assured and were paid on a fixed scale. But the guilds which were thus established for the security of trade ultimately came to be turned into close corporations, maintained for the benefit of the masters, whose monopolist privileges were recognised and upheld by the King in consideration of payments to the royal treasury. It might have been expected that, when feudalism received its death-blow from Richelieu, and when the necessity for the corporations had disappeared, the industrial and commercial community in France would have been sufficiently enlightened to appreciate the good policy of removing all oppressive restrictions from the expansion of trade, as was done in England at an earlier period. But it served the selfish purposes of the Crown to perpetuate the privileges of the corporations, as they were turned into a valuable source of revenue. Every trade, artistic pursuit, and profession was tied up in the hands of one of these corporations, sanctioned by royal charter, and governed by statutes drawn with a rigorous determination to preserve their privileges and abuses intact, which statutes were administered by a body called the *Jurande*, composed of selected representatives of the corporations themselves.

The corporations consisted of three orders—masters, companions, and apprentices—the masters alone having the right to trade or make any profit. The statutes of each corporation differed as to the qualification for mastership, but they all concurred, in order to limit

competition, on putting every possible difficulty in the way of adding to the number of masters. Some statutes prescribed that only the son could succeed the father in the mastership; others threw the position open to sons-in-law; others again enacted that only natives of the town in which the corporation was established were eligible; others excluded married men; from others women were altogether excluded, even from the trades which they were best suited to carry on—such, for example, as embroidery. As a fee was paid to the Crown on the appointment of every master, the King when in pecuniary straits often resorted to the plan of offering patents for sale as a means of raising money, and, to keep rivals out of the field, the existing masters of the corporations affected generally bought the patents and destroyed them, a species of toll which the King levied on them so frequently that it became a heavy burden, and to that extent constituted a further drawback to trade. The companion, who was indentured as an apprentice from his childhood, unless he was exceptionally fortunate, lingered the greater part of his life, or the whole of it, in a subordinate position, without hope of becoming an independent or useful citizen. By dint of perseverance and thrift he might eventually be able to buy a mastership, or perhaps he might succeed to one by marrying the widow or daughter of a master; but such cases were the exceptions. Thus even when the rights of labour ceased to be imperilled by the pretensions of feudalism, and the workmen no longer needed any protection, they were still reduced to a condition almost of slavery, and peace and security were constantly disturbed by the bands of vagrants and criminals, who were driven into evil-doing through the impossibility of obtaining employment, as a result of the commercial tyranny of the corporations.

It is a matter of surprise—but France is the land of surprises—that under such conditions trade flourished. But the resources of France are as inexhaustible as the activity, energy, and thrift of Frenchmen are prodigious. An abundance of raw products gave ample material for work, and there was much demand for manufactured goods. The extravagant wants of the Court, the clergy, and nobility kept the workshops going, and France had to supply all civilised countries with those artistic luxuries in the production of which she has always been unrivalled.

But although the looms of Lyons, and the workshops of Paris and the great cities brought commercial prosperity, agriculture grew hopelessly depressed. Of the then condition of the agricultural classes in France Arthur Young has given us a faithful and terrible account. During the eighteenth century famine had periodically decimated the rural population, and forty million acres had gone out of cultivation. Nevertheless, the number of peasant properties had steadily increased, owing to the sale of their estates by the nobles

who flocked to Versailles. One-fourth, certainly one-fifth,⁵ of the soil of France had gradually passed into the hands of the peasants, who, however, profited little from the acquisition, as they were ruined by the *taille*. Now what means, of redress had the French people, and who were the advocates they had to plead their cause?

* * *

FERDINAND ROTHSCHILD.

(To be concluded.)

⁵ Lecky's *History of England in the Eighteenth Century*.

INACCESSIBLE VALLEYS

A STUDY IN PHYSICAL GEOGRAPHY

MOST readers of that delightful story *Lorna Doone* must have been interested in the curious valley occupied by the Doone outlaws as an almost impregnable stronghold. It is described as being about a mile long and a quarter of a mile wide, the nearly-level bottom, through which ran a mountain stream, being bounded on each side by a wall of rock, eighty or a hundred feet high. At the two extremities, these walls approached each other, forming narrow ravines, through which the little river entered and escaped from the valley. At the lower end there was a considerable fall or cataract, over a long steep slope of rock bounded on each side by vertical cliffs, so that the only entrance was up the steep and slippery rocks forming the bed of the torrent, quite impracticable except to a good barefooted climber. At the upper end there appears to have been also some natural barrier, the stream being described as running for a short distance underground; but rude rock-arches had been built over it, forming a kind of tunnel entrance to the valley, which could be easily guarded or blocked up altogether.

If this description applied to any real locality we should have, on a small scale, all the features which characterise an 'inaccessible valley,' the sides formed by rocky precipices, while at the upper and lower ends are narrow gorges rendered impracticable, either by waterfalls, or by the stream filling up the channel at its narrowest portion where the vertical side walls leave no foothold. Persons who know Exmoor thoroughly say, however, that there is no such valley in any part of the district, and that the talented author has, in this portion of his work, drawn on his imagination for his facts. Nor, so far as I am aware, has such a valley been described in any part of the British Isles, or even in that land of rock-girt valleys and narrow gorges, Switzerland. In fact, considering how very common are each of the four elements required to form an inaccessible valley, it is remarkable how few such valleys exist in any part of the world. These elements are, either a waterfall or a water-blocked gorge at each end, and both sides to be walled by a continuous line of precipices. Valleys with rocky walls on one side and a narrow gorge for outlet are frequent, but then the opposite side has slopes which

render it easily accessible. Not unfrequently there is a ravine with waterfalls as the upper outlet also, but in almost every case there is some break in the rock walls on one side or the other with easy slopes for the entrance of men and animals.

The only considerable valleys that can be classed as originally inaccessible—though of course no valley, any more than any mountain, is absolutely so—seem to be, the Yosemite in California, and the valleys of the Grose and Cox rivers in New South Wales. It may, therefore, be interesting to describe these valleys, which are in many ways very remarkable. The theories that have been suggested to account for them may then be considered; and we shall thus be led to discuss the general theory of valley-formation and the peculiar combination of conditions which in these two very dissimilar cases have led to a somewhat similar result.

The Yosemite valley is a portion of the upper course of the Merced River, which rises near the summit of the Sierra Nevada about 170 miles almost due east of San Francisco. This great mountain range, forming the western edge of the lofty tableland of which the Rocky Mountains form the eastern border, has a very gradual slope from the central valley of California, the distance from the foothills to the summit varying from sixty to eighty miles, while the height is from 8,000 to nearly 15,000 feet. This average slope of from 100 to 250 feet in a mile is rendered exceedingly irregular by numerous large winding valleys, some with easy slopes, some more precipitous, and all more or less covered with forest so as to render the journey from one point to another both circuitous and difficult. The higher portion of the Sierra Nevada is usually of granitic rock, lower down are metamorphic slates, followed by enormous beds of late tertiary gravels, which are often covered with great sheets of lava and ashes, bearing witness to the numerous volcanoes on the summit of the range at a period geologically very recent. The Yosemite valley is situated a little above the middle of the slope and entirely in the granite region, which is here very wide. It is about seven miles long and from half a mile to a mile wide, the bottom nearly level but rising slightly to the base of the cliffs on either side. These precipices are among the grandest in the world, some of them absolutely perpendicular from base to summit, others with alternate slopes and rock-cliffs, but everywhere equally inaccessible to the ordinary traveller, except in a few places by narrow shelves and steep gullies originally discovered by the Indians and since made into practicable paths or roads. At the lower end the valley becomes narrowed into a deep ravine or cañon for a considerable distance, while at the upper end it branches out into three equally rock-walled valleys with grand waterfalls, leading up to the crest of the mountain range.

This remarkable valley may be said to average about half a mile in vertical depth, but some of the precipices that give it so impressive

a character are considerably more than this height, El Capitan at the lower end of the valley being a smooth vertical wall of granite 3,300 feet high with no visible crack or ledge upon it from top to bottom. Cathedral rock, nearly opposite, is 2,600 feet; the Sentinel Rock, nearly the middle of the south side of the valley, is over 3,000 feet; while the Half Dome at the upper end of the valley is no less than 4,737 feet high, the upper 1,500 feet of which is quite vertical, while the lower part slopes at an angle of 60° or 70° , and is partly concealed by fallen fragments. The great dome-shaped masses of granite are a characteristic feature of the Sierra Nevada, as they are of some other granitic regions. Nearly opposite the Half Dome is the North Dome, 3,568 feet high, its summit beautifully rounded, but broken lower down so as to show the concentric layers of which it is formed. The Sentinel Dome on the south side is of similar character. The Half Dome is exactly like the other domes in character, but appears as if cut off vertically, leaving the southern half quite perfect and of a fine spherical contour.

Professor J. D. Whitney, formerly State Geologist of California, thus characterises the valley in his *Yosemite Guide Book* :

The principal features of the Yosemite, and those by which it is distinguished from all other known valleys, are: first, the near approach to verticality of its walls; second, their great height, not only absolutely, but as compared with the width of the valley itself; and, finally, the very small amount of *talus* or *débris* at the base of these gigantic cliffs. These are the great characteristic features of the Yosemite throughout its whole length; but, besides these, there are many other striking peculiarities and features, both of sublimity and beauty, which can hardly be surpassed, if equalled, by those of any mountain valleys in the world. Either the domes, or the waterfalls of the Yosemite, or any single one of them even, would be sufficient in any European country to attract travellers from far and wide.

The origin of this wonderful valley has been a puzzle even to geologists. After describing the formation of most of the valleys of the Sierra Nevada as being due to denudation, Professor Whitney says :

The eroded cañons of the Sierra, however, whose formation is due to the action of water, never have vertical walls, nor do their sides present the peculiar angular forms which are seen in the Yosemite, as, for instance, in El Capitan, where two perpendicular surfaces of smooth granite, more than 3,000 feet high, meet each other at a right angle. These squarely-cut, re-entering angles, like those below El Capitan, and between Cathedral Rock and the Sentinel, or in the Illilouette cañon, were never produced by ordinary erosion. Much less could any such cause be called in to account for the peculiar formation of the Half Dome, the vertical portion of which is all above the ordinary level of the walls of the valley, rising 2,000 feet, in sublime isolation, above any point which could have been reached by denuding agencies, even supposing the current of water to have filled the whole valley.

He then goes on to discuss the possible agency of ice, which he dismisses as quite inadequate. Valleys formed by fissures of the earth's crust are then discussed, and it is shown that the Yosemite

cannot have been formed in this way, partly because it is too wide, and also because there is no correspondence between the opposite sides.

In default of any of the usually accepted theories of valley-formation, Professor Whitney has been led to adopt one which has hardly yet been recognised by geologists, as probable or even possible, and which he describes as follows :

We conceive that, during the process of upheaval of the Sierra, or, possibly, at some time after that had taken place, there was at the Yosemite a subsidence of a limited area, marked by lines of fault or fissures crossing each other nearly at right angles. In other and more simple words, the bottom of the valley sank down to an unknown depth, owing to its support being withdrawn from underneath during some of those convulsive movements which must have attended the upheaval of so extensive and elevated a chain, no matter how slow we imagine the process to have been.

After showing that subsidence is a well-ascertained fact, the only difficulty in this place being the great vertical displacement of such a small area, he adds :

By the adoption of the subsidence theory for the formation of the Yosemite we are able to get over one difficulty which appears insurmountable with any other. *This is, the very small amount of *debris* at the base of the cliffs, and even, at a few points, its entire absence. We see that fragments of rock are loosened by rain, frost, and other natural causes, along the walls, and probably not a winter elapses that some great mass of detritus does not come thundering down from above, adding no inconsiderable amount to the *talus*. Several of these great rock-avalanches have taken place since the valley was inhabited. One, which fell near Cathedral Rock, is said to have shaken the valley like an earthquake. This abrasion of the edges of the valley has unquestionably been going on during a vast period of time, what has become of the detrital material ? Some masses of granite now lying in the valley are as large as houses. Such masses as these could never have been removed from the valley by currents of water. . . . It appears to us that there is no way of disposing of the vast mass of detritus, which must have fallen from the walls of the Yosemite since the formation of the valley, except by assuming that it has gone down to fill the abyss which was opened by the subsidence which our theory supposes to have taken place.

This extraordinary theory, put forth by an experienced geologist in 1874, will probably not be accepted now ; but it serves to show that the Yosemite has always been considered a remarkable and exceptional valley which could only have been produced by some exceptional causes. A visit to the valley a few years since satisfied the present writer that the modern and now generally accepted theory of valley-formation is quite sufficient to account for the Yosemite, though its features have been rendered almost unique by the peculiar character of the rocks out of which it has been hollowed, combined with the meteorological and physical conditions of the locality, both now and during the latter part of the tertiary epoch. After having described the Australian valleys referred to at the commencement of this article, an attempt will be made to show that both are true valleys of denudation.

In some respects the valleys carved out of the great sandstone plateau of New South Wales are even more remarkable than the Yosemite itself. This plateau forms the eastern side of the Blue Mountains, and at its eastern border is about a thousand feet above the sea level; but going westward it rises about 100 feet in a mile, so that at its further side, at a distance of twenty-five miles, it is 3,400 feet above the sea. This slightly undulating monotonous surface is, however, deeply intersected by widely branching ravines which increase in depth as we proceed westward, and which everywhere present perpendicular crags and cliffs of a very remarkable character. The ravines which discharge their waters into the little river Cox occupy an area of 1,212 square miles. The whole forms the basin of this mountain stream, and is bounded by cliffs increasing from about 1,000 feet near its outlet to about 2,500 feet near its western limits, the valley bottom being not much above the sea level, and the only outlet being through a gorge about a third of a mile wide.

Further to the north is the smaller valley of the Grose, whose diverging ravines interlock, as it were, with those of the Cox, forming a great obstacle to the early explorers in their attempts to cross the plateau. The Grose valley has still grander precipices than that of the Cox, rising at the upper end to 3,000 feet in vertical height. The best account of these valleys is that given in Darwin's work on *Volcanic Islands*, the last chapter of which is devoted to Australia and other places visited on the homeward voyage. He says:—

It is not easy to conceive a more magnificent spectacle than is presented to a person walking on the summit-plains, when without any notice he arrives at the brink of one of these cliffs, which are so perpendicular that he can strike with a stone (as I have tried) the trees growing at a depth of 1,500 feet below him; on both hands he sees headland beyond headland of the receding line of cliff, and on the opposite side of the valley, often at a distance of several miles, he beholds another line, rising up to the same height with that on which he stands, and formed of the same horizontal strata of pale sandstone. The bottoms of these valleys are moderately level, and the fall of the rivers flowing in them, according to Sir T. Mitchell, very gentle. The main valleys often send into the platform great bay-like arms, which expand at their upper ends; and, on the other hand, the platform often sends promontories into the valleys, and even leaves in them great, almost insulated, masses. So continuous are the bounding lines of cliff, that to descend into some of these valleys it is necessary to go round twenty miles; and into others the surveyors have only lately penetrated, and the colonists have not yet been able to drive in their cattle. But the most remarkable point of structure of these valleys is that, although several miles wide at their upper parts, they generally contract towards their mouths to such a degree as to become impassable. The Surveyor-General, Sir T. Mitchell, in vain endeavoured, first on foot and then by crawling between the great fallen fragments of sandstone, to ascend through the gorge by which the river Grose joins the Nepean; yet the valley of the Grose, in its upper part, as I saw, forms a magnificent basin some miles across, and is on all sides surrounded by cliffs, the summits of which are nowhere less than 3,000 feet above the sea-level. When cattle are driven into the valley of the Wolgan by a path partly cut by the colonists, they cannot escape; for this valley is in

every other part surrounded by perpendicular cliffs, and eight miles lower down it contracts from an average width of half a mile to a mere chasm, impassable to man or beast.

The origin of these valleys appears to have been as great a puzzle to the early explorers as was that of the Yosemite. Sir Thomas Mitchell estimates that 134 cubic miles of rock must have been removed from the valley of the Grose alone; and he remarks on the absence of indication of the agency by which these vast masses of stone have been carried away, there being no accumulations of sand, though there are many huge blocks of rock, scarcely worn by attrition, in the bed of the stream, while in the valleys below, instead of sandy deposits, there is a rich alluvium. Even Darwin was staggered at the idea of these enclosed valleys being hollowed out by aqueous erosion. Neither does he accept subsidence, on account of the numerous irregularly branching arms. The resemblance of the cliffs to those of a bold sea coast suggests marine action, 'but then,' he remarks, 'occurs the startling difficulty, why has the sea worn out these great, though circumscribed, depressions on a wide platform, and left mere gorges, through which the whole vast amount of triturated matter must have been carried away?' Finally, he suggests, that marine currents often form banks of most irregular form, and so steep that a small amount of subsequent erosion during elevation might form them into cliffs. We must consider, however, that this plateau has certainly been elevated since the latter part of the secondary period, leaving ample time for any amount of denudation; and Mr. Beete-Jukes, in his *Sketch of the Physical Structure of Australia*, informs us that similar valleys abound throughout the great sandstone formation, both at high and low levels; and they have so exactly the character, in the distribution of their diverging branches, of ordinary streams carrying off the drainage of a slightly inclined surface, that no exceptional origin for them seems needful. This will be more clear when we have discussed the modern theory of valley-formation and the special characteristics of the rocks in which these remarkable valleys have been excavated.

One of the most common ideas, when a person sees a deep gorge or ravine bounded by lofty precipices, is, that the rocks have been torn asunder by some earthquake or other subterranean movement. A 'convulsion of nature' is almost always referred to in popular descriptions of such scenes. Till recent years even geologists considered that many valleys were so formed. The article on the 'Geology of the Alps,' by M. Desor, in *Ball's Alpine Guide*, published in 1870, gives 'valleys of disruption' as one of the forms of Alpine valleys, and cites the defile of the Via Mala on the Hinter Rhein, and the valley of the Rhone, between Bex and Martigny, as examples. He defines them as 'evidently produced by rents that have torn asunder ranges once continuous.' Professor Whitney, also, in his

Yosemite Guide-Book, speaks of rents or fissures as one of the recognised modes of valley-formation.

Now, however, it is held by most, if not all, geologists that valleys are never formed in this way. It is to the late J. Beete-Jukes, Director of the Geological Survey of Ireland, that we owe the full establishment of the principle that 'valleys of all kinds, from the most open to the most narrow and profound, are hollows worn by erosion.'¹ He was struck by the fact of many of the rivers of the south of Ireland, after running for miles over low plains open to the sea, suddenly turning at right angles, cutting through the hills by deep narrow ravines, and so reaching the sea beyond them. Sometimes even the hills the river cut through were isolated, so that the river might, apparently, have passed round them in either direction. The explanation usually offered of these phenomena was that the hills had been fissured by subterranean forces, and that the rivers had taken advantage of them to change their course. But close examination showed that these ravines were not fissures, but channels eroded in the rock, since the solid rock could often be traced unbroken across the very bed of the stream. And, after examining many ravines in different parts of the world, he came to what then seemed the very startling conclusion that, except, perhaps, in districts recently convulsed by great earthquakes, there is no such thing as a glen, ravine, or valley occupying the upper portion of an open-mouthed fissure. On the contrary, in every case the whole space between the two sides of the valleys was once filled by rock, which has been gradually worn down and carried away. The very frequent presence of cascades and waterfalls in such ravines, formed by a continuous bed of hard rock crossing the stream, is itself sufficient to disprove the theory of fissures, in which case the whole bed would present a mass of fallen fragments, filled in with pebbles and sand; but this consideration seems never to have occurred to the upholders of the apparently obvious and easy theory of violent disruption.

It remains, however, to account for the very common phenomenon of rivers apparently going out of their way to cut a narrow passage through a hill, instead of following lower ground to a main valley or to the sea. Such in our own country are the small rivers Ouse and Cuckmere, which cut through the South Downs between Brighton and Beachy Head, instead of following the low ground and reaching the sea between Eastbourne and St. Leonards; while the Avon, which flows through the gorge of St. Vincent's rocks at Clifton, might apparently have found a much easier way to the sea by a more northerly or a more southerly course. Mr. Jukes explains all these cases on the principle that the courses of almost all the rivers of a country were determined by the contour of the land when it first rose above the sea, the surface

¹ *Student's Manual of Geology*. By J. Beete-Jukes, 3rd ed. (edited by Archibald Geikie, F.R.S.), p. 450.

water seeking always the easiest course along the hollows and gentle slopes, without any regard to the nature of the rocks beneath. When once these streams had formed definite channels, it was almost impossible to alter them (except when diverted by lava streams or glaciers) because movements of elevation are so slow that the rivers can cut their way down as fast as the land rises up. Thus, the American geologists have proved that the Uintah Mountains were upheaved across the valley of the Green River after the course of that river was established, and that, as fast as they rose, the river cut through them, and now flows in a tremendous gorge or cañon. Another illustration of the permanence of river channels is afforded by the Moselle, which, although it flows at the bottom of a deep, narrow valley sunk in a nearly level plateau, winds about in great curves and deep horseshoe bends exactly like a stream flowing over a flat alluvial plain. No explanation of this can be given except that the river began its existence on a nearly level surface, and after it had established its course in the characteristic winding fashion of such streams, it has, in the course of long ages, cut its way deep down through the rock, and thus formed its present valley.

Now, every considerable area of continental land is made up of rocks and deposits of very unequal hardness and resisting power, from clays and sands to the various kinds of rock. Some of these can be dissolved and carried away by running water much more quickly than others; while rain, frost, and wind, also act upon their exposed edges very unequally. Hence arise the peculiar forms assumed by hills of different composition, and hence the reason why valleys are in some parts very narrow and precipitous, in others wide and open. It is an invariable rule that hills and mountains are composed of the harder or less soluble rocks, the adjacent lowlands and valleys of the softer and more soluble. Hence, we see all great mountain ranges mainly composed of the older, hard, or crystalline rocks, while the lowlands, plains, and valleys are occupied by the newer and softer formations. In our own country the tertiary or secondary clays and sands are found in the lowland districts, while the more ancient and much harder rocks form the hills of Devonshire, Wales, the Lake District, and Scotland.

Keeping in mind the extreme inequality of the rate of denudation of different rocks, we are able easily to explain the apparently erratic course of so many rivers. When the streams originated they took their course along lines of least resistance, depending on the form of the surface, not on the nature of the rocks beneath the surface. Sometimes this course passed over ridges or bosses of very hard rock, raised perhaps hundreds, perhaps thousands, of feet deep. But the channels, once fixed could not be altered, and when the bed of the stream reached this rock it cut down into it. Then, owing to the hardness of the rock, the river channel would be a gorge or ravine,

while all around the softer rocks would be denuded by frost and rain, so that extensive areas would be lowered as fast as the stream cut its narrow channel through the hard rock, and was able to carry away the denuded material. Hence, in the course of ages we should have the stream flowing over a wide lowland, perhaps on one side open to the sea, and then cutting straight across a mountain ridge, or even across an isolated hill entirely surrounded by lowlands.

Not very much time, geologically speaking, is required for such operations. Sir Charles Lyell describes a channel, cut by the river Simeto across a lava stream from Etna, which is over fifty feet wide and in some parts forty to fifty feet deep. The lava is not porous, but is a homogeneous mass of hard blue rock. Yet the date of the eruption which produced this lava stream is known to be 1603.² But the most wonderful example of the power of water to denude and erode the hardest rocks is afforded by the great cañon of the Colorado river. This has been cut for about 400 miles to a depth of from 4,000 to 7,000 feet, mainly through masses of hard palæozoic rocks down to the archæan, and the whole of this vast operation has been performed in the latter half of the tertiary period. The formation of the river began, it is true, in very early tertiary times, but at that epoch the present surface was buried about 9,000 feet deep in secondary rocks, which have all been since denuded away, so that Captain Dutton estimates that the river has cut its channel on the whole through from 10,000 to 16,000 feet of mesozoic, carboniferous, and other ancient rocks, all during the tertiary period.³

Keeping in mind these remarkable instances of denudation, let us turn to consider the probable origin of the remarkable valleys which have seemed to eminent geologists so peculiar as to need some special mode of origin; and we will take first the great rock-walled valleys of New South Wales, as being the most simple in their main features.

These are all excavated in sandstones and shales of the carboniferous system, though perhaps of mesozoic age. The strata are nearly horizontal, and, what is especially important, they are of very unequal degrees of hardness. The upper beds are usually conglomerates, and are so comparatively indestructible that isolated summits often imitate ruined castles. In places these beds are so hard that boring-tools will not penetrate them, while in other parts the rock is so incoherent that large blocks will break in pieces by falling over an embankment.⁴ We have here the essential conditions for the formation of vertical escarpments, since by the weathering away

² *Principles of Geology*, vol. i. 353.

³ *The Tertiary History of the Grand Cañon District*, U.S. Geological Survey, 1882.

⁴ *Remarks on the Sedimentary Formations of New South Wales*. By the Rev. W. B. Clarke, F.R.S., F.G.S. Fourth ed. 1878, p. 72.

of the softer beds the harder strata above them remain unsupported and break off, and thus the vertical or sometimes overhanging character of the precipices is kept up.

If we look at a large-scale map of this part of Australia, we see that the rivers Grose, Cox, and other tributaries of the Nepean which drain the sandstone plateau, have great numbers of diverging branches which almost interlace with each other, as so often occurs among the streams of a nearly level well-watered district. Now, bearing in mind what has been said of the permanence of water-courses once formed, we can see that these many-branching streams must have flowed on the surface of the plateau at the epoch of its first elevation; that surface itself being perhaps a long way above the present surface, which has certainly been lowered by denudation during its long existence as dry land, probably during the whole of the tertiary period. From the time that these streams began to penetrate the sandstone plateau as far as the first hard bed, miniature cliffs would be formed by the wasting away of the softer beds beneath it, and the continual movement backward thus produced would widen the valleys till those of many of the smaller tributaries became united together. Thus age after age the valley would widen and deepen, always preserving its precipitous rock-walls due to the alternation of hard and soft layers.

The deepening of these great valleys would probably be aided by subterranean denudation due to the presence of salt and alum, which Mr. Clarke states are found at several places in these strata. The solution of these salts by percolating water would form cavities and water channels, and the subterranean streams would eat away the softer beds, forming caverns, the roofs of which would in time fall in, and the *débris* be gradually disintegrated by atmospheric agencies and then carried away by floods. This mode of denudation was seen actually at work by Captain (now Sir George) Grey, during his exploration of the Glenelg River in North-West Australia. He describes a nearly level table-land covered with numbers of sandstone pillars of various grotesque shapes and some of them forty feet high. Hearing the sound of running water at a fissure among some of the rocks, he descended, and found a cavern supported by pillars of the same character as those above, with a small stream, which in the rainy season would become a torrent. Here, then, are ample causes to explain the formation of these great rock-walled branching valleys in the sandstone plateau; the remaining feature—that the rivers all escape through deep gorges often so narrow or so blocked up with rock-fragments as to be impassable—evidently depends on the fact that the outer escarpment of the plateau is formed of a series of harder rocks, and thus does not wear away laterally. In this respect they resemble those numerous gorges in the Alps which form the only outlet for con-

siderable high valleys, such as those of the Trient, the Reuss, and many others.

The difficulty as to whither the denuded material has gone, does not seem a great one, when we remember the many millions of years the process of denudation has been going on, with alternating epochs of greater rainfall producing more rapid-flowing streams and greater floods, by which the bulk of the sandy material would be carried out to sea, while the finer suspended matter would be deposited during wide-spreading floods on the valley bottoms and alluvial plains. The absence of great quantities of rock in the valleys themselves merely indicates that the degradation of the cliffs is now so comparatively slow that the fallen masses are worn down by atmospheric agency at about the same rate as they are reproduced.

Let us now see how the same general principles and the same denuding agencies will apply under the very different conditions which have prevailed in the district of the Yosemite. These differences are, mainly, the much loftier mountains and the very much greater extremes of climate; the recent occurrence both of glacial and of volcanic action on a large scale; and, lastly, the whole valley being excavated in granite instead of in sandstone rock.

The granite of the central and highest parts of the Sierra Nevada is flanked near the Yosemite with Silurian slates, lower by some triassic or jurassic beds followed by enormous deposits of late tertiary gravels, which have been largely preserved from denudation by extensive flows of lava, the remnants of which form the numerous table-mountains so characteristic of the lower slopes of the Sierra. As granite can only be formed deep down in the crust of the earth, it is certain that, when first elevated to form the mass of the Sierra Nevada, it was everywhere deeply buried under Silurian and other palæozoic rocks, and not improbably under a further deposit of mesozoic age. These various beds, of an unknown thickness, must all have been denuded away before the granitic core was exposed, and during that process the main lines of the valleys must have been fixed, and the streams might have begun to cut their way into the granite substratum.

Although granite appears to be, and sometimes is, a very durable rock, it varies greatly in its power of resisting denudation, owing perhaps, in part, to the nature and thickness of the overlying rocks, beneath or among which it was forced up, and which in some cases determined the characteristic forms it assumes when exposed to atmospheric agencies. These forms are either rude cubical masses, as seen on some of our Dartmoor tors; peaks and pinnacles, as in some of the Alps of Dauphiné and in the cathedral spires of the Yosemite; but more commonly rounded forms, culminating in cones or almost perfect domes or hemispheres, as in the great domes of the Yosemite. It is an interesting fact that all these forms occur also in the granite region of the Upper Rio Negro in Brazil. The Cocoli Mountain

forming the boundary between Brazil and Venezuela is a quadrangular or cubical mass of granite, about a thousand feet high, rising abruptly out of a great undulating plateau of the same rock. Others in the same region are conical or dome-shaped; and on the southern bank of the river Uaupes, about sixty miles from its mouth, is an isolated dome-shaped mountain about a thousand feet high, of so regular an outline as to look like a gigantic half-globe. Now, it is evident that these cubical, hemispherical, and conical hills, rising out of a nearly level plateau which extends for several hundred miles around them in every direction, must owe their present position to the slow degradation by atmospheric agency of the vast masses of rock in which they were once buried, but whose destruction they have survived owing to their superior hardness or tenacity. It is true the rocks here have been subject to tropical rain and heat and to the powerful aid of tropical vegetation; but, on the other hand, the rocks of the Yosemite have been exposed to the even more powerful agencies of alternations of intense frost and great sun-heat, as well as of torrents formed by melting snows, and probably of occasional *débâcles* caused by bursting glacier lakes.

It is well known that granite often weathers very rapidly, sometimes becoming completely decomposed to a depth of twenty or thirty feet, so that it can be dug out with pick and spade. This process of decomposition is greatly facilitated by the action of carbonic acid either in air or water. Now, during the latter part of the tertiary epoch, there was a long period of volcanic action in the Sierra Nevada, and as both carbonic acid and many other powerful gases are emitted during eruptions, and also permeate the earth and are absorbed by the water, we should have all the conditions for the decomposition and denudation of the granite rocks. The alternations of temperature on the higher parts of the Sierra Nevada are very great. During the long bright Californian summer the action of direct sun-heat on the exposed rocks must be considerable, the air temperature in the Yosemite valley being usually over 80°, while at a height of 8,700 feet ice an inch thick was formed at night in June and July. In winter at such elevations—that of the present summit of some of the domes—the temperature must fall below zero of Fahrenheit every night. The alternate expansion and contraction produced by such changes of temperature are among the most powerful agencies in the splitting up and decomposition of rocks. Small cracks thus produced receive water which freezes at night, and the crack is widened by the irresistible force of the ice wedge. It is by this agency that the final touches have been given to the Yosemite scenery, after all the softer and more decomposable portions of the rock had been removed by the ordinary modes of weathering. The huge domes and spires, and the subquadrangular mass of El Capitan, must be looked upon as intensely hard and compact cores of rock that remain after all the more

friable masses that inclosed them have been removed. They show us the natural forms into which granite weathers, due probably to the mode in which it has originally cooled from the molten or plastic state. In the case of the dome form the mass consists of concentric layers, probably of different density, which peel off successively like the coat of a gigantic onion. On some of the domes we can see one of these coats partially removed, and the same thing was observed by myself in the dome-shaped mountains as well as in the smaller sub-globular masses of granite in the Rio Negro.

The fact that the process of denudation, continued perhaps throughout the greater part of the tertiary period, has now eaten away all the more friable and soluble portions of the rocks which once occupied the site of the valley, leaving only those compact central masses which are hardly affected by ordinary atmospheric action, will account for what seemed such a great difficulty to Professor Whitney—the small amount of rock *débris* under the great precipices or in the valley generally. For the last few thousand years, probably, the amount of rock-falls has been comparatively small, so that it barely equals the rate at which atmospheric agencies, aided by vegetation, break up and decompose the fallen masses, which then, in the form of the coarse granitic sand that forms the surface soil in all the drier portions of the valley, is gradually carried by wind, rain, and melting snow into the river, and ultimately into the great bay of San Francisco. That some considerable amount of decay is still going on in these giant cliffs is evident, not only from the rock-falls that actually occur every year, but from the numerous places where great flakes or jutting blocks can be observed in every stage of detachment from the parent rock. These fallen masses, however large, are at once subject to fresh causes of decay. Almost all their surfaces are exposed to atmospheric action or to expansion and contraction by heat and cold. Every crack and cranny is seized upon by vegetation—first the lowly herb, then the shrub, later the tree, whose roots penetrate the minutest fissure, eat away the surface, or even split off portions by the power of growth. And though in the life of a man a block may seem unchanged, in a few thousand years it may have entirely disappeared; and such a lapse of time probably bears a less proportion to the period occupied by the valley's formation, than does a single hour to the life of a man.

It has now, I think, been shown that the valleys here described do not owe their exceptional physical features to any catastrophic or unusual mode of origin. Every characteristic they possess is fully explained by that simple theory of earth sculpture by atmospheric agency which has been found applicable to the solution of similar problems in all other parts of the world. This theory does not, of course, imply that subterranean movements have no part in determining the direction of some valleys, but only that they have

in no case produced the valleys themselves. Many examples can be pointed out in which valleys follow for a certain distance lines of fault, of the junction of different strata, or of the fractured summit of an anticlinal; but the explanation of these cases is, probably, that during elevation above the sea, wave-action produced slight hollows along these several lines of weakness, and that the hollows thus formed were occupied by the primitive rivulets as their line of least resistance when flowing towards the ocean. But these cases are very few as compared with those of valleys which pay no regard whatever to the geological features of the undercrust, but which cross over faults and outcrops, and break through transverse hills and mountain ranges, as if the causes which determined their direction of flow were of an altogether different nature. And as regards what used to be considered the most striking cases of 'valleys of disruption'—the narrow defiles and gorges like those of the Trient and the Reuss—it may now be affirmed, that in no single instance which has been carefully examined has any evidence of an open fissure been discovered, while in most cases there is the clearest proof that the gorges in question have been wholly excavated by the action of running water.

It was for the purpose of bringing clearly before non-geologic readers the total inaccuracy of the popular view—that every rock-walled valley or deep Alpine gorge has had its origin in some 'convulsion of nature'—and to impress upon such readers the grand but simple theory, which we owe mainly to the late Sir Charles Lyell, of the efficiency of causes now in action in producing the varied contours of the earth's surface, that this account of some of the most remarkable of known valleys has been written.

ALFRED R. WALLACE.

ARCHITECTURE— A PROFESSION OR AN ART

It is but natural that a volume of essays on what may seem to outsiders a mere battle of words, and even to the better informed a distinction of little consequence, should be misunderstood, and that its point should need driving home. Lord Grimthorpe, who contributed an entertaining article on the book to the January number of this Review, is an amateur architect in his own way, and might be expected to understand something of the real points at issue, and yet his opening sentence shows that he has misapprehended them. He says :

I take the liberty of adding the note of interrogation which has clearly been forgotten in the title of this singular volume of thirteen essays and an introduction, all intended primarily to answer that question by proving that architecture is not a profession.

The essayists may perhaps be supposed to know their own meaning, and we can assure Lord Grimthorpe that no note of interrogation was in the mind of any one of us. For us architecture is an art or it is nothing. There is no need to write a book to prove that : even our opponents, who in their practice degrade it into a profession, admit as much in words. Our object was to call attention to the fact that there may be, and in fact actually are, two distinct ways of practising architecture ; to show what is the result of either method ; to point out that some men practise it as an art, others as a profession ; and that the majority of nominal architects follow their craft as they might the law, or trade, or stock-jobbing, or any profession needing no special natural gifts for its successful exercise, and no special taste for anything beyond winning a respectable livelihood. This is the professional, and unluckily the common, view of architecture, and we argue that it is not a hopeful way of following it, and that we have only to look around us as we walk the streets to see what it brings us to.

Nor can we ever expect anything better from the professional method. At its best it can but promise us buildings that are convenient and wholesome. Of course if that is enough, and Society desires no more than convenience and good sanitation, she can on the

present system get what she wants in most cases if she pays for it; and there is an end of the whole matter so far as we are concerned. Why worry ourselves about Art at all? Let us stick to our drains and our compo. and get our fill of pleasure out of them.

Nobody, however, ever did, or ever will, rest content with mere utility. Consciously or unconsciously all who build hunger after architecture; the very readiness with which they swallow the rubbish that is generally offered them suffices to prove that. Our architectural failures would never have been attempted, had there been no demand for anything but solid walls and good sewers. There is a real demand for good architecture, and the time has come to ask whether the professional architect as he now exists is able to supply it.

That he turns out what passes for architecture with the vulgar, and contents them, may be admitted at once. In the present uneducated condition of the public taste, nine people out of ten, if one may judge by what one sees, ask for nothing more than that their buildings shall be in the fashion and have something smart and showy even if it be at the cost of solidity. But from the better-informed minority on all sides a chorus of discontent is beginning to arise, and it is in the growth of this discontent that the hope of our Art lies. Our volume of essays is a contribution towards the spread of this dissatisfaction with modern architecture; we try to explain why it is no better, and we put forward the remedy suggested to us by our own individual experience as working artists.

Where, then, is the professional architect wrong? He is wrong in his method and wrong in his motive. He wastes his time in doing the wrong things; when he studies the right things he studies them in the wrong way; and he takes the advancement of the architect to be the surest way of promoting good architecture.

Let us take the points of our indictment in order. When we accuse him of wasting his time on the wrong things, we mean that he includes within his professional practice a host of pursuits involving care and responsibility which have no more to do with architecture than with physic or divinity, and not nearly so much as they have to do with law. Half the architects in London and most of those in the country call themselves surveyors. As surveyors they value estates, draw building leases, and negotiate tenancies, fix ground-rents, and often collect them, float building speculations, estimate damages for loss of light and air, sit on arbitrations at five guineas or more a day, and some of them take out quantities for builders' estimates, the only one amongst a surveyor's multifarious occupations which seems to touch on architecture at all. Of all the rest, there is not one for which a knowledge of architecture brings in the slightest degree any special qualification, and it is a puzzle to discover why it should ever have been thought to do so. The power

to design a house, estimate its cost, and superintend its construction, cannot, in the nature of things, afford one the slightest help in guessing the market value of the land it stands on, nor in ascertaining the solvency of the tenant who wants to hire it. No degree of skill in construction or ingenuity in planning will suggest to you how much your employer should try and screw out of his neighbour for darkening his ancient lights. Experience in judging the quality of stone and timber or the consistency of mortar affords no training for the judicial functions of an arbitrator. Why the two pursuits should ever have been mated in this ill-assorted union it passes the wit of man to explain. There is no parallel to it. Even the mysterious alliance of auctioneer and undertaker—callings often united, but seemingly without any ostensible reason for the union—is not so great a puzzle as that of architect and surveyor. Lord Grimthorpe, it is true, sees nothing wrong in it. He says—

Nor do I see as clearly as the essayists why a man need be a bad architect because when he is not architecting he is doing something else, even if it is surveying or valuing houses or land, or advises on cases of light and air.

The harm we see in it is simply this: that the two pursuits of architecture and surveying are incongruous, and do not in any way lean one on the other; and that no man is likely to succeed in both lines, not only because either of them requires a man's whole time and energy, but because they demand natural qualifications that are wholly different, and mental characteristics that have nothing in common. Lord Grimthorpe, it is well known, not content with eminence as a lawyer, has entered the lists as an architect, but the result has not given unmixed satisfaction; and law itself is not more remote from architecture than surveyors' work as I have described it.¹

The case, then, of the majority of professional architects is this: that they spend most of their time and labour on work that is not architecture nor even akin to it; for their surveying work being pure business and affecting money interests of course comes first, and architecture gets only the leavings of their time. Strange tales are told by contractors of the designs put into their hands by surveyor-architects. The nominal author of the design has often little enough to do with it, as Mr. Prior tells us in his essay. Builders have told me of large works, offering splendid architectural opportunities, for which all the working drawings, such as they were, were made by a ghost who did not even go through the form of showing them to

¹ It is necessary once more to point out that the word 'surveyor' bore a different sense two hundred years ago. Thorpe, Inigo Jones, Wren, and Webb are all entitled 'surveyors'—that is, men who besides devising their buildings *surveyed*—that is *superintended*—them in execution. The surveyor then was what we call the architect. Everybody knows that now it means something quite different, as I have explained in the text; but an unfair use is constantly made of the 'equivoque' by our opponents and by Lord Grimthorpe himself at the end of his article.

his principal, while all the details were made by the builder himself. 'Take it and do it, and don't bother me about it,' was the only reply vouchsafed by the nominal architect to one of my informants who asked him for instructions.

Architectural design, then, in the hands of these professors is treated as a matter so simple and easy that it can be thrown off without effort in the intervals of more serious occupation. Yet surely if there is such a thing as an art of architecture—and the professional himself would frown down any attempt to deny it as a blasphemous heresy—it demands from those who follow it the same amount of attention as the other arts. What kind of work would a painter turn out who spent his mornings on the Stock Exchange or in the board-room, and only gave his evenings to painting? What would be thought of his honesty if he exhibited as his own pictures of which everything, except, perhaps, the first bare notion, was due to a pot-boiling brother-brush, hired by the job or at so much a week? This is a precisely similar case; and yet the public, which would not stand a surveyor-painter, accepts complacently the work of the surveyor-architect, only wondering now and then why it gets so little pleasure out of it. But surely the object of architecture is to please, and if it fails in that it is time to ask the reason why. One reason at all events is so near the surface that a very little reflection ought to have made it clear. The public has no one but itself to blame. If employers, either private individuals or companies, public and civic, would but ask themselves whether the gentleman who manages their estates, and whose time is fully engaged in the honourable discharge of that duty, is the person of all others whom they might naturally expect to be an artist, and whether even if he were able to conceive an architectural idea he would have leisure to elaborate a design that would satisfy a critical eye, they would obtain a glimmering of one reason at all events why the architecture they get is commonplace and dull even if it be not offensive.

To come to the next point in our indictment of the professional architect, we say that, even when he does in a certain measure study architecture, he studies it in the wrong way. He learns it in fact as a profession and not as an art. He gets it up from text-books and authorities, just as a lawyer gets up law from Blackstone or Coke. He works at it also piecemeal and not as a whole, and divides his time between the study of construction and the study of archæology. If his youthful enthusiasm is yet undamped by the professional incubus, he perhaps sketches and measures a certain number of old examples in museums and during his holidays, which is his nearest approach to artistic study, for with most people the study of architecture is still considered to be identical with the study of archæology. And when he has mastered Rivington's text-books of building construction, and Ferguson's *History of Architecture*, and stored his

memory with a few facts, dates, and names, and can answer a few general questions of a practical nature, he goes in for examination, and finds a chartered Institute which claims to represent the profession—and does in fact represent the professional view of it—ready to set its seal on him and certify him to the world, not as a builder, nor as an antiquary, but—heaven save the mark!—as an architect, that is a master in the art of architecture.

If architecture is an art, it must be learned like the other arts, and no one in his wits would expect to become a painter by reading Vasari and Lanzi and the discourses of Sir Joshua Reynolds, or even by copying pictures in the National Gallery. We claim for architecture that it is an art on precisely the same footing as painting and sculpture, demanding the same natural gifts, and requiring the education and development of the same natural faculties. This scandalises Lord Grimthorpe, who says we always forget that the artist not only invents but executes his own work. But, by his rule, Mr. Thornycroft and Mr. Gilbert would not be artists because they do not cast their own bronze statues; and John Leech and Charles Keene would not have been artists because other people were employed to cut their drawings on wood. In architecture, as in the other arts, it is the faculty of design that makes the artist. It is this that differentiates him from other men; it is this that every system of art teaching ought to exert itself to educe; and it is precisely this which cannot be submitted to the yoke of a hard and fast curriculum, nor brought to the test of examination, and which, consequently, is ignored by the professional system.

And yet in any sound system of training architects surely the artistic motive must prevail. It must pervade every branch of the study, and above all it must influence and direct the study of construction. It suits our opponents, either wilfully or carelessly misinterpreting us, to accuse us of neglecting practical construction for Art. One critic writes:—

There is so much technicality about architecture that its professors cannot properly understand their own business until they have acquired much, at any rate, of the knowledge which Mr. Norman Shaw and his coadjutors consider to be beneath the notice of an artist . . . to argue that a good working knowledge of construction and materials, or even of ancient lights and the Building Acts, will unfit a man for designing an artistic façade is rather too extravagant.*

Extravagant and absurd enough, no doubt, had we said or written a word on which such an interpretation could be fairly put. On the contrary, if there is one point more than another on which the essayists one and all have insisted, it is that good constructive knowledge is the prime essential to a good architect; that constructive necessities, properly met and encountered, are the strongest and healthiest stimulants of artistic invention; that not only are the two

* *St. James's Gazette*, November 17, 1892.

inseparable, but that they are actually one thing, for architecture *is* construction—it is nothing else in the world but *construction with an artistic motive*.

If this is so, and I believe the truth of it will be recognised by all who think about it, we are in a position to see where the professional view is wrong. They who hold it would have construction taught, and architecture taught, but they fail to see that they must be taught together as a single subject. Construction and design in architecture stand in the same relation as drawing and composition in painting. All the figures may be correctly drawn, but unless they are properly grouped and composed the result is not a picture; and so every part of a building may be soundly constructed, but unless the whole is combined and arranged with an artistic motive the result does not amount to architecture. This is not the popular view, nor is it recognised by those who would test everything by examination and professional considerations; no board of examiners will trouble itself with the search for an artistic motive, nor would they be unanimous in recognising it when found. The general idea is that the question of architecture or no architecture is one of ways and means; you can have it if you like to pay for it, or if you can't afford it you can go without—you may have a good plain house for 1,000*l.*, ditto with architecture, 1,250*l.*, like the boys' picture books which are sold for a penny plain and twopence coloured. This is the Philistine view, and Lord Grimthorpe poses as its Goliath. He says:—

Surely . . . the whole of this discussion is about what the world does call architecture, and not about buildings which nobody does.

Fatal distinction! and one which underlies all our failures. Architecture does not consist in smartening up plain builder's work by sticking ornament on to it, but in moulding buildings of every kind into shapes expressive and pleasing, and perhaps leaving them plain after all. This is what we have a right to expect architecture to do for us. It will never live and grow till it becomes popular. It was so formerly, when everything that was built was put together in a way that was not only sound and substantial, but comely and attractive, and that not with any ambitious effort, but simply because it came naturally to the builders to do it so. One common artistic motive ruled the construction of everything, from the minister to the wayside chapel, from the manor house to the cottage, from the banqueting hall to the barn. We are far enough from that now. We have our architectural building and our non-architectural building; on the former we bestow our money if not our thought, and the latter we leave to take care of itself. When all our old cottages are improved off the face of the land, will the new ones that replace them ever win their way to our hearts like their predecessors?

Yes, there is holy pleasure in thine eye
 —The lovely cottage in the guardian nook
 Hath stirred thee deeply;—

Will any one ever be stirred to holy pleasure by the modern brick box of a cottage, with its low-pitched roof of blue slates? or will any one a hundred years hence—if it last so long—be provoked to sit down and sketch the modern barn? Yet we have a right to complain of our architecture unless it will deal with things common as well as with things lordly: not by smartening them up with architectural finery—the brick slated cottage is less odious than the fancy model village of an æsthetic landlord—but by making them comely and yet leaving them simple and unadorned. Until we get rid of the distinction of buildings into architectural and non-architectural on which Lord Grimthorpe insists, we confine our art to the artificial existence of an exotic, which can never become acclimatised and live a healthy natural life among us.

This result of popularising art, however, will never be reached by the professional method, which indeed has wholly different aims. Art is less the object of its solicitude than the architects. To form them into a privileged caste, hedged round by barriers of certificate and diploma; to obtain for them an artificial social status, and make them gentlemen by Act of Parliament; to shut the door against profane outsiders, while they themselves sit warm and snug within the shelter of a close and chartered profession—this is the great purpose which inspires the efforts both of the Registrationists and of the Royal Institute of British Architects, who seek the same end, but quarrel as to which of them is to keep the key after the door is put up.

Were these splendid privileges to be enjoyed only by those who cared for them, the matter would be of no concern to any one but the members of the two societies who are competing for the monopoly. Their rivalry would be a matter of indifference to us; and we could leave them to settle their dispute as they pleased. But it is a very different thing when the attempt is made to sweep us all, whether we will or no, into the net of a gigantic trades union, and to forbid any artist, however great his genius and acquirements, to practise architecture unless he submits to the approval and certificate of a Board of Examiners, perhaps in every way his inferiors. It is time for us to stand on the defensive and fight for our liberty, and our volume of essays is the first broadside from our batteries in a war of independence.

In this struggle we have Lord Grimthorpe on our side. He is as strong an opponent of registering architects and making them into a close profession as we are, and we heartily welcome his somewhat unexpected support. It is true that, though he finds himself compelled to go along with us, he takes no pains to make himself an

agreeable travelling companion. The late Professor Thorold Rogers, returning from a visit to the sister University, is remembered to have expatiated in an Oxford common-room on the vast superiority of Cambridge men. 'They know more,' he said, 'and they work harder, and they are better fellows in every way; all the same,' he concluded, 'I think they are damnable fools.' Lord Grimthorpe, though he approves our object and lends us his support, would probably like to class us together with Professor Rogers's Cambridge men. He accepts our conclusions but damns our arguments, and yet as one reads on, humbly hoping to find some better reasons for our views than we ourselves had hit upon, we find that Lord Grimthorpe does little more than flourish as his own the weapons with which we had furnished him. It is true there is a good deal of matter personal to himself imported into the controversy, which does not advance matters much. We hear a good deal of his book on building, of his 'restoration' as he calls it of St. Alban's Abbey, and of his merciful intervention as a sort of minor providence to save Sir Gilbert Scott disaster. Into this I am unable to enter. I have never seen either the book or the restoration, and am quite willing to believe Lord Grimthorpe's architecture worthy of his book, and the book not inferior to the architecture; while from my recollection of my old master Scott, I should say he was not the man to rely much on amateur assistance.

However, be it with a good grace or a bad grace, Lord Grimthorpe is with us in this part of the contest, and he renders us valuable assistance. The ardour with which he belabours the Institute—to which, unless I am mistaken, he at one time belonged—saves us, who are outsiders, and have no quarrel with it if it will only let us alone, the trouble of attacking it ourselves, and we may very well leave it to his tender mercies. Among other misconceptions of the object of our essays, is the idea that they are an attack on the Institute, which certainly is turning the tables on us with a vengeance. The Institute is nothing to us. On its old footing as a private society, with its prizes, its scholarships, and its meetings for reading and discussing papers, it had a useful career before it, and might have commanded our respect, and possibly our adherence. But when it poses as a 'Censor Artium,' and claims the right to say who shall and who shall not practise architecture—for that, say what it will, is the logical end of its present policy—we are obliged to stand to our guns and defend ourselves before it is too late. It is not we who are the aggressors in this matter, and it is a little too barefaced an argument to charge us with hostility, when we are merely fighting for our liberty, and ask nothing better than to be left alone. The object of our attack is the professional view of architecture, and the Institute only comes within our range at all because it has made itself the key-stone of the system in which that view finds expression.

A plea for liberty, however, has some difficulty in making itself heard in days when we are being taught to look to Acts of Parliament for the salvation of society. Lord Grimthorpe again misunderstands us on this point: he sees we do not want to be put into Parliamentary fetters ourselves, but will have it that we want to put legal restrictions on other people. Talking of surveyor-architects he says:—

The owners of these multifarious titles are substantially and mainly surveyors, valuers, and auctioneers, ready to do a little architectural designing of no exalted character when asked. What the complainants (*i.e.* the essayists) really want is to prohibit them from accepting such invitations, and not to prevent architects from doing something else besides designing, under the plea that it lowers architecture. That protection they are certain not to get.

Certainly not; nor did we ever ask for it in a book the whole aim and object of which is to plead for free trade in Art. It is not we, but our opponents, who clamour for bolts and bars, shackles and barriers. Let who will be a surveyor so far as we are concerned: if a man thinks he can do surveying with his right hand and architecture with his left, by all means let him try; we shall do nothing to hinder him: all we say is, that he is attempting impossibilities, and is doomed to failure. He will probably be only an indifferent surveyor and certainly a bad architect. But that is no fault of ours. He must blame himself and not us. We only state the fact, and are no more responsible for it than we are for two and two not making five, or for red and yellow not making green." But as for seeking Parliamentary powers to stop him, we should as soon think of asking Parliament to make bad architecture penal.

Our first demand then is, that our Art shall remain free; free from misleading tests and free from conventional sanctions, which have not, and never can have, any real value as evidence of a man's vocation for Art. It would be easy to enlarge on the harm done to the student by a system of examination and certificate in misdirecting his studies, and putting before him a false aim for his efforts. This, however, has been done thoroughly by different writers in our volume and need not be repeated here. Of the baneful effects of professionalism on the architect after he had ceased to be a student, enough has been said already. Of the disastrous effects of the professional system on Art itself, we have evidence enough on all sides; a walk from St. Paul's to Charing Cross is enough to drive that lesson home, and send us away saddened if not despairing. The professional system has had a fair trial, and we see, as the Quarterly Reviewer pointed out last January, what it comes to. Those who like the outcome of it are quite right to stick to it, and as the Institute is labouring to tighten the bonds of Professionalism, it is a fair conclusion that it is content with the average architectural product of the day, for which the professional system is responsible. But there are those who think we may do better by going to work in a different

way, and to them we have tried to convey the suggestions of our own experience.

Our next demand, that the surveyor shall stick to surveying and the architect to architecture, and that the architect shall give all his working time and energies to his art, seems so obviously fair as to amount to a truism, although there are many besides Lord Grimthorpe who do not see it in that light. Yet art is long, and life is short, and the architect who really designs and constructs will find his working hours all too few for what he would like to do.

Lastly, we hold that the whole system of architectural study and practice needs to be put on a wider basis. Architecture must be studied as a living thing, not as a dead language. The Gothic Renaissance has done its work. With all its faults and extravagances it has been the parent of all that is good in our modern architecture. It formed an inevitable stage in our re-awaking from the state of coma into which all art lapsed under the Regency. No revival of art has at any period come about except in this way: it has always begun by the attempted revival of a bygone and dead style. It was so with the attempted Renaissance of the dead Roman art by Charlemagne and the Lombards, which failed in its prime object, but resulted in the new and living Gothic of the Middle Ages. It was so again with the Italian Renaissance of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, which again began by a servile worship of the antique, but ended by filling Europe with a neo-classic art almost as far removed from the Vitruvian model as Gothic itself. And so will it be with us if we turn our opportunities to good account. We began by careful and even slavish reproduction of Gothic architecture, hoping and believing that we should breathe new life into it and make it rise up and walk. We have tried it with Tudor, with fourteenth-century work; with early French, with thirteenth-century geometrical, with all the phases of Gothic—English, French, Italian, German, and even Spanish; and yet, though we have managed to get our figure on its legs and prop it upright, it refuses to walk, and we are as far from making it live as we were fifty years ago: live, that is, in the sense of being a spoken vernacular art in which everybody—architect, builder, mason, cabinet-maker, hedge-carpenter—naturally and inevitably expresses himself without stopping to choose his style, his methods, and his forms. And so, history tells us, it must be. The dead Gothic will never live again any more than the dead Classic, but from its ruins ought to arise, and will arise if we work honestly and rationally, and not like mere antiquaries and copyists, something new, something that lives, a modern art which will be to us what the bygone styles were to those who speak to us through them. Signs are not wanting, especially here in England, that this new growth has begun; let it be ours to secure it freedom for its development, and to save it from being stifled by the dull load of professionalism.

There is no space here even briefly to recapitulate the suggestions we have made in our essays for the better training of architects and the sounder practice of architecture. Lord Grimthorpe thinks there is nothing in them; but, at the same time, confesses he has no general nostrum of his own. We may therefore meet his criticism with the time-honoured retort:—

Si quid novisti rectius istis,
Candidus imperti; si non, his utere mecum.

T. G. JACKSON.

THE INNER HISTORY OF THE WATERLOO CAMPAIGN.

THE actual fighting phase of this memorable campaign was confined to the four days from the 15th to the 18th of June, both days inclusive. The literature concerning itself with that period would make a library of itself. Scarcely a military writer of any European nation but has delivered himself on the subject, from Clausewitz to Colonel Maurice, from Berton to Brialmont. Thiers, Alison, and Hooper may be cited of the host of civilian writers whom the theme has enticed to description and criticism. There is scarcely a point in the brief vivid drama that has not furnished a topic for warm and sustained controversy; and the cult of the Waterloo campaign is more assiduous to-day than when the participators in the great strife were testifying to their own experiences.

Within the last month an important work dealing chiefly with the inner history of the campaign has come to us from the other side of the Atlantic.¹ Its author, Mr. John Ropes, is a civilian gentleman of Boston, who has devoted his life to military study. He has given years to the elucidation of the problems of the Waterloo campaign, has trodden every foot of its ground, and has burrowed for recondite matter in the military archives of divers nations. A citizen of the American Republic, he is free alike from national prejudices and national prepossessions; if he is perhaps not uniformly correct in his inferences, his rigorous impartiality is always conspicuous. By his research and acute perception he has let light in upon not a few obscurities; and it may be pertinent briefly to summarise the inner history of the campaign, giving what may seem their due weight to the arguments and representations of the American writer.

The following were the respective positions on the 14th of June: Wellington's heterogeneous army, about 94,000 strong, with 196 guns, lay widely dispersed in cantonments from the Scheldt to the Charleroi-Brussels chaussée, its front extending from Tournay through Mons and Binche to Nivelles and Quatre Bras. Of the Prussian army under Blücher, about 121,000 strong, with 312 guns, one corps was at Liège, another near the Meuse above Namur, a third at Namur.

¹ *The Campaign of Waterloo: a Military History.* By John Codman Ropes. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons. February 1893.

and Ziethen's in advance, holding the line of the Sambre. The mass of Blücher's command had already seen service, and, with the exception of the Saxons, was full of zeal; the corps were well commanded, and their chief, although he had his limits, was a thorough soldier. The French army, consisting of five corps d'armée, the Guard, four cavalry corps, and 344 guns—total fighting strength, 124,500—Napoleon had succeeded in assembling with wonderful celerity and secrecy south of the Sambre within an easy march of Charleroi. Its officers and soldiers were alike veterans, but its organisation was somewhat defective. Napoleon scarcely preserved the phenomenal force of earlier years; but, in Mr. Ropes's words, he disclosed 'no conspicuous lack of energy and activity.' Soult was far from being an ideal chief of staff. Ney, to whom was assigned the command of the left wing, only reached the army on the 15th, and without a staff; Grouchy, to whom on the 16th was suddenly given the command of the right wing, was not a man of high military capacity.

Napoleon's plan of campaign was founded on the circumstance that the bases of the allied armies lay in opposite directions—the English base on the German Ocean, the Prussian through Liège and Maestricht to the Rhine. The military probability was that if either army was forced to retreat, it would retreat towards its base; and to do this would be to march away from its ally. Napoleon was in no situation to manœuvre leisurely, with all Europe on the march against him. His engrossing aim was to gain immediate victory over his adversaries in Belgium, before the Russians and Austrians should close in around him. His expectation was that Blücher would offer battle about Fleurus, and be overwhelmed before the Anglo-Dutch army could come to the support of its Prussian ally. To make sure of preventing that junction, the Emperor's intention was to detail Ney with the left wing to reach and hold Quatre Bras. The Prussians thoroughly beaten, drifting rearward toward their base, and reduced to a condition of comparative inoffensiveness, he would then turn on Wellington and force him to give battle.

Mr. Ropes refutes the contention, maintained by a great array of authorities, that Napoleon's design was to 'wedge himself into the interval between the allied armies' by seizing simultaneously Sombrefe and Quatre Bras, in order to cut the communication between the two armies, and then defeat them in succession. Against this view he successfully marshals Napoleon himself, Wellington by the mouth of Lord Ellesmere, and the great German strategist Clausewitz. It will suffice to quote Napoleon :

The Emperor's intention was that his advance should occupy Fleurus, the mass concealed behind this town; he took good care . . . above all things not to occupy Sombrefe. To have done so would have caused the failure of all his dispositions, for then the battle of Ligny would not have been fought, and Blücher would have had to make Wavre the concentration-point for his army.

Wellington alludes pointedly to the obvious danger to the French army of the suggested wedge position in what the Germans call *die taktische Mitte*, where, instead of being able to defeat the allies in succession, it would itself be liable to be crushed between the upper and the nether millstone.

At daybreak of the 15th Napoleon took the offensive, driving in Ziethen on and through Charleroi, although not without sharp fighting. On that evening three French corps, the Guard, and most of the cavalry, were concentrated about Charleroi and forward toward Fleurus, ready to attack Blücher next day. Controversy has been very keen on the question whether or not on the afternoon of the 15th Napoleon gave Ney verbal orders to occupy Quatre Bras the same evening. Mr. Ropes holds it 'almost certain' that the order was given. From Napoleon's bulletin despatched on the evening of the 15th, which is the only piece of strictly contemporary evidence, he quotes: 'Le Prince de la Moskowa (Ney) a eu le soir son quartier général aux Quatres-Chemins;' and he remarks that this must have been the belief in the head-quarter 'unless we gratuitously invent an intention to deceive the public.' There is no need for Mr. Ropes to put that strain on himself, since the main purport of Napoleon's bulletins notoriously was to deceive the public. But if Napoleon had not intended that Ney should occupy Quatre Bras on the night of the 15th, the statement that this had been done would have been a purposeless futility; and if he had intended that Ney should do so, it is unlikely that he should have omitted to give him instructions to that effect. Grouchy claims to have heard Napoleon censure Ney for his omission to occupy Quatre Bras; an omission which had its importance, for the reason, among others, that it was ominous of the Marshal's infinitely more harmful disobedience of orders next day.

All writers agree that Blücher ordered the concentration of his army in the fighting position previously chosen in the event of the French advancing by Charleroi, 'without,' in Mr. Ropes's words, 'any definite agreement or undertaking with Wellington that he was to have English aid in the impending battle.' He was content to take his risk of the English general's possible inability, for sundry obvious reasons, to come to his support. And while the Prussian army, with the unfortunate exception of Bülow's corps, was on the 15th moving toward the chosen position of Ligny, where its right was to be on St. Amand, its centre on and behind Ligny, and its left about Balâtre, what was happening in the Anglo-Dutch army lying spread out westward of the Charleroi-Brussels chaussée?

Wellington was at Brussels, expecting the French invasion by or west of the Mons-Brussels road, to meet which he considered his army very well placed, but could expect no Prussian co-operation. His courier service, with his forces so dispersed, should have been well organised and alert, but it was neither; and Napoleon's secrecy

and suddenness in taking the offensive were worthy of his best days. It has been freely imputed to Wellington that he was thereby in a measure surprised. There is the strange and probably mythical story in the work professing to be Fouché's Memoirs, to the effect that Wellington was relying on him for information of Napoleon's plans, and that he—Fouché—played the English commander false. 'On the very day of Napoleon's departure from Paris,' say the Memoirs, 'I despatched Madame D——, furnished with notes in cipher, narrating the whole plan of the campaign. But at the same time I privately sent orders for such obstacles at the frontier, where she was to pass, that she could not reach Wellington's head-quarters till after the event. This was the real explanation of the inactivity of the British generalissimo which excited such universal astonishment.' Readers of the *Letters of the First Earl of Malmesbury* will remember the apparently authentic statement of Captain Bowles, that Wellington, rising from the supper-table at the famous ball,

whispered to ask the Duke of Richmond if he had a good map. The Duke of Richmond said he had, and took Wellington into his dressing-room. Wellington shut the door and said, 'Napoleon has humbugged me, by God; he has gained twenty-four hours' march on me. . . . I have ordered the army to concentrate at Quatre Bras; but we shall not stop him there, and if so I must fight him *there*' (passing his thumb-nail over the position of Waterloo). The conversation was repeated to me by the Duke of Richmond two minutes after it occurred.

Facts, however, are stronger evidence than words; and this confession on Wellington's part is inconsistent with the circumstance that he had not hurried to retrieve the time he is represented as having owned that Napoleon had gained on him—that he had, on the contrary, allowed his adversary to gain several hours more. Wellington's combination of caution and decision throughout this momentous period is a very interesting study. It was not until 3 P.M. (of the 15th) that there reached him tidings almost simultaneously of firing between the outposts about Thuin and that Ziethen had been attacked before Charleroi, the two places ten miles apart, and both occurrences in the early morning. Those affairs might have been casual outpost skirmishes; and the Duke, in anticipation of further information, took no measures for some hours. At length, in default of later tidings, he determined on the precautionary step of assembling his divisions at their respective rendezvous points in readiness to march; further specifically directing a concentration of 25,000 men at Nivelles, on his then left flank, when it should have been ascertained for certain that the enemy's line of attack was by Charleroi. These orders were sent out early in the evening—'between 5 and 7.' Later in the evening came a letter from Blücher announcing the concentration of the Prussian army to occupy the Ligny fighting-position, in which disposition Wellington acquiesced, but, still uncertain of Napoleon's true line of attack—his conviction being, as is well known, that Napoleon

should have moved on the British right—he would not definitely fix the point of ultimate concentration of his army until he should receive intelligence from Mons. But Blücher's tidings caused him to issue about 10 P.M. a second set of orders, commanding a general movement of the army, not as yet to any specific point of concentration, but in prescribed directions towards its left (eastward). At length, when the news came from Mons that he need have no further serious solicitude about his right, since the whole French army was advancing by Charleroi, he saw his way clear. Towards midnight, writes Müffling, the Prussian Commissioner at his head-quarters, Wellington informed him of the tidings from Mons, and added: 'The orders for the concentration of my army at Nivelles and Quatre Bras are already despatched. Let us, therefore, go to the ball.'

There are three definite evidences that before midnight of the 15th Wellington had resolved to concentrate about Quatre Bras, and had issued final orders accordingly—his statement to the Duke of Richmond, his statement to Müffling, and his statement in his official report to Lord Bathurst. Yet Mr. Ropes believes that his decision to that effect 'could not have been arrived at very long before he left Brussels' on the morning of the 16th, which he did 'probably about half-past seven.' He founds this belief on two orders dated '16th June,' sent to Lord Hill in the early morning of that day, in which there is no allusion to a concentration at Quatre Bras. But those were merely supplementary instructions as to points of detail; for example, one of them enjoined that a division ordered earlier to Enghien should move instead by way of Braine le Comte, that being a nearer route toward the final general destination of Quatre Bras specified in the earlier (the 'towards midnight') orders. The latter orders are not extant, having been lost, according to Gurwood, with De Lancey's papers when he fell at Waterloo; but that they must have been issued is proved by the fact that they were acted upon by the troops; and that they were issued before midnight of the 15th is made clear by Wellington's three specific statements to that effect.

When the Duke left Brussels for the front on the morning of the 16th he took with him a singularly optimistic paper styled 'Disposition of the British Army at 7 A.M., 16th June,' which was 'written out for the information of the Commander of the Forces by Colonel Sir W. de Lancey,' his Quartermaster-General. In the nature of things for the most part guess-work, the wish as regarded almost every particular set out in this document was father to the thought. Wellington was no doubt reasonably justified in accepting and relying on this flattering 'Disposition;' but its terms, as Mr. Ropes conclusively shows, simply misled him, and caused him also unconsciously to mislead Blücher, both by the expressions of the letter written by him to that chief on his arrival at Quatre Bras, and later when he met the Prussian commander at the mill of Brye.

Wellington was indeed trebly fortunate in finding the Quatre Bras position still available to him—fortunate that Ney on the previous evening had defaulted from his orders in refraining from occupying it; fortunate that Ney still on this morning was remaining passive; and more fortunate still that it had been occupied, defended, and reinforced by Dutch-Belgian troops not only without orders from him but in bold and happy violation of his orders. Perponcher's division was scarcely a potent representative of the Anglo-Dutch army, but there was nothing more at hand; and pending the coming up of reinforcements Wellington, with rather a sanguine reliance on Ney's maintenance of inactivity, rode over to Brye and had a conversation with Blücher. There are contradictory accounts of its tenor, and Gneisenau certainly seems to have formed the impression that the Duke gave a positive pledge of support. Mr. Ropes considers that, misled by the erroneous 'Disposition,' Wellington honestly believed he would be able to co-operate with Blücher, and that he 'certainly did give that commander some assurance of support by the Anglo-Dutch army in the impending battle.' Müffling, who was present, states that the Duke's last words were: 'Well, I will come, provided I am not attacked myself;' and this probably was the final undertaking. Wellington's words were in accordance with the caution of his character; and it is certain that Blücher had decided to fight at Ligny whether assured or not of his brother-commander's support. That Wellington regarded Blücher's dispositions for battle as objectionable, is proved by his blunt comment to Hardinge—'If they fight here they will be damnably licked!'

It would have been possible for Napoleon to have crushed the Prussian army in the early hours of the 16th, when it was in the throes of formation for battle; and this he would probably have done if Ney had occupied Quatre Bras on the previous evening. But in Ney's default of accomplishing this Napoleon, in his solicitude that Wellington should be hindered from supporting Blücher, determined to delay his own stroke against the latter until Ney should be in possession of Quatre Bras with the left wing, where, in Soult's words, 'he ought to be able to destroy any force of the enemy that might present itself,' and then come to the support of the Emperor by getting on the Prussian rear behind St. Amand. Napoleon's instructions were explicit that Ney was to march on Quatre Bras, take position there, and then send an infantry division and Kellerman's cavalry to points eastward, whence the Emperor might summon them to participate in his own operations. If Ney had fulfilled his orders by utilising the whole force at his disposal, in all human probability he would have defeated Wellington at Quatre Bras, whose troops, arriving in detail, would have been crushed by greatly superior numbers as they came up. As it was, although at the beginning of the battle he was in superior strength, Ney never utilised more

than 22,000 men; whereas by its close Wellington had 31,000, and, thanks to the staunchness of the British infantry, was the victor in a very hard-fought contest. But Mr. Ropes has reason in holding it humanly certain that he would have been beaten—in which case the battle of Waterloo would never have been fought—had not D'Erlon's corps of Ney's command, while marching towards Quatre Bras, been turned aside in the direction of the Prussian right.

In the justifiable belief that Ney was duly carrying out his orders, Napoleon at half-past one opened the battle of Ligny. He had expected to have to deal with but a single Prussian corps, but the actual fact was that, while he had 74,000 men on the field, Blücher had 87,000, with a superior strength of artillery. The fighting was long and severe. From the first, recognising the defects of his adversary's position, Napoleon was satisfied that he could defeat the Prussian army. But he needed to do more—to crush, to rout it, so that he need give himself no further concern regarding it. This he saw his way to accomplish if Ney were to strike in presently on the Prussian right; and so, with intent to stir that chief to vigorous enterprise the message was sent him, that 'the fate of France was in his hands.' The battle proceeded, Blücher throwing in his reserves freely, Napoleon chary of his, and playing the waiting game pending Ney's expected co-operation. About half-past five he was preparing to put in the Guard and strike the decisive blow, when information reached him from his right that a column, presumably hostile, was visible some two miles distant, marching toward Fleurus. Napoleon sent an aide to ascertain the facts, and until his return postponed the decisive moment. Two hours later the information was brought back that the approaching column was D'Erlon's from Ney's wing. This intelligence dispelled all anxiety. Strangely enough, no instructions were sent to the approaching reinforcement, and the suspended stroke was promptly dealt. The Prussians, after desperate fighting, were everywhere driven back. Napoleon, with part of the Imperial Guard, broke Blücher's centre, and the French army deployed on the heights beyond the stream. In a word, Napoleon had defeated the Prussians, but had neither crushed nor routed them. There was no pursuit.

D'Erlon's corps on this afternoon had achieved the doubly sinister distinction of having prevented Ney from gaining a probable victory at Quatre Bras, and of detracting from the thoroughness of Napoleon's actual victory at Ligny. While it was leisurely marching towards Frasnes in support of Ney, it was diverted eastward towards the Prussian right flank in consequence of an order given (whether authorised or not is uncertain) by an aide-de-camp of the Emperor. It was about to deploy for action, when, on receiving from Ney a peremptory order to rejoin his command, and in absence of a command from Napoleon to strike the Prussian flank, it went about and

tramped back towards Frasnes. D'Erlon's promenade was as futile as the famous march of the King of France up the hill and then down again.

Mr. Ropes considers that on the morning of the 17th Napoleon had thus far in the main fulfilled his programme. This view may be questioned. He had merely defeated two of the four Prussian corps; he had not wrecked Blücher. He had failed to occupy Quatre Bras; the Anglo-Dutch army had succeeded in effecting a partial concentration, and in repulsing his left wing there. Still it must be admitted that with two corps absolutely intact, and with no serious losses in the Guard and cavalry, Napoleon was in good shape for carrying out his plan. If Ney had sent him word overnight that Wellington's army was bivouacking about Quatre Bras, in ignorance, as it turned out, of the result of Ligny, he might have attacked it to good purpose in conjunction with Ney in the early morning of the 17th. But Ney was silent and sulky; Napoleon himself was greatly fatigued, and Soult was of no service to him.

During the night the Prussians 'had folded their tents like the Arabs, and as silently stolen away.' They had neither been watched nor followed up, all touch of them had been lost, and there was nothing to indicate their line of retreat. This slovenliness on the part of the French would not have occurred in Napoleon's earlier days; nor in those days of greater vigour would he have delayed until after midday of the 17th to follow up an army which he had defeated on the previous evening, and which had disappeared from before him in the course of the night. The reports which had been sent in from a cavalry reconnaissance despatched in the morning indicated that the Prussians were retiring on Namur. No reconnaissance had been made in the direction of Tilly and Wavre. This was a strange error, since Blücher had two corps still untouched, and, as above everything, a fighting man, was not likely to throw up his hands and forsake his ally after one partial discomfiture. Napoleon tardily determined to despatch Grouchy on the errand of following up the Prussians with a force consisting of about 33,000 men with ninety-six guns. Thus far all authorities are agreed; but as regards the character of the orders given to Grouchy for his guidance in an obviously somewhat complicated enterprise, there is an extraordinary contrariety of evidence. It is stated in the *St. Helena Memoirs* that Grouchy received positive orders to keep himself always between the main French army and Blücher; to maintain constant communication with the former and in a position easily to rejoin it; that since it was possible that Blücher might retreat on Wavre, he (Grouchy) was to be there simultaneously; if the Prussians should continue their march on Brussels and should pass the night in the forest of Soignies, he was to follow to the edge of the forest; should they retire on the Meuse, he was to watch them with part of his cavalry and himself occupy Wavre with the mass of

his force, where he should be in position for easy communication with Napoleon's head-quarters. Those orders are certainly specific enough, but there is no record of them; and they may be assumed to represent rather what Napoleon at St. Helena considered Grouchy should have done, than what he was actually ordered to do.

Grouchy's version, again—and it is adequately corroborated—is to the effect that about midday of the 17th, on the field of Ligny, the Emperor gave him the verbal order to take the 3rd and 4th Corps and certain cavalry, and 'go in pursuit of the Prussians.' Grouchy raised sundry objections which the Emperor overruled, and repeated his commands, adding that 'it was for me [Grouchy] to discover the route taken by Blücher; that he himself was going to fight the English, and that it was for me to complete the defeat of the Prussians by attacking them as soon as I should have caught up with them.' So much for Grouchy for the moment.

Soon after the Emperor had given Grouchy this verbal order, tidings came in from a scouting party that a body of Prussian troops had been seen about 9 A.M. at Gembloux, considerably northward of the Namur road. The abstract probability no doubt was that the Prussians would retire towards their base. But that Napoleon kept an open mind on the subject is evidenced by his instruction to Grouchy to 'go and discover the route taken by Blücher,' and this later intelligence, it may be assumed, opened his mind yet further. He thought it well, then, to send to Grouchy a supplementary written order, which in the temporary absence of Marshal Soult he dictated to General Bertrand. This order enjoined on Grouchy to proceed with his force to Gembloux; to explore in the directions of Namur and Maestricht; to pursue the enemy; explore his march; and report upon his manœuvres, so that 'I (Napoleon) may be able to penetrate what the enemy is intending to do; whether he is separating himself from the English, or whether they are intending still to unite in trying the fate of another battle to cover Brussels or Liège.' To me I confess—and the view is also that of Chesney and Maurice—this written order is simply an amplification in detail of the previous verbal order, which by instructing Grouchy 'to discover the route taken by Blücher,' clearly evinced doubt in Napoleon's mind as to the Prussian line of retreat. Mr. Ropes, on the other hand, bases an indictment on Grouchy's conduct on the argument that not only was the tone of the written order altogether different from that of the verbal order, but that the duty assigned to Grouchy by the former was wholly different from that specified in the latter.

He adds that Grouchy constantly and persistently denied having received any other than the verbal order, that in this denial Grouchy lied, and that 'the mischievous influence of this deliberate concealment of his orders by Grouchy caused for nearly thirty years after

the battle of Waterloo to be prevalent a wholly false notion as to the task assigned by Napoleon to the Marshal.' Certainly Grouchy's conduct is inexplicable to anyone holding the belief, as I do, that there is nothing in the written order to account for Grouchy's denial of having received it. It is more inexplicable than Mr. Ropes appears to be aware of. It is true, as Mr. Ropes proves, that Grouchy vehemently denied receiving the written order in all his works printed from 1818 to 1829. But he had actually acknowledged its receipt almost immediately after Waterloo. In his son's little book, *Le Maréchal de Grouchy du 16me au 19me Juin, 1815*, is printed among the *Documents Historiques Inédits* a paper styled 'Allocution du Maréchal Grouchy à quelques-uns des officiers généraux sous les ordres, lorsqu'il eût appris les désastres de Waterloo.' From this document I make the following extract: 'A few hours later the Emperor modified his first order, and caused to be written to me by the Grand Marshal Bertrand the order to betake myself to Gembloux, and to send reconnaissances towards Namur. "It is important," continued the order, "to discover the intentions of the Prussians—whether they are separating from the English, or have the design to take the chance of a new battle."' It is strange that this acknowledgment should never have been cited against Grouchy; stranger still that in the face of it he should have maintained his denials; yet more strange that those denials were never exposed; and most strange of all, that finally the 'written order' should have appeared for the first time in a casual article published in 1842, without evoking any explanation from Grouchy, or any strictures on his persistent mendacity.

It may be questioned whether the force of 33,000 men entrusted to Grouchy was not either too large or too small. The main French army, in the possible contingencies before it, could not safely spare so large a detachment, as events showed. Grouchy's command was not sufficiently strong to oppose the whole Prussian army; two corps of which could certainly have 'held' it, while the other two were free to support Wellington. Mr. Ropes thinks it might have been diminished by one-half, but then a single Prussian corps could have dealt with it. It is difficult to discern in what respect the 6,000 cavalry assigned to Grouchy should have been inadequate to such service as could reasonably have been expected of his whole command.

The British force about Quatre Bras on the morning of the 17th amounted to about 45,000 men. Early on that morning Wellington was in conversation with the Captain Bowles previously mentioned, when an officer galloped up and, to quote Captain Bowles,

whispered to the Duke, who then turned to me and said, 'Old Blücher has had a d—d good licking and has gone back to Wavre. As he has gone back, we must go too. I suppose in England they will say we have been licked—I can't help that.'

He quietly withdrew his troops from their positions, an operation which Ney, with 40,000 men at his disposal, did not attempt to molest, notwithstanding repeated orders from Napoleon to move on Quatre Bras. Early in the afternoon Napoleon reached that place, with the Guard, 6th Corps, and Milhaud's Cuirassiers, picked up Ney's command, and mounting his horse led the French army, following up Wellington's retreat. His energy and activity throughout the march is described as intense. Those characteristics he continued to evince during the following night and in the morning of the eventful 18th. In the dead of night he spent two hours on the picquet line, and about seven he was out again on the foreposts in the mud and rain. His anxiety was not as to the issue of a battle with Wellington, but lest Wellington should not stand and fight. That apprehension was dispelled when, as he rode along his front about 8 A.M., he saw the Anglo-Dutch army taking up its ground. He was aware that at least one 'pretty strong Prussian column'—which actually consisted of the two corps beaten at Ligny—had retired on Wavre. But notwithstanding the disquieting vagueness and ineptitude of Grouchy's letter of 10 P.M. of the 17th from Gembloux, and that up to the morning of the battle he had sent no suggestions or instructions to that officer, he yet trusted implicitly to him to fend off the Prussians; and it did not seem to occur to him that Wellington's calm expectant attitude indicated his assurance of Blücher's co-operation.

In one of the cavalry charges toward the close of the battle of Ligny, Blücher had been overthrown, ridden over, almost taken prisoner, and severely bruised; but the gallant old hussar was almost himself again next morning, thanks to copious doses of gin and rhubarb, for the effluvium of which restorative he apologised to Hardinge, as he embraced that wounded officer, in the extremely plain expression, 'Ich stinke etwas.' Gneisenau, his Chief of Staff, rather distrusted Wellington's good faith, and doubted whether it was not the safer policy for the Prussian army to fall back toward Liège. But Blücher prevailed over his lieutenants; and on the evening of the 17th all four Prussian corps, in a strength of about 90,000 men, were concentrated about Wavre, some nine miles east of the Waterloo position, full of ardour and confident of success. That same night Müffling informed Blücher by letter that the Anglo-Dutch army had occupied the position named, wherein to fight next day; and Blücher's loyal answer was that Bülow's corps at daybreak should march by way of St. Lambert to strike the French right; that Pirch's would follow in support; and that the other two would stand in readiness. This communication, which reached Wellington at head-quarters at 2 A.M. of the 18th, has been held to have been the first actually definite assurance of Prussian support. But there is a story, which Colonel Maurice has carefully investigated, and the testimony to the truth of

which is strong, to the effect that on the evening of the 17th the Duke rode over to Wavre to make sure from Blücher's own mouth that he could rely on Prussian support next day. This story first appeared in print in 1835, in Lockhart's *History of Napoleon*,² in some editions of which, however, it is not to be found. This may result from the circumstance that Lord Ellesmere, writing in the *Quarterly Review* under the inspiration of Wellington, stated that Lockhart was mistaken. The noble reviewer explains that the Duke, after a close examination of the field of the next day's battle, was riding to his quarters at Waterloo, when he was overtaken by the intelligence that there had been some fighting at Genappe, and that the enemy was pressing the rear of his army. He immediately rode back to it and remained on the ground till dark. But if Wellington visited Blücher at all on the evening of the 17th he did so after dark; and Lockhart's statement is strongly and circumstantially corroborated in the journal of the Rev. Julian Charles Young,³ who writes that when he was on a visit in 1833 to the Right Hon. Henry Pierrepont, that gentleman, returning direct from Strathfieldsaye, related a story which had just been told him by the Duke, illustrative of the bottom and endurance of the famous charger Copenhagen. He had ridden that good horse from 10 A.M. to 8 P.M. of the 17th of June, 1815, nor was Copenhagen's work then done for the night.

I wanted (continued the Duke) to see Blücher, that I might learn from his own lips at what hour it was probable he would be able to join forces with us the next day. Therefore, after a hasty dinner, I ordered Copenhagen to be resaddled, and told my man to get his own horse and accompany me to Wavre, where I had reason to believe old 'Forwards' was encamped. Now, Wavre being some twelve miles from Waterloo, I was not a little disgusted, on getting there, to find that the old fellow's tent was still two miles farther. However, I saw him, got the information I wanted from him, and made the best of my way homewards. Bad, however, was the best, for, by Jove, it was so dark that I fell into a deepish dyke by the roadside; and if it had not been for my orderly's assistance, I doubt if I should ever have got out. Thank God, there was no harm done either to horse or man.

In 1833, Wellington, then in his sixty-fifth year, had suffered no impairment of memory, and there is trustworthy testimony that the story was repeated by him to the late Mr. Justice Coltman in the course of a visit to Strathfieldsaye in 1838.

It is not proposed to give here any account of the memorable battle, the main incidents of which are familiar to all. It was of course Wellington's policy to take up a defensive attitude; both because of the incapacity of his raw soldiers for manœuvring, and since every minute before Napoleon should begin the offensive was

² *History of Napoleon*. By J. G. Lockhart. 1835. John Murray.

³ *Memoir of Charles Mayne Young; with Extracts from his Son's Journal*. By Julian Charles Young, M.A. 1861. Macmillan.

of value to the English commander, as it diminished the length of punishment he would have to endure single-handed. Further, he was numerically weaker than his adversary, while his troops were at once of divers nationalities and divers character; his main reliance was on his British troops and those of the King's German Legion. Napoleon for his part deliberately delayed to attack when celerity of action was all-important to him, disregarding the obvious probability of Prussian assistance to Wellington, and sanguinely expecting that Grouchy would either avert that support or reach him in time to neutralise it. Mr. Ropes has written an admirable criticism of the errors of the French in their contest with the Anglo-Dutch army, for which Ney was for the most part responsible, since from before 3 P.M. Napoleon was engrossed in preparing his right flank for defence against the Prussians. The issue of the great battle all men know. The badness of the roads retarded the Prussians greatly, and, save in Bulow's corps, there was no doubt considerable delay in starting; but the proverb that 'All's well that ends well' might have been coined with special application to the battle of Waterloo.

It only remains briefly to refer to Mr. Ropes's elaborate *résumé* of the melancholy adventures of Grouchy, on whom he may be regarded as too severe. Sent out too late on a species of roving commission, more was expected from him by Napoleon than could have been accomplished by any but a leader of the highest order, whereas Grouchy had never given evidence of being more than respectable. He received from his master neither instructions nor information from the time he left the field of Ligny until 4 P.M. of the 18th, nor until at Walhain he heard the cannonade of Waterloo had he any knowledge of the whereabouts of the French main army. On the morning of the 18th he was late in leaving Gembloux, on not the most direct route towards Wavre; instead of moving on which, when he heard the noise of the battle, he should no doubt have marched straight for the Dyle bridges at Ottignies and Moustier. Had he done so, spite of all delays, he could have been across the Dyle by 4 P.M. But when Mr. Ropes claims that thus Grouchy would have been able to arrest the march toward the battle-field of the two leading Prussian corps, one of which was four miles distant from him and the other still further away, he is too exacting. Had Grouchy made the vain attempt, the two nearer Prussian corps would have taken him in flank and headed him off, while Bulow and Ziethen pressed on to the battle-field. If he had marched straight and swiftly on the cannon-thunder of Waterloo, he might perhaps have been in time to effect something in the nature of a diversion, although it is extremely improbable that he could have materially changed the fortune of the day; but instead, acting on the letter of Napoleon's

instructions despatched to him on the morning of the battle, he moved on Wavre and engaged in a futile action with the Prussian 3rd Corps there. A shrewd and enterprising man would have at least seen into the spirit of his orders; Grouchy could not do this, and he is to be pitied rather than blamed.

ARCHIBALD FORBES.

A CONTEMPORARY LETTER ON THE BATTLE OF WATERLOO

THE subjoined letter was found a short time ago among some old papers at Hornby Castle. It is evidently a rough copy of one written by Sir Felton Hervey to Mr. Carroll of Carrollton, his wife's grandfather. It is not signed or dated, but it is in his handwriting, and is marked outside 'to Mr. Carroll;' it is written on old paper, with the watermark of 1815 upon it. Sir Felton Hervey was aide-de-camp to the Duke of Wellington; he died in 1819, and his widow married in 1828 the Marquis of Carnarthen, which accounts for the letter being at Hornby Castle.

The treaty referred to at the end of the letter has also been found. It is written in French, and has the original seals and signatures of the Baron de Bignon, le Comte Guilleminot, le Comte de Bondy, le Baron Mülling, Colonel F. B. Hervey, and the Maréchal Prince d'Eckmühl. It is dated July 3, 1815.

FANNY G. LEEDS.

My Dear Sir,—Louisa tells me you are anxious to have an account of the Battles of Waterloo and Quatre Bras. I do not know that I can give you much more information on the subject than what was contained in his Grace's official dispatch, but I can enter a little more into detail, which perhaps may interest you, and at all events I shall feel pleased in complying with your request.

During the month of May, Buonaparte assembled the chief and the best part of his disposable army on the Sambre, and between that river and the Meuse, and it was evident that the ground in front of the English and Prussian armies would be the scene of operations in the first instance, whichever party might first commence offensive operations.

If the Allies had commenced, the plan was that the different corps should advance simultaneously, and each and every one direct upon Paris. These corps were of course to be in communication, and to assist each other as occasion might offer in the best manner in their power. The object of this was that Buonaparte, even in the event of his being successful in any attack upon one or more corps of the

allied army, would be prevented from profiting to any extent by his victory, from the alarm he would be under for the fate of the capital in consequence of the continued advance of the remaining corps upon it, and his force was not adequate to oppose an efficient resistance to the whole of them, the allied army destined to invade France amounting to near 800,000 men, and Buonaparte had not certainly above half that number.

The Allies intended to commence offensive operations early in July, but between the 10th and 12th of June the Duke of Wellington heard that the French army was assembling on the Sambre and between that river and the Meuse, and on the 14th certain information was received that Buonaparte had joined them in person, and was preparing to advance upon Belgium. In the latter end of the month of May the French had destroyed all the roads leading from Charleroi and from that part of the Meuse into their territory, which gave rise to the idea that they would never advance in that direction, and that it was intended as a defensive measure, and I have no doubt but that this was the case.

But be this as it may, on the 15th June Buonaparte attacked the Prussian outposts, and drove them through Charleroi with some loss, and at the same time the advance of our corps composed of Dutch and Belgic troops in front of Frasnes, of which village they obtained and kept possession, the Prince of Orange having fallen back upon Quatre Bras.

It was not till the evening of the 15th that the Duke was informed of these movements, and still thinking it probable that these attacks were only a feint, and that the real intention of the enemy was to penetrate by Mons (from which attempt I believe he was only deterred by the temporary works thrown up for the defence of that fortress in the preceding months, and which would have checked his progress for some days), he merely ordered the different divisions of the army to assemble at their several alarm posts, and wait for further orders; but it becoming evident from information received during the night that Charleroi and Frasnes were the real points of attack, the troops in the neighbourhood of Brussels, consisting of the third and fifth British divisions and the Brunswick and Nassau corps, were ordered to advance at daybreak in the morning of the 16th June to Quatre Bras to reinforce the Belgian troops; and the remainder of the army (with the exception of a corps under Prince Frederick of Orange and one brigade of British infantry under Sir C. Colville, who were left in the neighbourhood of Halle to defend that road to Brussels) likewise received orders to march in the same direction.

There was a ball at Brussels, at the Duchess of Richmond's, that night (which I only mention because it was so much talked of), at which numbers of the officers were present, who quitted the ball to join their divisions which had commenced their march before they

arrived at their quarters, and some of them were killed the next day in the same dress they had worn at the ball.

The Duke left Brussels between six and seven o'clock on the morning of the 16th, passed the troops on their march to Quatre Bras, and reconnoitred the enemy in front of that place, after which we went to Prince Blucher, whom we found also reconnoitring the enemy, and it was now evident that we should be attacked in the course of the day, in consequence orders were sent to the remainder of the army to advance immediately to Quatre Bras. Before they could arrive, however, both the attacks upon Blucher and upon us had commenced, and with great vigour; but the resistance which we opposed to them was so vigorous that they could make no impression, though they made repeated and most furious attacks both with infantry and cavalry upon our position, which was most important from covering the road to Nivelles on the right, by which some of our divisions were marching, and to Sombreffe on the left, by which we communicated with Prince Blucher. Towards six o'clock in the evening two other divisions of our army and some cavalry arrived upon the ground and rendered us perfectly secure from all future attempts, and just before dark an officer came from the Prussians to inform the Duke that they had retaken Ligny and St. Amand, from which they had been driven in the morning, and that everything was going on well. Soon after dark we went to Genappe, where headquarters were established for the night, and the Duke intended to propose to Prince Blucher to attack the enemy conjointly in the morning. Not long after we had reached Genappe, some rumours reached us that the Prussians had been defeated with considerable loss, and were retreating in the greatest disorder and confusion.

This news, however, was not confirmed during the night. The officer dispatched by Blucher with the intelligence having been wounded and unable to proceed, it was not till the morning of the 17th, when Sir Alexander Gordon, one of the Duke's aides-de-camp, who had been sent to communicate with the Prussians, returned, having fallen in with the rear-guard, that it was ascertained that they had been completely beaten and were retiring upon Wavre, where they meant to take up a position. This retreat of the Prussian corps rendered a corresponding one on our part necessary, and orders were immediately issued for the retreat of our corps, which, however, did not commence till ten o'clock, and was so admirably conducted that the enemy did not think it prudent to interrupt it, and the whole of the infantry marched into the position of Waterloo without firing a shot.

The cavalry remained upon the ground till three o'clock in the afternoon, when the Duke observing the enemy's cavalry gaining our flanks ordered them also to retire, and after some sharp skirmishing in the neighbourhood of Genappe joined the army in the position.

This evening there was a most tremendous storm of thunder, lightning, and rain between three and four o'clock, which was a most serious inconvenience to our troops, having rendered the ground extremely wet and prevented the men from lighting fires during the night, but this was full as injurious to the enemy as to us, who had to complete their march, and I should imagine it was not without great difficulty that they got up all their artillery, &c. &c.

On the morning of the 18th at daybreak, considerable movement was discovered in the French bivouac, but it was so foggy that nothing could be distinguished clearly, but towards seven o'clock, when it cleared a little, we observed the army forming their columns of attack, and about this time the Duke of Wellington came on the ground and rode along the position, making such alterations in the disposition of the troops, and giving such orders as he judged necessary.

The army was formed : here refer to plan and dispatch.

Blucher perceived about ten o'clock.

At ten o'clock first shot fired.

DESCRIPTION OF THE BATTLE

The army under the Duke was formed as marked in the accompanying plan, and upon this point I must beg to refer you to his Grace's dispatch, which is the best possible description and authority.

Between ten and eleven o'clock in the morning, the Prussian advance of cavalry was discovered about seven miles on our extreme left in the direction of Ohain, and we then hoped that they would come into play about one or two o'clock in the day, but in this expectation we were disappointed. Whilst engaged in watching the advance of the Prussians, about eleven o'clock a signal gun was fired by the enemy, and they commenced their preparations of attack.

The first was directed against Hougomont, and it was conducted by Jerome Buonaparte, but as soon as the columns showed themselves from under a hill where they had assembled, a battery of 26 pieces of cannon opened upon them with such effect that they were forced again to seek the shelter of the valley, and abandoned the attack in that direction.

About half-past twelve o'clock they made a desperate attack upon the centre and left centre of our position, which was met and defended in the finest style by the fifth division, under Sir Thomas Picton, who fell. When the attack had been repulsed by the infantry, a most brilliant charge was made by the brigade of cavalry under the command of Sir William Ponsonby, in conjunction with the brigade of household troops under Lord Edward Somerset, who had repulsed the Cuirassiers who had advanced along the *chaussée*, and who were a little broken by an abattis which had been made upon it. The result of

this was the capture of about three thousand men and two eagles, and after this there was a partial lull; but Buonaparte was not a man to be satisfied with this first check, and from two o'clock till dark it was nothing but a continued succession of attacks much of the same nature the one with the other, which would be uninteresting in the detail.

They were chiefly made by the enemy's cavalry, and were repulsed by the infantry formed into squares of battalions, and latterly, when our loss had been very severe, by a line formed four deep. In these attacks the cavalry were frequently in momentary possession of our advanced guns; but our cavalry moved through the intervals of the squares and invariably succeeded in driving them back, and the French infantry were prevented from co-operating with their cavalry by the well directed fire of our artillery, which were only permitted to fire upon columns, and were positively forbidden to engage *en duel* with the enemy's artillery; but leaving some one to look out for the advance of columns, the artillerymen lay on the ground for protection till called upon.

During the whole of the day the attack upon Hougomont was continued, and the French accounts state that 60,000 men were employed in this operation. This house was defended in the most gallant manner by detachments from the Guards and some of the Nassau troops, and never at any time had we 10,000 men employed.

About five o'clock in the evening, the Prussians, whose march had been delayed by the badness of the roads and the impediments which they met with in the narrow *debouché* of St. Lambert, through which it was necessary for them to advance, began to draw upon themselves the attention of a part of the enemy's force.

Buonaparte, now seeing a prospect of the unpropitious termination of the battle, determined upon making one more desperate effort upon our position, with a view, if possible, to carry it before any considerable force of the Prussians should come upon the ground.

He consequently advanced at the head of the Vieille Garde, and a desperate conflict ensued, which at length terminated in their complete overthrow.

Lord Wellington, anxiously watching the result of this gigantic effort, and with his wonted quickness perceiving a certain degree of confusion in their rear, which indicated a general retreat, ordered the immediate advance of the whole army without any attention to formation, and we continued pressing the enemy till ten o'clock, when, falling in with the Prussian columns at a few straggling houses called *Maison du Roi*, we abandoned the pursuit to them, and the Duke returned to Waterloo between eleven and twelve o'clock at night.

During the battle and pursuit, as you will have seen, above 120 pieces of cannon, the whole personal baggage of Buonaparte, and the greater part of the *matériel* of the army fell into our hands; in short, the annals of history afford no example of a more complete

and decisive victory, inasmuch as our subsequent march to Paris was in no way impeded, and with the exception of the taking of Peronne and Cambray, which were necessary for the security of our communications, not a shot was fired by us during the whole of the advance to Paris. The Prussians had a trifling affair in the neighbourhood of Compiègne in which they took six pieces of cannon, and some others at St. Germain and Meudon, which, however, were of no material importance, and on the third of July a Convention was made for the military occupation of Paris, in which I was charged with full power by his Grace the Duke of Wellington, and we took possession of the town on the seventh of July.

ASPECTS OF TENNYSON

IV

THE CLASSICAL POEMS

THE most superficial reader of Tennyson, if he has any knowledge of the classics himself, must be struck by the scholarship of the poet. Browning answered to Macaulay's definition of a scholar. He could read Plato with his feet on the fender. Tennyson, like Macaulay himself, was a great deal more than that. His honours at Cambridge were confined to the prize poem, which was English, which he afterwards regretted having written, and which some of his more zealous admirers declare to have been chosen by mistake. I do not know that Mr. Swinburne greatly distinguished himself in the schools at Oxford. Yet there are very few Ireland scholars who could have written the Greek elegiacs at the beginning of *Atalanta in Calydon*. But although, perhaps because, Tennyson never read hard for a classical examination, he could at any time have passed one. He was familiar with the niceties of scholarship, as well as with the masterpieces of literature; he was a competent and an interested critic of the Greek and Latin verse into which his own poems were rendered; he could even appreciate that elaborate 'Olympian' which was 'rolled from out the ghost of Pindar in him' by Professor Jebb. It is not a peculiarity of Tennyson, but a characteristic of all scholars who are neither pedants nor sciolists, that he, and they, appear shallow to the shallow, and deep to the profound. What Swift said of books in general is especially true of the classics in particular. Many men treat them as they treat lords. They learn their titles, and then boast of their acquaintance.

Enthusiastic lovers of golf have been heard to justify their enthusiasm by alleging that their favourite game can be played from morning till night, from the 1st of January to the 31st of December, and from the schoolroom to the grave. The boy who loves Homer and Virgil makes friends for life. They are no fair weather com-

panions. They remained with Tennyson till his death. They remain with Mr. Gladstone still. They come unbidden to the lips of the great orator. They moulded and coloured the verse of the great poet. 'I that loved them since my days began,' he says of the 'Mantovano.' In his last volume, the aftermath of a glorious harvest, he returns to the old subject of Paris and CEnone. The half-century which rolled between the first CEnone and the second had not diminished the reverent affection of the author for the old names and characters, the forms more real than living man, nurslings of immortality. Quintus Calaber was not a sublime poet. He continued Homer neither well nor wisely. He is perhaps better known as Quintus Smyrnæus, and is scarcely worth knowing at all. Tennyson first described CEnone deserted by Paris, as Ariadne was deserted by Theseus, but with no Dionysus to console her. Everybody knows the opening lines.

There lies a vale in Ida, lovelier
Than all the valleys of Ionian hills.
The swimming vapour slopes athwart the glen,
Puts forth an arm, and creeps from pine to pine,
And loiters, slowly drawn. On either hand
The lawns and meadow-edges, midway down,
Hang rich in flowers, and far below them roars
The long brook falling thro' the clov'n ravine
In cataract after cataract to the sea.
Behind the valley topmost Gargarus
Stands up and takes the morning: but in front
The gorges, opening wide apart, reveal
Troas and Ilion's column'd citadel,
The crown of Troas.

The Shakespearean 'takes the morning' was probably intended to suggest the flowers which 'take the winds of March with beauty' in *A Winter's Tale*. The cataract reappears in the posthumous poem, or rather in the dedication of it to the Master of Balliol.

Hear my cataract's
Downward thunder in hollow and glen.

It was the judgment of Paris which, according to the legend, disturbed his married life with CEnone. The subject is as familiar to a certain class of Greek poets as Susannah and the Elders to a certain class of Italian painters. Its later developments may be found in some epigrams of the Greek Anthology not quoted in the admirable selection of Mr. Mackail. Tennyson's description of Aphrodite is a marvel of delicacy and refinement. She is the Uranian, not the Pandemic goddess.

Idalian Aphrodite, beautiful,
Fresh as the foam, new-bathed in Paphian wells,
With rosy slender fingers, backward drew

From her warm brows and bosom her deep hair
 Ambrosial, golden round her lucid throat
 And shoulders : from the violets her light foot
 Shone rosy-white, and o'er her rounded form,
 Between the shadows of the vine-bunches,
 Floated the glowing sunlights, as she moved.

M. Taine considers that Tennyson could not have been a great poet, because he was a respectable man, so unlike Alfred de Musset. M. Taine might have been acquainted with an English imitator of De Musset, who would have equally disturbed his critical equilibrium. Probably the most hackneyed lines in *Enone* are two which Tennyson altered, not, as I venture to think, and as I believe I have the authority of Lord Coleridge in thinking, for the better.

Self-reverence, self-knowledge, self-control,
 These three alone lead men to sovereign power.

So Pallas is now made to express herself, and one cannot quite say that the anachronism is as glaring as when in *Troilus and Cressida* Hector quotes Aristotle at the siege of Troy. But what Pallas used to say was—

Self-reverence, self-knowledge, self-control,
 Are the three hinges of the gate of life.

Why Tennyson rejected that noble and simple line one would like to know. What he would have said if anybody else had suggested the emendation, one may easily conjecture. Yet he did not always neglect the remarks of irresponsible, indolent reviewers. Iphigenia, in *A Dream of Fair Women*, originally described her own fate in the following words—

One drew a sharp knife through my tender throat,
 Slowly, and nothing more.

'What more did she want?' asked a flippant and irreverent critic. Tennyson felt the difficulty of answering that question. He gave it up, and wrote the present version :

The bright death quivered at the victim's throat ;
 Touched ; and I knew no more.

In Euripides, or what has come down to us as Euripides, the priest is about to perform the operation when a deer is miraculously substituted for Iphigenia, who mysteriously disappears and is removed by Artemis to Tauri, in the Chersonese, the modern Balaclava. But the last hundred lines of the *Iphigenia in Aulis* are undoubtedly spurious. That Tennyson was a student of Euripides can be proved from his poems. It has been frequently and truly said that Euripides was the most human of the Greek dramatists. He was also the most political and the most modern. He was the

special favourite of that brightest and manliest of scholars, Charles Fox. Macaulay lived to repent, so far at least as Euripides was concerned, of his paradox that tragedy is corrupted by eloquence, and comedy by wit. It was German pedantry misunderstanding Aristophanic humour that begot the idea of the inferiority of Euripides. Between Tennyson and Euripides there was the tie of restless and yet reverent speculation about the significance of life and the destiny of men. Both of them shocked the orthodoxy of their day, such as it was. In rebuking Euripides it spoke through the mouth of Aristophanes. In rebuking Tennyson it spoke through the mouth of Liddon.

There lives more faith in honest doubt,
Believe me, than in half the creeds.

was repugnant to the Canon of St. Paul's. The gospel according to the great comedian was not tolerant of such sentiments as the suggestion that life was death, and that what was called death was really life.

*τίς δ' οἶδεν εἰ ζῆν τοῦθ' ὃ κέκληται θανεῖν,
τὸ ζῆν δὲ θνήσκειν ἐστί ;—Fragment 830.*

In *The Coming of Arthur* there is a passage describing the King's services to Cameliard, which seems to me thoroughly Euripidean both in style and substance.

Then he drave
The heathen, after, slew the beast, and felled
The forest, letting in the sun.

It was the special mission of Heracles, *ἐξημερῶσαι γαῖαν*, to civilise the land, and the record of Arthur's exploits recalls more than one of the labours of Heracles. 'The letting in of light on this choked land' is Mr. Browning's very free paraphrase of *ἐξημερῶσαι γαῖαν*.

'The Death of Enone' represents Paris wounded by the poisoned arrow of Philoctetes, 'lame, crooked, reeling, livid,' but confident that his wife would keep her promise and exercise her power. The scene is thoroughly Tennysonian.

'Enone, by thy love, which once was mine,
Help! heal me! I am poison'd to the heart.'
'And I to mine,' she said. 'Adulterer,
Go back to thine adulteress and die!'

Homer, curiously enough, makes only a single reference, and that a very indirect one, to the judgment of Paris. In the last book of the *Iliad* he describes the gods as pitying Hector for the indignities cast upon him by Achilles, whom Paris afterwards slew, and instigating Hermes to steal his body away. But Here and Athene joined Poseidon in his implacable hostility to the Trojans, because 'Alexander,' that is, Paris, 'rejected those goddesses when they came to him in the inner court, and preferred her who gratified

his passions in so fatal a way.' It is to be observed that these divinities displayed their charms in strict seclusion, Paris being the only male spectator. The fatal gift was, of course, Helen, ἑλέναυς ἑλάνδρος ἐλέπτολις, as Æschylus calls her, whose face it was that 'launched a thousand ships and burned the topless towers of Ilion,' whose form and features made the Trojans exclaim, when they saw her on the walls of Troy,

οὐ νέμεσις Τρῶας καὶ εὐκνήμιδας Ἀχαιοὺς
τοιγῇδ' ἀμφὶ γυναικὶ πολὺν χρόνον ἄλγεα πύσχειν.

That is, perhaps, the finest compliment in all literature, and may be compared with the remarks which, according to Brantôme, were made upon Margaret of Valois by the Spanish soldiers of Don Juan. Enone is not Homeric. Her marriage is too early for the *Iliad* to take account of it. Her death, like the death of Paris himself, is too late. The Gargarus of which Tennyson speaks in the earlier of the two poems is the Virgilian Gargara, a neuter plural.

Ipsa suas mirantur Gargara messes.

But Tennyson has authority for the singular, which occurs in the *Iliad*. He is not easily to be caught out in a classical blunder.

Mr. Churton Collins has treated exhaustively the interesting subject of Tennyson's indebtedness to former poets, especially the poets of Greece and Rome. But Tennyson's utterance was always a voice, never an echo. The lovely passage in the *Passing of Arthur* which describes

the island-valley of Avilion;
Where falls not hail, or rain, or any snow,
Nor ever wind blows loudly,

was obviously suggested by the prophecy of Proteus to Menelaus in the fourth book of the *Odyssey*, thus translated by Abraham Moore:—

Thee to the Elysian plains, earth's farthest end,
Where Rhadamanthus dwells, the gods shall send,
Where mortals easiest pass the careless hour.
No lingering winters there, nor snow, nor shower,
But Ocean, ever to refresh mankind,
Breathes the shrill spirit of the Western wind.

But perhaps Tennyson shines most brightly when he takes a few lines from a Greek or Roman author and amplifies them into a poem. The *Lotos Eaters*, with its noble choric song, sprang, as Athene sprang from the head of Zeus, from these four verses in the earliest and the greatest among all works of travel and adventure:—

τῶν δ' ὅστις λωτοῖο φάγοι μελιηδέα καρπὸν
οὐκέτ' ἀπαγγεῖλαι πάλιν ἤθελεν, οὐδὲ νέεσθαι·
ἀλλ' αὐτοῦ βούλοντο μετ' ἀνδράσι λωτοφάγοισιν
λωτὸν ἐρεπτόμενοι μενέμεν, νόστου τε λαθέσθαι.

‘But whosoever of them ate the honey-sweet fruit of the lotus was neither willing to bring me word again, nor to depart; nay, their desire was to remain there browsing on the lotus with the lotus-eaters themselves, forgetful of all return.’

The resources of Ulysses were not exhausted. He did not argue with his too susceptible friends. He seized them and put them under hatches, and carried them out of the reach of temptation without asking their leave. He left them no more leisure to reflect on those old faces of their infancy,

Heap'd over with a mound of grass,
Two handfuls of white dust, shut in an urn of brass.

This is surely one of Tennyson's most magical feats of poetical compression. Far more finely and completely than Horace's *pulvis et umbra sumus*, it expresses the idea of death common to Horace and to Homer. That, and the ‘eyes grown dim with gazing on the pilot stars,’ are gems as rich in lustre as they are perfect in form.

Ulysses is the contrast and counterpart of the *Lotos Eaters*. It is the glorification of enterprise and adventure. Its motto might be that wonderful line in the *Odyssey*—

πλεῖν ἐπὶ οἶνοπα πόντον ἐπ' ἄλλοθρόους ἀνθρώπους.

Like *Enone*, or rather the two *Enones*, it is not Homeric. The *Odyssey* leaves Ulysses in Ithaca at rest after so many wanderings, at peace after so many wars. We have indeed an intimation of his death, inserted, like the death of Captain Shandy, out of its place and before its time. It is in the shape of a prophecy by Teiresias, who says that just before the end Ulysses will meet a man with a winnowing-fan on his shoulder, and that then his death will come to him ‘gently, very gently from the sea.’ Teiresias only predicts one more event in the career of Ulysses after the slaughter of the suitors with which the *Odyssey* concludes. It is the discovery of a people who have no ships, are unacquainted with the sea, and eat no salt with their food. The familiar words in St. John's Revelation, ‘There shall be no more sea,’ seem to connect the symbol of the sea with the idea of separation, as it is so often connected in the literature of the ancient world. To Horace, perhaps even more than to Homer, it was the *oceanus dissociabilis*. An epitaph in the old churchyard of St. Pancras, now destroyed, which dated, I believe, from the seventeenth century, contained the line—

When death no more divides, as doth the sea.

Perhaps the last survival of this old faith in the pathlessness of the ocean was the late Lord Derby's offer to eat the first steamer which crossed the Atlantic. The prophecy of Teiresias is obscure. But

there may be some plausibility in the suggestion that the famous traveller who, in the earlier editions of Tennyson's poem, 'had become a name for ever roaming with a hungry heart,' was to end his days as far as possible from the disturbing element on which he had passed so many of them. It is an odd coincidence that Tennyson in this, perhaps the most artistically perfect of all his works, should have thus described the time of the new departure from Ithaca :—

The lights begin to twinkle from the rocks :
The long day wanes : the slow moon climbs : the deep
Moans round with many voices.

For the twilight was the time when the Hómeric mariner did not sail, if he could possibly help it. He started in the morning and always endeavoured to find some landing-place for the night.

That Tennyson was indebted to Dante for the idea of *Ulysses* is sufficiently obvious. Dante shows no sympathy with 'the man of many shifts,' as Mr. Lang and Professor Butcher ambiguously describe their hero. His restlessness is treated as a crime, and he is licked in hell by a wandering flame. When he told Virgil the end of his career, and how he was wrecked under a huge mountain not foreseen by Teiresias, Virgil might consistently have disputed the accuracy of the narrative. It is not classical. The second journey of Ulysses was told as set forth in my learned friend Miss Jane Harrison's *Myths of the Odyssey* by Eugammon of Cyrene. Eugammon is said to have lived in the sixth century before Christ, and to have borrowed from an earlier work by Musæus, whose existence, however, like William Tell's, is doubtful, called the *Thesprotis*. We have nothing of Eugammon's poem except some fragments preserved by the grammarian Proclus, who lived about six hundred years later. The *Thesprotis* is mentioned by Pausanias the antiquary, and by Clement the theologian. The schoolboy's desire to 'finish the story' is as old as most other things. Tennyson took a noble advantage of a simple and general curiosity. Nobody ever read through the *Odyssey* without feeling sorry when he came to the end, and wishing that there were at least twelve more books. The *Odyssey* closes with the intervention of Athene, the 'patron saint' of Ulysses, to save the rebels of Ithaca from entire extermination at the hands of their insulted chief. But the reader feels that there must be fresh exploits in store for

this gray spirit, yearning in desire
To follow knowledge, like a sinking star,
Beyond the utmost bound of human thought.

An interval of about twenty years elapsed between the publication of *Ulysses* and the publication of *Tithonus*. He must be a very acute and a very self-confident critic who would undertake to pronounce an authoritative judgment upon their respective merits.

Tithonus was inspired by the Homeric Hymn to Aphrodite, which in style and genius it greatly excels. Even Mr. Gladstone, who holds manfully by the unity and common origin of the *Iliad* and the *Odyssey*, does not, I think, suggest that the Homeric Hymns were written by Homer, or by another person of the same name. The prayer of Eôs, vulgarly called Aurora, for Tithonus is a melancholy example of 'ignorance in asking.' This beaming and radiant goddess became enamoured of Tithonus, and humanly speaking ran away with him. By way of a wedding present or portion to her husband she prayed Zeus to confer upon him the gift of immortality. Zeus consented as readily as George the Third when he was asked for an Irish peerage. He nodded and said it was all right, and the bride departed in the highest possible spirits. It was not the business of Zeus to remind her that she had forgotten the prayer against old age. She found she had married a Struldbrug—there can be no anachronism in the case of goddesses—and she did not like it. She took her own measures, and the later lot of Tithonus was not a happy one. The best of the Homeric Hymns, the Hymn to Hermes, was admirably translated by Shelley. Tennyson took the situation as he found it in the Hymn to Aphrodite, and made out of it a glorious poem worth all the Homeric Hymns put together. The Hymn describes almost prosaically how Tithonus is constantly babbling in a weak, tremulous voice, and how the vigour which was once in his well-knit limbs has forsaken them. His wife tells him with unflinching frankness that if he had been like that she would not have chosen him to live for ever among the immortals, himself as immortal as them. Eôs would perhaps have improved on Donna Julia, and held that it was better to have four husbands of five-and-twenty than one of a hundred. It is not a pleasant nor a romantic picture. It contrasts very forcibly with the devotion of Penelope and her prayer, which I had the privilege of hearing Mr. Gladstone roll out in his organ voice to the Eton boys.

μηδέ τι χείρονος ἀνδρὸς εὐφραίνοιμι νόημα.

She prays that she may never cheer the thought of a meaner man, but carry her reverence for Ulysses into the gloom of the nether world. Tennyson, with his delicacy, his purity, the magic of his genius, lifts us into a higher sphere than the Hymn's with

Alas! for this gray shadow, once a man,
 So glorious in his beauty, and thy choice,
 Who madest him thy chosen, that he seem'd
 To his great heart none other than a god.
 I asked thee, 'Give me Immortality!'
 Then didst thou grant mine asking with a smile,
 Like wealthy men who care not how they give.
 But thy strong Hours indignant work'd their wills,
 And beat me down and marr'd and wasted me,

And tho' they could not end me, left me maim'd,
 To dwell in presence of immortal youth,
 Immortal age beside immortal youth,
 And all I was in ashes.

If we want to get above that level, we must go to Homer himself, or to Shakespeare.

The influence of classical poetry may be traced almost everywhere in Tennyson. The exquisite quatrain in the *Palace of Art*—

Or sweet Europa's mantle flew unclasp'd
 From off her shoulder backward borne,
 From one hand droop'd a crocus : one hand grasp'd
 The mild bull's golden horn—

is an echo of Moschus, the author of the famous lines—perhaps the finest in later Greek literature—paraphrased by Wordsworth in the beautiful after-thought to the Sonnets on the Duddon. The parallel between Moschus and Tennyson is illustrated in Mr. St. John Thackeray's *Greek Anthology*, a book with which I would cheerfully face a desert island or a contested election.

After *Tithonus* comes *Lucretius*, the third poem in the classical triplet or trio so justly celebrated in English poetry. We know, if possible, less about the life of Lucretius than we know about the life of Shakespeare. The story that his wife, Lucilia, gave him a philtre which drove him mad, and that in his madness he destroyed himself, has been adopted by Tennyson. But it rests upon no earlier or better authority than St. Jerome's. The *De Rerum Naturâ*, as we have it, is unfinished. But it almost certainly remains as the author left it. It certainly contains no trace of insanity, and is incomparably the finest philosophical poem in the world, though the philosophy often gets in the way of the verse. I understand that the great men who write in *Mind* for an audience fit, though few, admit Lucretius to have been a real philosopher. He was undoubtedly a poet, a patriot, and a man who had tasted, like Jacques, the pleasures of life. He seems to have been haunted and beset by those sensuous and ignoble phantoms from which Sophocles in his old age rejoiced that he had escaped. But they did not interfere with the vigour or the minuteness of his abstract speculations. Like Cicero and Catullus, and most contemporary men of letters, he hated Cæsar. Perhaps they detested him none the less cordially because he was as good a judge of literature as any of them. 'The *genus irritabile vatum* does not like a statesman and a man of the world who can turn phrases with a professional quill-driver. But whatever may be thought of the story which Tennyson has caught up, there cannot be two opinions about the intensely Lucretian character of his poem. Only a great poet, who was also a great scholar, could have so thoroughly penetrated the

secret and so ably expressed the essence of those mighty and marvellous hexameters. The very rugged strength and majesty of lines compared with which Virgil seems almost tame even to Virgilians may be felt in such blank verse, at once bold and splendid, as—

A riotous confluence of watercourses;
Blanching and billowing in a hollow of it,

or the still more tremendous

Ruining along the illimitable inane.

Only a consummate master of blank verse dares to write it in that fashion. The dreams of Lucretius are all suggested by passages of his own work, especially by the curious and unique analysis of love at the end of the fourth book. Lucretius was no Ovid. He abhorred licentiousness, at least in its grosser forms. But it besieged him, conflicting as it did with the plain living and high thinking taught and practised by his much-maligned master, Epicurus. He believed no more in an oread than Selden believed in a witch. But he could fancy

how the sun delights
To glance and shift about her slippery sides,
And rosy knees and supple roundedness,
And budded bosom-peaks.

Nothing, again, could be more Lucretian in tone and even in language than the denial of the sun's divinity or personality,

Since he never sware,
Except his wrath were wreak'd on wretched man,
That he would only shine among the dead
Hereafter; tales! for never yet on earth
Could dead flesh creep, or bits of roasting ox
Moan round the spit—nor knows he what he sees.

Or take again these verses on the Epicurean gods

who haunt
The lucid interspace of world and world,
Where never creeps a cloud or moves a wind,
Nor ever falls the least white star of snow,
Nor even lowest roll of thunder moans,
Nor sound of human sorrow mounts to mar
Their sacred everlasting calm.

This is an excellent paraphrase of

Apparet divum numen, sedesque quietæ,
Quas neque concutiant venti nec nubila nimbis
Aspergunt, neque nix acri concreta pruina
Cana cadens violat, semperque innubilus æther
Integit, et large diffuso lumine rident.

But perhaps Tennyson's handling of his subject is most felicitous when he comes to deal with the famous invocation of Venus at the

beginning of the *De Rerum Naturâ*. It has been objected that this introductory passage, with all its eloquence and grandeur, is inconsistent with the Epicurean doctrine, not that there are no gods, but that they are careless of mankind. In Tennyson Lucretius demands of Venus whether she is plaguing him because he sought to deprive her of the sacrifices offered her by her votaries,

Forgetful how my rich procemion makes
Thy glory fly along the Italian field
In lays that will outlast thy deity.

Epicurus was neither an atheist nor a polytheist. He was rather what is now termed an agnostic. The Venus upon whom Lucretius called was not the heroine of the *Judgment of Paris*, nor the love-sick temptress of Adonis, but the spirit of Nature, the generative and recuperative principle, the universal mother. Yet there is an undertone of reference to the mistress of the God of War, whom he exhorts

To kiss thy Mavors, roll thy tender arms
Round him, and keep him from the lust of blood
That makes a steaming slaughter-house of Rome.

The two best commentators on Lucretius are Tennyson and Munro.

It is natural to associate the stanzas to Virgil with the lines on Catullus, which are headed *Frater Ave atque Vale*. Yet they are very different in scope, in purpose, and in treatment. The history of the earlier poem—they were both afterwards included in the same volume—is instructive. It might, without much perversion of language, be called task work. For it was ‘written at the request of the Mantuans for the nineteenth centenary of Virgil’s death.’ Yet in the truest sense it was a labour of love, as those responsible for the invitation must have known that it would be. ‘I that loved thee since my day began’ was no news to any one acquainted with Virgil and with Tennyson. To call Tennyson an English Theocritus is to my mind absurd. To call him an English Virgil would be misleading without a good deal of qualification. But there would be truth and point in the remark. Virgil’s life was a comparatively short one. He never revised his tale of Troy. He did not wish it to be published, even after his death. He was a modest man, as Tennyson used emphatically to say. But it would tax the most learned and accomplished of modern humanists to suggest what Virgil would have done to the *Æneid* before publication. There are some unfinished lines, and exceedingly deplorable efforts have been made by various commentators to complete them. These would of course have been rounded off. For the rest, one must have a nose which would detect the Patavinity of Livy to perceive the roughness of the *Æneid* as compared with the *Georgics* or the *Eclogues*.

All the chosen coin of fancy

Flashing out from many a golden phrase

is as fully applicable to that 'ocean-roll of rhythm' which 'sounds for ever of Imperial Rome,' as to the

Chanter of the Pollio, glorying

In the blissful years again to be,

Summers of the snakeless meadow,

Unlaborious earth and oarless sea.

The justice and the nicety of Tennyson's critical faculty are shown in his preferring Virgil to Hesiod, but not to Theocritus or to Homer.

Landscape-lover, lord of language,

More than he that sang the Works and Days.

Nothing of the same kind is said about the *Iliad* or the *Odyssey*, or those wonderful idylls which, unlike *Tithonus*, flourish not in immortal age, but in immortal youth. I am sometimes tempted to wish that Matthew Arnold had let Theocritus alone. So many people seem to think that Gorgo and Praxinoë are Theocritus. They might as well believe that Mrs. Quickly and Doll Tearsheet are Shakspeare. I should think the rising generation must be getting rather tired of Calverley's English and Latin puns. His sympathetic rendering into excellent verse of the sweetest pastoral poet the world ever saw seems to be strangely neglected. Some superficial grumblers condemn Virgil because he is imitative, because, in fact, he came after Theocritus and Homer. 'A man should write his own English,' said a master of style. Virgil wrote his own Latin, though he was not ashamed of showing that he had read Lucretius. He had the same subtle power over his instrument as Paganini or Joachim. But he requires no defence. The late Professor Sellar showed, in a brilliant essay, that in all ages and in all countries men of every condition, class, and creed had found that Virgil expressed their inmost soul better than they could express it themselves. No Englishman should be indifferent to a writer who has been quoted by illustrious Englishmen in every crisis of modern history, by Walpole and Pulteney, by Carteret and Chatham, by Fox and Pitt, by Gladstone and Lowe, by the most eminent statesmen in

the northern island,

Sunder'd once from all the human race.

Toto divisos orbe Britannos.

One of the most Tennysonian passages in Virgil is that perfect little picture of childish love at first sight which was the special favourite of Voltaire.

Sæpibus in nostris parvam te roscida mala,

Dux ego vester eram, vidi cum matre legentem.

Alter ab undecimo tum me jam accēperat annus,
 Jam poteram ab terra fragiles contingere ramos :
 Ut vidi! ut perii! ut me malus abstulit error!¹

Virgil copied this sketch from the wooing of Polyphemus and Galatea in the Eleventh Idyll of Theocritus. But he amplified and improved it. Compare *The Miller's Daughter*.

For you remember, you had set,
 That morning on the casement-edge,
 A long green box of mignonette,
 And you were leaning from the ledge :
 And when I raised my eyes, above
 They met with two so full and bright—
 Such eyes—I swear to you, my love,
 That these have never lost their light.

The nine beautiful verses entitled *Frater Ave atque Vale* are not the only tribute which Tennyson paid to Catullus. The hendecasyllables, 'O ye chorus of indolent reviewers,' are of course composed not only 'in a metre of Catullus' but in Catullus's favourite metre. The galliambic rhythm of *Boadicea* is borrowed from one of the most magnificent of all Catullus's poems, the celebrated *Attis*, which the modern world admires and must admire in spite of its theme. I believe that if one wishes to be pedantic one calls these lines 'Ionics a Minore with an anacrusis.' The grief of Catullus for the death of his brother was deep, simple, and lasting. He could not keep it to himself. It broke out not only in the funeral hymn from which Tennyson took the concluding words for his title, but in other poems on other subjects, notably in the dedication to his friend Hortalus, probably Hortensius, of his translation from the *Hair of Berenice* by Callimachus. He there says that he loved his brother more than life, that, in the language of Tennyson, he 'loved him and loves him for ever.' He does not go on with Tennyson to declare that 'the dead are not dead but alive.' He asserts elsewhere the 'exact contrary. But his *te semper amabo* is emphatic, and scarcely Roman. 'Tenderest of Roman poets,' as Tennyson calls him, he was. Strictly speaking, perhaps, the praise is not high. Horace's ode on the death of Quintilius is not really tender. It is partly the sham stoicism of an Epicurean and partly the sham religion of a materialist, or, in his own delightful euphemism, 'parcus deorum cultor et infrequens'—as we might say, one who seldom troubled the 'pew-openers. Catullus is a strange and interesting phenomenon. He was ruined by a woman, the Lesbia of his poems, the Clodia of history. He

'I saw you with my mother in our garden when you were a little girl, picking apples with the dew on them. I had shown you the way. I was just twelve years old. I could already reach the twigs from the ground to break them. How I looked at you! how my heart stopped! how I caught the madness, and what a dance it led me!'

found out her true character only when, as Dr. Johnson says of Pope and Patty Blunt, it was too late to transfer his confidence or his affection. He bewailed his weakness, and implored the assistance of Heaven to rescue him from the tyranny of a shameful love in verse which is but the more telling for the abrupt uncouthness of its pathos and its strength. His hold upon modern sentiment, if sentiment, or anything except 'the steamship and the railway,' can be modern, is chiefly due to his fraternal piety and to the singular affection with which he regarded his home.

Sweet Catullus's all but island olive-silvery Sirmio has been celebrated in immortal strains. Mr. Robinson Ellis considers that Catullus underrated Sirmio, which seems odd. He has certainly given it undying fame.

So long as men can breathe, or eyes can see,
So long lives this, and this gives life to thee.

Here is the *O venusta Sirmio*, quoted by Tennyson, and the justly celebrated passage—

O quid solutis est beatius curis?
Cum mens onus reponit et peregrino
 Labore fessi venimus nostrum ad Larem,
Desideratoque acquiescimus lecto?

'What is happier than release from care when the mind lays aside its burden, when, weary with the labour of travel, we come to our own hearth, and rest in the bed for which we have longed?'

Catullus is sometimes called the most original of the Latin poets. But he borrowed much from the Greeks, and several of his poems are mere translations. The originals have almost wholly perished, except the famous Ode of Sappho, and there Catullus has risen nobly to the sublime height of that passionate outburst. Catullus's powers of satire and invective were so great that even Cæsar was afraid of them. But some of his shorter pieces are on a level with those *graffiti* at Pompeii which are judiciously concealed from the eyes of Mr. Cook's young friends.

Tennyson need not fear comparison with the scholarly poets who preceded him. Jonson and Milton were very learned men. Dryden was a good scholar, and may be thought to have achieved, at least once, when he translated the Twenty-ninth Ode of the third book of Horace, the feat of surpassing his own author. Samuel Johnson, a real poet at his best, knew Juvenal as well as Tennyson knew Lucretius. But not one of them, not even rare Ben himself, was more thoroughly imbued with the spirit of classical antiquity than the author of the *Lotos Eaters*. Milton is sometimes the servant rather than the master of his learning. He was not unfrequently, if one may say so without irreverence, the worse for Latin. Tennyson was the better for everything he read. We all know his invitation to Frederick Maurice,

if only because it describes Farringford, where so many able penmen, Americans and others, have described the knocker off the door. No poem could be more thoroughly Horatian in style, as 'the classical reader,' to whom Wordsworth appealed, at once perceives. While nothing can be more genially and characteristically English than the tone of these fine stanzas, with their allusions to the National Church, the rite of baptism, and the Crimean War, 'Garrulous under a roof of pine' is 'almost as alcaic' as one's tutor used to say when one thought one had produced a complete example of that metre. 'The dust and heat and noise of town' is and is not *fumum et opes strepitumque Romæ*. Tennyson is always a scholar, and never a pedant. In his translations the meaning reappears, but the idiom is changed.

As 'landscape-lover' and 'lord of language,' some affinity may be discerned between Tennyson and Horace, as well as between Tennyson and Virgil. Take, for instance, the description of Tivoli in the seventh Ode of the first book:—

Me nec tam patiens Lacedæmon
Nec tam Larissæ percussit campus opimæ,
Quam domus Albunæ resonantis
Et præceps Anio ac Tiburni lucus et uda
Mobilibus pomaria rivis.²

In this ode, as in the celebrated description of Soracte under its mantle of snow, specimens of what may be called Horace's vignettes, the art is to call up a picture by a single phrase, or even a single epithet. Horace had it as well as Virgil, and though Tennyson was more indebted to Nature than to either of them, I think he was indebted to both, to 'old popular Horace,' as well as to the other 'old poet fostered under friendlier skies.'

It is a commonplace and a platitude to lament that we have not more of Tennyson's Homeric translation. Only two short fragments have ever been given to the world. The first is the comparison of the watch-fires kindled by the Greeks with the stars shining in the heavens, from the eighth book of the *Iliad*. It is a test passage. The man who could translate that could translate anything, and Tennyson probably selected it to show what he could do. The triumph was complete. It may be said of these lines, as Tennyson himself said of his friend Fitzgerald's 'Omar Khayam,' that there is 'no version done in English so divinely well.' Perhaps the best lines both in the Greek and in the English are those which introduce the simile,

As when in Heaven the stars above the moon
Look beautiful, when all the winds are laid,
And every height comes out, and jutting peak

² 'Neither stern Sparta nor the rich Pelasgian fields ever struck me like the echoing temple of the Sibyl, and the rush of the Anio, and the grove of Tibur's founder, and the moist orchards with their rippling streams.'

And valley, and the immeasurable heavens
Break open to their highest, and all the stars
Shine, and the shepherd gladdens in his heart.

The effect of the monosyllabic verb in the last line, followed by a break, recalls the famous

Shook, but delayed to strike

of the *Paradise Lost*. Tennyson firmly believed in blank verse as the proper vehicle of Homeric translation. Perhaps the most successful of modern translators is Worsley, who adopted the Spenserian stanza. In this particular instance he has achieved one effect which deserves to be compared, and not unfavourably compared, with Tennyson's. The last line in the original describes the horses, who

Ἔσταότες παρ' ὄχεσφιν εὐθρονον ἦω μίμνον

Fixt by their cars, waited the golden dawn,
is Tennyson's rendering.

Hard by their chariots stood, waiting the dawn divine,

which is Worsley's, sounds more imposing, and seems to close the description with greater force. Homer, however, calls the dawn neither golden nor divine, but 'well-throned,' which may be likened to Shakespeare's 'vestal throned in the west,' meaning first the moon, and secondly Queen Elizabeth. Tennyson's second attempt, *Achilles over the Trench*, is less interesting. The episode of Achilles fighting under the immediate protection of Athene, and vanquishing the Trojans with the assistance of supernatural fire on his head, pertains to the perishable form rather than to the imperishable essence of the Homeric epic. The god from the machine does not appeal to us as it must have appealed to the audience of the Homeric rhapsodist. The knot never seems worthy of the champion. Oddly enough there is almost the same simile here also, except that the watch-fires are this time the standard, not the subject of comparison. Achilles's private halo is compared with them.

And sheer-astounded were the charioteers
To see the dread unweariable fire
That always o'er the great Peleion's head
Burn'd, for the bright-eyed goddess made it burn.

Homer knew nothing about the supposed invulnerability of Achilles who met his fate at the hands of Paris, as Hector told him he would. But the Trojans could not be expected to make provision against the influence of miracles upon the common trooper.

Tennyson, as is well known, detested English hexameters and pentameters. He thought them unsuited to the genius of the

language. He laughed at them. In the emphatic words of Scripture, he could not away with them. He liked the metre no better in German. He himself wrote English hendecasyllables, English galliambics, and English alcaics in his noble Ode to Milton. He must, one would think, have admired—he could not help admiring—Mr. Swinburne's Sapphics. But hexameters, especially in rendering Homer, were his soul's abhorrence.

These lame hexameters, the strong-wing'd music of Homer!
 No—but a most burlesque barbarous experiment.
 When was a harsher sound ever heard, ye Muses, in England?
 When did a frog coarser croak upon our Helicon?
 Hexameters no worse than daring Germany gave us,
 Barbarous experiment, barbarous hexameters!

I am not qualified to take up the cudgels for Voss. But Tennyson, when he burst out in this ferocious diatribe, can hardly have meant to include Dr. Hawtrey's beautiful translation of Helen's speech on the walls of Troy, beginning

Clearly the rest I behold of the dark-eyed sons of Achaia.

Tennyson is, of course, substantially right. The metre is not English, and cannot be made so. Hawtrey knew better than to try it on a large scale. He carefully chose the scene of his experiment and succeeded accordingly. Clough wrote English hexameters and sometimes even pentameters, with amazing fluency and cleverness. Sometimes, as in his lines on the Pantheon, he managed them with dignity and splendour. But as a rule he used them when he meant to be slipshod and dropped them when he meant to be serious. English pentameters are utterly hopeless. As Tennyson once said, 'All men detest slops, particularly gruel,' is a fair specimen of the article. But his own published instances may be almost equalled from 'Catullus, whose dead songster never dies.' Schoolboys and professors are accustomed to imitate the smooth mechanical elegiacs of Ovid. But these did not begin with that amorous versifier.

Corneli, et factum me esse puta Hippocratem,

is not a pretty line, but it is pure Catullus. Take another case. Catullus made fun of a certain Arrius, or, as we might say, 'Arry, for his habitual employment of superfluous aitches. He mentions a horrible rumour that since Arrius went to Syria, the Ionian Sea had become the Hionian, as it was said of the late Baron Channell that 'the Helen became the Ellen in passing through the chops of the Channell.'

Jam non Ionios esse, sed Hionios

is surely as bad as

Barbarous experiment, barbarous hexameters.

English hexameters have not always been failures. If Longfellow wrote in *Evangeline* such a barbarous experiment as

Children's children sat on his knee and heard his great watch tick,

he also wrote,

Chanting the Hundredth Psalm, that grand old Puritan anthem,

which is not unlike the 'strong-winged music of Homer.' In Charles Kingsley's *Andromeda*, too, there are many Homeric lines. But these are the exceptions which would not be cited if they were not exceptions, and thus prove the rule. If we ever have the ideal translation of Homer in English verse, it will be in the metre of Milton and of Tennyson, not in his own.

HERBERT PAUL.

THE DISLIKE TO DOMESTIC SERVICE

Two articles have lately appeared in this Review, advising a certain rearrangement of the present conditions of domestic service. Both dealt with the matter almost entirely from the point of view of the employing householder. The following brief paper (which was in great part written before the appearance of the earlier article) approaches the same question from the point of view of the servant.

That most young women of the working class dislike domestic service is generally admitted; and there is a certain inclination on the part of persons who find this dislike inconvenient, to preach against it as a sort of depravity. The truth, however, is that these young women—like other classes of working people—understand their own needs and their own discomforts a great deal better than these are understood by their middle-class critics.

The conditions of domestic service are still those of an earlier industrial and social system, and this earlier form does not harmonise with the sentiments of to-day. In other employments, the person employed sells a certain number of hours of labour, and, when those hours are over, all relation ceases between employed and employer. The worker has, in short, a life of her own, absolutely apart from her industrial life. The servant has no such life of her own. Her existence may, perhaps, best be realised by a perusal of those chapters of *Madame d'Arblay's Diary* in which are recorded her experiences as an attendant on Queen Charlotte. In this instance, the waiting-maid—for a waiting-maid in truth she was—regarded her position as one of distinction, and professed an almost religious regard for her mistress. Yet is there any reader of her vivid narrative to whom the position does not seem intolerable? She is at beck and call from morning till night: her companions and her immediate superior are not of her own choosing, and are not sympathetic. She is exiled from her family and from her personal friends. Smiles and civility are expected from her, whatever her mood or state of health, and whatever the conduct towards her of the persons with whom she is brought into contact, even when one of these is a son of the household in a state of intoxication.

The domestic servant, in short, still lives under a system of total personal subservience. Now, a feeling has gradually grown up that total

personal subservience is intolerable and degrading; and it is this feeling which causes domestic service to be held in low social esteem by women who are often harder worked and less materially prosperous than most servants. The servant is despised, not because she cooks, or scrubs, or nurses a baby, still less because she has to yield obedience to orders—every factory worker has to do that in working hours—but because she consents to put herself permanently at some other person's beck and call.

One consequence of this position is that the servant is practically removed from her own circle and placed in another. I am afraid that a good many of the well-to-do are apt, in the ignorance of their Pharisaism, to regard such transplantation as an unmitigated advantage to the working man's daughter. Yet it is surely obvious that, whatever may be a young girl's social station, there are dangers in withdrawing her from the family influences in which she has grown up, and from free intercourse with her social equals. These dangers are increased if her education has left her comparatively unable to keep up an intimate correspondence by letter, or to fill up her solitude by any study. Yet more are these dangers intensified if young women thus withdrawn from their natural surroundings are at the same time required to obey a fixed and conventional code of manners. A servant on duty behaves according to rules of strict etiquette—that is to say, she exercises a prolonged self-restraint. Older people—especially older people of a different social grade—are apt to consider such self-restraint very salutary, and to desire that she should remain perpetually within that barrier of etiquette. Nature, however, is of a different mind, and has made young people of all grades averse to a life thus regulated; she has given them an eager hunger for equal companionship, for change, and especially for freedom. If the longing for these things does not find gratification in safe and permitted ways, it is likely to make for itself ways that are dangerous and prohibited. This isolation, in which many servants live, remote from the restraining public opinion of their relations and their own social class, removes more than one safeguard, and leaves them exposed to dangers little realised by benevolent persons who, judging other households by their own, regard domestic service as the safest of all callings. Unfortunately, there are too many households in which an unprotected girl is liable to temptations and insults from which she would be safe in most factories and workshops. I do not wish to dwell upon this aspect of the question. It has been brought before me by instances in the experience of more than one young woman personally known to me, and it is unquestionable that the very large majority of girls who pass into Homes and Refuges have been servants. Allowance must of course be made for the fact that any known lapse from good character is a more serious obstacle to employment in the case of a servant than in that, for

instance, of a factory worker; but even the most liberal deduction seems to leave the proportion excessive. No domestic service is by no means invariably a safe haven, and to send a girl into a household of unknown character is not altogether the philanthropic action which many well-meaning persons suppose.

I must confess that, if I were a mother of girls who had to choose between factory work and service, I should give my voice unhesitatingly for the factory. The work would be probably harder, the material comforts less, and the manners rougher, but the girls would be working among their own class and living in their own home; and their health, their happiness, their companionships, would be under their mother's eye. Nor can I think that an unwillingness on the part of girls to cut themselves off from all the natural ties of kindred and surroundings, to dwell among strangers in an unknown house, and to merge their lives completely in that of an alien household, is by any means a sign of perverse folly.

The unwillingness, being thus natural, reasonable, and well-founded, is likely to be removed only by the removal of the special conditions which differentiate service from other employments. That is to say, servants must cease to be domiciled under their employer's roof, and must, instead, come to work for a specified number of hours, as dress-makers and charwomen already do. I venture to say that under these conditions domestic service would speedily become a popular department of labour. It is interesting to observe that the writers of both the articles dealing with service are advocating this same change in the interests of the employer of servants.

Of course, this change of system would require certain other alterations. It would, for instance, be quite necessary that an improved variety of registry-office should be established, which would undertake to supply competent and honest servants, each properly trained in her special branch. Already there are hundreds of small households to which such a registry would be most useful. There is, I am convinced, a profitable career awaiting the capable woman who shall be the first to organise a brigade of really good outdoor servants.

CLEMENTINA BLACK.

JEWISH WIT AND HUMOUR¹

RENAN, the great scholar whose loss the world of culture and learning still deplores, makes a somewhat startling remark in his '*Histoire des Langues Sémitiques*' (i. 9, 11). He observes : 'Les peuples sémitiques manquent presque complètement de curiosité et de la faculté de rire.' And, strange to say, Carlyle makes a somewhat similar observation, for he denies to the Jewish race the possession of humour. Mr. Froude (*Carlyle's Life in London*, ii. 480) quotes a conversation, in the course of which Carlyle remarks that the Jews have shown no trace of humour at any period of their history.

Now there is an ancient Talmudic adage to this effect : 'If one person tells thee that thou hast asses' ears, do not mind it ; but if two persons make this assertion, at once place a pack-saddle upon thy back.' It might, indeed, be imagined that, if two such eminent authorities agree in denying to the Hebrew race the faculty of laughter and the power of evoking laughter, there must be some basis for the imputation. But I think that I shall have no difficulty in proving that this charge is unfounded. It is quite true that several of the nations of antiquity were singularly lacking in their perception of the ludicrous. The facetious element was not very strong in the Egyptians : no laughter lurks in the wondering eyes and broad calm lips of their statues. Nor can the Assyrians have had any genius for the comic : the large round eyes, the nose prominent and curved, the frames thick set and strong, mark them out as belonging to a type which is not witty, but essentially fierce and warlike.

With the Hebrews, however, it was otherwise. They, at a comparatively early stage in their history, attained that ripe and strong mental development which the elaboration of wit and the comprehension of humour demand. And there is one leading trait in the annals of the Hebrew race which engendered and stimulated to the highest degree their *vis comica*—the faculty of saying witty and humorous things. Goethe, in his *Torquato Tasso*, exclaims with admirable truth and force :—

¹ A Lecture delivered at the London Institution, January 5, 1893.

Wir Menschen werden wunderbar geprüft ;
Wir könnten's nicht ertragen, hatt' uns nicht
Den holden Leichtsinn die Natur verlieh'n.

Ay, the poor Jew has been, and still is to this very day, terribly tried. Crushed as he has been to the dust by the iron hand of bigotry, cowed by the soul-chilling venom of contempt and the oppression that 'maketh a wise man mad,' he could not have survived, had not benign nature mercifully endowed him with extraordinary elasticity, with a wonderful power of resilience which enabled him to elude effectually all the attempts made at every age, and in every clime, to lay him low.

But the genesis of his humour has also affected its nature, and imbued it with its peculiar characteristics. The mirth of the Hebrew does not come to him spontaneously. It is not the result of an over-abundance of animal spirits. It is not an outcome of the mere exuberance of being. I would rather liken it to the weapon with which a beneficent Maker has provided His feeble creatures, whereby they have been enabled to survive in the fierce struggle for existence. He that is unjustly reviled and ignominiously trodden under foot, finds relief either in a flood of tears or in a burst of irony. Hence it is that there is an undercurrent of sadness even in the mirth of the Hebrew. Hence, if I may use a musical metaphor, even the *scherzo* of his song moves in the minor key.

We meet in Hebrew literature, and in the writings of those who were directly or indirectly nurtured in its spirit, with humour, the sympathetic representation of incongruous elements in human nature and life. We encounter wit which seizes on the unexpected, and places it before us in an attractive light. We meet with humour, diffuse, and flowing along, without any other law save its own fantastic will. We discover wit, brief and sudden, and sharply defined as a crystal. We detect wit and humour overlapping and blending with each other—pleasant fancies, quips and cranks, *bons mots*, to which utterance was given, perchance, amid the saddest and the most depressing environments.

I shall, of course, experience considerable and, in some instances, an insurmountable difficulty in conveying these sallies of wit to a general audience. Many of the witticisms, being couched in Hebrew, in German, or in that strange degeneration and uncouth blend of the two languages called *Yiddish*, altogether lose their pungency and flavour when translated into the vernacular. Some of these humorous utterances presuppose a very accurate knowledge of the Bible—ay, even of the labyrinthine intricacies of the *Talmud*—in order to be fully appreciated. And when once you attempt to explain and to interpret, all the sparkle and effervescence of the witticism are irretrievably lost, and the savour thereof is like unto that of a bottle of champagne that was uncorked yesternight.

Some of the most devout and attentive readers of the Hebrew Scriptures may, perhaps, have failed to observe that even these pages contain illustrations of humour in its caustic form. And yet the scene on Mount Carmel, with all its sublime accessories, is not devoid of an element of grim jocularità.

The false prophets of Baal have leapt upon the altar, and cried to their idol from morning unto even, 'O Baal, hear us!' Then Elijah steps forth, and mockingly exclaims, 'Cry ye louder, for he is a god; he is perhaps talking or walking, or he is on a journey, or peradventure he sleepeth and must be awaked.' We have here the main elements of the ludicrous—the degradation of something usually associated with power and dignity. We may, perhaps, compare this episode to a humorous stroke of Molière, who, in one of his plays, introduces the messenger of the gods sitting tired on a cloud, and complaining of the number of Jupiter's errands. The Goddess of Night expresses surprise that a god should be weary, whereupon Mercury indignantly replies, 'Are then the gods made of iron?'

Again, what can be more instinct with genuine humour than Isaiah's description of the manufacture of an idol?—

He heweth down a tree; he burneth part thereof in a fire; with part thereof he eateth flesh; he roasteth meat and is satisfied: yea, he warmeth himself, and saith, Aha, I am warm, I have seen the fire. And the residue thereof he maketh a god, even his graven image: he falleth down unto it, and worshippeth it, and prayeth unto it, and saith, Deliver me; for thou art a god.

Another signal instance of rich humour is that afforded by the incident related in the Book of Esther wherein King Ahasuerus asks, 'What shall be done unto the man whom the king delighteth to honour?' and when Haman thinks in his heart, 'To whom would the king delight to do honour more than to me?' And it comes to pass, that all these marks of royal favour are to be bestowed upon none other than his arch-enemy Mordecai. The *Midrash*—as the Rabbinical commentary, or rather paraphrase of the Biblical narrative, is termed—embellishes the tale with several dramatic touches. It relates that when Haman desires to clothe the royal favourite with the imperial purple, Mordecai objects, and says, 'This is unseemly. I am not worthy to have the royal mantle upon my shoulders until I have been duly purified.' Haman has no alternative but to prepare a bath for his foe. When Mordecai has been arrayed in the kingly robes, Haman is about to set the diadem upon his head, but Mordecai protests, 'Surely I am not worthy to bear the royal crown ere my locks have been dressed in seemly fashion.' And his Excellency the Grand Vizier has to operate as a barber and hairdresser. 'Now get thee on horseback,' says Haman. 'Alack,' wails Mordecai, 'I am too aged and infirm to mount this high steed unaided.' And Haman perforce submits to the last humiliation: he has to bow his proud

neck whilst his hated rival steps on his back and mounts the horse in comfort.

Let me quote one other illustration from the same book—the *Midrash* on Esther.

The preacher was citing the text, 'And Haman thought scorn to lay hands on Mordecai alone. He sought to destroy all the Jews throughout the kingdom of Ahasuerus.' We may picture to ourselves the speaker's lips curling with ineffable contempt as he proceeds to relate the following fable :

A swallow once built her nest on the shores of the sea. It happened that the day was boisterous, and the waves were lashed into fury by the tempest, so that they burst upon the land and destroyed the little nest. The swallow was wroth, and said, 'Wait, ocean, until I punish thee for thy arrogance. I will turn the sea into dry land, and the land into a fountain of waters.' And he took some drops of water into his beak and poured them upon the sand. And again he flew to and fro, and picked up some grains of sand and threw them into the sea, imagining, with conscious pride, that his purpose had now been fully accomplished. His mate looks on in wonderment, and, wiser than her consort, she asks, 'Thinkest thou thus to destroy the work of the Almighty Creator ?'

The fable reminds us of Sydney Smith's simile about Mrs. Partington trying to keep back the waves of the Atlantic with her mop and pail. 'She was excellent at a slop or puddle, but should never have meddled with a tempest.' With what native force would the parable impress itself upon the minds of its hearers, as setting forth the impotence of the Hamans of every age to frustrate the purpose of the Almighty in the preservation of His people !

You will recognise it as being in full accord with what I have observed on the subject that the ancient Hebrews, even on the most sorrowful day in their calendar—the fast which commemorates the destruction of their two temples—did not abandon themselves wholly to sorrow and wailing. In the Midrashic commentary on the Book of Lamentations we meet with dainty little strokes of mother-wit which resemble the smiles of a tear-bedewed face. Jeremiah laments the fall of the city 'that was full of people, great among the nations, a queen among the provinces.' 'Not in material power,' comments the preacher, 'but in vigour of mind and force of intellect ;' and he proceeds to recount illustrations of the mode in which the Hebrew excelled in native wit even the far-famed Athenian. He relates the story, that an indweller of the Hellenic capital, walking one day along the streets of Jerusalem, found a broken mortar. Wishing to exhibit his cleverness, he enters a tailor's shop and, addressing himself to the owner, he says, 'Master, be so good as to put a patch upon this mortar.' 'I will gladly do so,' responds the Hebrew, 'if you will oblige me by weaving a few threads of this material,' offering him at the same time a handful of sand.

Nay, even Jewish children are reputed to have been ready matches for the clever men of Athens. 'Fetch me some cheese and

eggs,' said an Athenian to a little boy. The boy did as he was bidden. 'Now, my child,' said the stranger, 'tell me which of these cheeses was made from the milk of white goats, and which from the milk of black goats.' 'Thou art older and more experienced than I,' replied the shrewd little Hebrew; 'tell me first, which of these eggs came from a white, and which from a black hen.' The preacher further relates that Rabbi Joshua was once on a journey, when he noticed a short cut across the fields. A child, passing along, said to him, 'Do not walk across the fields, you will be trespassing.' 'But,' said Rabbi Joshua, 'is not this a public footpath?' 'Ay,' rejoined the child, 'trodden out by trespassers such as you would be.' The sage pursued his way. As he entered the town, he noticed a little maid who was carrying a basket which was carefully covered. 'Tell me, my good child,' said the Rabbin, 'what have you in that basket?' The child answered, 'If my mother had wished that everyone should know the contents of that basket she would not have covered it.' Is there not a deep truth hidden beneath these simple words? The human mind must not seek to o'erstep the limits which have been set unto it. We would all fain know what the future has in store for us; but the veil which hides coming events from us has been woven by the Hand of Mercy. If the Lord had willed that we should have foreknowledge of the future, He would not have concealed it from us. There follows a goodly string of similar illustrations, which are invested with special interest owing to the fact that they have been incorporated in the *Arabian Nights*, transferred thence into the Italian collection of tales entitled *Cento Novelle Antiche*, and have thus become part and parcel of European literature.

Whilst engaged in quoting from the *Midrash*, I may be permitted to cite a brief apologue from the same source which will, I think, vindicate the masters of the *Talmud* from the charge so often brought against them that they reduced woman to the same subordinate position which is assigned to her by Oriental nations generally. In one of the many and varied comments on the creation of woman contained in that work, the Emperor Hadrian is introduced as conversing with Rabbi Gamaliel on several religious questions. With the object of casting ridicule upon the Bible, Hadrian exclaims, 'Why, your God is represented therein as a thief! He surprised Adam in his sleep, and robbed him of one of his ribs.' The Rabbi's daughter, who is present, craves permission to reply to the Emperor. 'This is granted her.' 'But first let me implore thy imperial protection, puissant sire!' she exclaims. 'A grave outrage has been perpetrated upon our house.' 'Who has dared to inflict any harm on the abode of my friend?' asks the sovereign. 'Under cover of night an audacious thief broke into our house, took a silver flagon from our chest of plate, and left—a golden one in its stead.' 'What

a welcome thief!' cries Hadrian; 'would that such robbers might visit my palace every day!' 'And was not the Creator even such a thief as this,' archly rejoins the blushing damsel—'who deprived Adam of a rib, and in lieu thereof gave him a loving, lovely bride?'

From the teachers of the *Talmud* we pass to some of the preachers of later days. For these *Maggidim*, as they were termed, were the spiritual descendants of the ancient Homilists, even as these had regarded themselves with all humility and deference as the representatives of the olden prophets. Now, these later preachers were of opinion that they were by no means guilty of irreverence or indecorum if they succeeded in raising a smile or even eliciting a laugh in the course of their sermons. They did not see any reason why a preacher who is in earnest, eager to convince his hearers, determined to secure their interest and rivet their attention, should not appeal to all their faculties, not excluding their sense of humour. One of the most famous of these wandering preachers, whom we may dub the Jewish Abraham à Santa Clara, was Rabbi Jacob, the *Maggid* of Dubno, a small town in Poland, who flourished at the close of the last century. The *Mashalim*, or parables, which he was fond of introducing into his pulpit addresses, have become household words in Jewry.

A small circle in Berlin, the members of which were noted for the advanced and almost radical views they entertained on the subject of religious conformity, once invited him to deliver a rousing homily to them. He took up his parable and said:

An inspector of mines was instructed by his government to examine the condition of his labourers at some distant smelting works. When he arrived he was painfully surprised at seeing the wan and pallid faces of the workmen. On inquiry, he learns from the foreman that they suffered greatly from the effects of their being obliged to fan the fire in the furnace by constantly blowing into it with their mouths. This effort had, naturally, greatly weakened their lungs. 'Good heavens!' exclaims the inspector, 'have you then never heard of an instrument, the bellows, for blowing air into a furnace?' 'No, we have never heard of such a machine,' rejoins the foreman. 'Well, I will at once direct that efficient bellows be sent out to you.' His order is executed. After a few weeks he returns to the works, and expects to find a great improvement in the looks of the poor operatives. To his great surprise and concern, he finds them looking even worse than before. 'Have the bellows not arrived?' he asks. 'Oh, yes,' is the reply; 'and we have implicitly obeyed your instructions; but however energetically we may use them, the furnace will no longer work.' The inspector hastens to the furnace; he finds the fuel in its place, but all is cold, and dark, and black. 'Why, you dotards,' he cries, 'you have omitted to kindle the fire! Of what possible use can the bellows be, if there be no fire to be fanned into a glow?' Ah, my brethren [continued the preacher], the sermon is the bellows which may hope to be effective, and to stir into enthusiasm the faith which glows within the human heart; but if there be not a spark of religion within you, what will the preacher's most forcible plea avail?

The homely tale exercised a more powerful effect than many a laboured homily.

On another occasion he was addressing a congregation of poor working men and women.

I heard the other day [he said] of a pedlar who was trudging along the dusty highway with a heavy pack slung across his back. A carriage passes along, and the driver good-naturedly invites him to mount the seat beside him. The weary wayfarer gratefully accepts the offer. The driver notices, to his amazement, that the pedlar is still bent beneath the weight of his burden. 'My good man, why do you not put down your load while you can?' 'Ah, my friend, it is so kind of you to offer me a seat in your carriage; it would not be right if I added the weight of my pack.' And do you not act like this foolish pedlar, my brethren, you who carry your cares and frets about with you until they bow you to the ground, refusing to trust in your God, who has made and who bears you. Cast thy burden upon the Lord, and He will sustain thee.

Some of these preachers were very apt in the replies they gave to the sceptics of their day. One of this fraternity was asked, 'Why need we pray? Is the Deity not omniscient? Does He not know our every thought and desire? Why must we labour painfully to give utterance to our wants?' Thereupon the pastor shrewdly replied, 'Why has the watchman been appointed to proclaim each hour in the dead of night? Do the citizens need this information, seeing that they are snugly abed, and have no appointments to keep? It is done as a guarantee to us, so that we may be sure that the watchman is at his post, and has not fallen asleep. Even thus the Lord desires our prayers, not for Himself but for our sakes, so that we may prove that in the world's stress and strain we have not forgotten Him.'

It is, indeed, interesting to note how clever some of these old-world Rabbins were at repartee, bookworms and recluses though they were. Ezekiel Landau received his call to Prague while he was still in early manhood. His appointment evoked some jealousy on the part of older aspirants, who had deemed themselves better fitted for the high appointment. When he took his seat for the first time, at a gathering of the notables, on a raised dais, one of these disappointed rivals observed ironically, 'Rabbi, it seems to me that thy chair is somewhat too high for thee.' Landau, turning to him, answered with a good-natured smile, 'Friend, thou art mistaken: thy table is too low for me.'

We have been accustomed to think of the elder Mendelssohn as a subtle metaphysician, perpetually immersed in abstruse philosophic studies, and exclusively engaged in arousing his fellow-religionists from their mental apathy, and in exterminating the brutal prejudices that had so long prevailed against them. But he also took a keen pleasure in social intercourse, and delighted in amiable sallies of wit. The story of his courtship is not without its romantic touches. He loved a fair blue-eyed maiden, but he was ill-favoured and crook-backed—an infirmity that had been increased by bending over the ledger by day and poring over the writings of philosophers by night. The first impulse of the maiden was to reject his suit. Shy and

reserved though he was, he one day took courage and engaged in conversation with her. 'Do you believe what our sages of old have taught, that marriages are made in heaven?' 'Assuredly,' replied the pious maiden. 'I have heard,' Moses Mendelssohn continued, 'that in my case something weird and strange came to pass. You know what our ancient masters further teach on this head. At our birth the proclamation goes forth, this man-child shall be united in marriage with such and such a maiden. It was told unto me that, when I was born, the name of my future wife was duly proclaimed. And the fiat went forth that she would be afflicted with an unsightly hump. Then my soul wailed forth, 'A damsel that is deformed is apt to grow sour and ill-tempered. A damsel must be fair, so that she may be amiable. Beneficent Creator, lay the hump upon me, and suffer this babe to grow up in beauty, charming all her beholders.' When the maiden had heard these words, her eyes beamed with love and admiration. And not many days elapsed ere she became the affianced bride of the happy philosopher.

It is said that Mendelssohn was very fond of sweet things. When eating sugar he lamented that he could not eat it sugared. A companion good-naturedly taunted him with this weakness, saying, 'Only fools like sweets.' 'Ah, friend,' rejoined he, 'wise men have said this, so that they might keep all the sweets to themselves.' He could at times be very severe. One day a young military gentleman rudely accosted him, and asked sneeringly, 'What is your stock-in-trade?' 'That which you seem to be sadly lacking in, sir—brains!'

Some illustrations should now be given of the leading Hebrew poets and satirists—of Jehudah Hallevi, the sweetest post-biblical singer of Israel; of Alcharisi, the author of the *Tachkemoni*, touching whom Professor Chénery, the late editor of *The Times*, wrote with such keen insight in his introduction to his edition of the *Machberoth Ithiel*; of Immanuel of Rome, the friend of Dante, whom Dean Milman has too severely stigmatised as the Jewish Aretino, for, compared with that Italian profligate, his muse may be described as well-nigh saintly. But I am confronted with the difficulty that it is impossible to reproduce their subtle and ingenious combinations in a modern language. We must content ourselves with two examples.

A Riddle by Jehudah Hallevi.

It has an eye, and still is blind:
A boon to man and womankind:
It gives us raiment far and wide,
And yet it naked does abide.

The Needle.

Immanuel, in one of the chapters of his *Machberoth*, ridicules a certain class of commentators on account of their far-fetched interpretations, that worthy folk 'who write on books as men with diamonds write on glass, obscuring light with scratches.' A disciple asks his master, 'In the book of Esther it is written, "And the Law

was given in Shushan." How can this be? Was the Law not revealed on Mount Sinai?' 'Thou art mistaken, my son,' replies the shallow-brained teacher; 'Shushan does not here signify a town, but the lily. Knowest thou not that the Law was given in the joyous month when the lilies bloom?'

Our difficulties in the way of translation are lessened as we reach more recent times, when Jewish authors commenced to write in the vernacular. In Heine and Börne we probably reach the highest and most perfect evolutions of Hebrew wit and humour. It is true that these two gifted writers outwardly renounced Judaism, but, as the historian Graetz subtly puts it, only like combatants who, by assuming the colours of their enemy's uniform, could all the more easily strike and successfully vanquish him. The rich and varied blossoms of their fruitful minds sprang from Jewish soil, and were only ripened by the sun of European culture. Their love of truth, their devotion to freedom, but especially their wit, were Jewish. The bursts of light with which they illumined Germany, now in all the varied hues of the rainbow, and again in lurid flashes, were all charged with the electricity of their Judaic origin and training. Heine was, beyond question, the more gifted of the two. No echo, but a real voice. A surpassing lyric poet, a master of prose, on whom a large portion of Goethe's mantle had fallen; the successor of Goethe in the most signal phase of his life-work—in the war of the liberation of human thought. His weapons in this warfare were a wondrous command of incisive satire, and a matchless wit that was, alas! Aristophanic in its scurrility—alas! also, Mephistophelian in its audacity and lack of reverence. And thus we behold him, by turns as tender as Sterne, and by turns as savage and gross as Swift.

He called himself one of the first men of the century, representing that he had been born on New Year's day 1800. He became a convert to Christianity, not from conviction, but because, as he averred, a certificate of baptism constituted, in those days, the only card of admission to the charmed circle of European culture. Yet he was always proud of having sprung from Judea, which, by a happy epigram, he termed a Protestant Egypt. He made but scant progress in the acquisition of its language.

I could never get on so far in Hebrew as my watch, which had much familiar intercourse with pawnbrokers, and in this way contracted many Jewish habits; for example, it would not go on Saturdays.

But on the annals of his ancestors he dwells with lingering fondness.

Jewish history is beautiful; but latter-day Jews reflect discredit on their sires, who would otherwise be placed far above the Greeks and Romans. I believe that if the Jewish race were extinct, but it were known that a single survivor of that people still existed somewhere, men would journey a hundred leagues to grasp that man's hand. But now we are despised.

Again he says :

Modern Jewish history is tragic; and yet if one were to write about this tragedy he would be laughed at. That is the most tragic thing of all.

He elected to live in France, 'the Gascony of Europe' (as he strikingly dubbed that country), on account of her intense love of freedom.

For an Englishman [as he was fond of saying] loves freedom as he loves his lawfully wedded wife, whom he regards as his safe possession, and does not treat with any special tenderness. A German loves freedom as he does his aged grandmother, for whom he always keeps a snug corner by the fireside, where she discourses fairy tales to her listening children. But the Frenchman dotes on freedom as he does on his chosen bride. His affection for her glows and flames: he throws himself at her feet with the most exaggerated protestations of endearment; he will fight for her to the death; he will commit a thousand follies for her sake.

Many a shrewd remark of his touching French politics may be cited. The following is not inappropriate to the present crisis in the history of the French Republic :

In other countries, when a citizen becomes dissatisfied with his government he emigrates; in France, he requires the government to emigrate.

With the English nation he had but little sympathy; he knew too little of them. He terms them

the deities of *ennui*, who rush through every country at post speed in their lacquered carriages, leaving behind them everywhere a grey dust-cloud of sadness.

It is a remarkable circumstance that, even when Heine was prostrated by a terrible malady and lay on his mattress-grave, as he termed it, he still retained his gaiety, and indulged in sportive fancies to the last. When he was asked about the state of his nerves in 1855, the year of the Great Exhibition in Paris, he replied: 'My nerves are of that remarkable wretchedness, that I am convinced they would obtain the prize medal for pain and misery at the Exhibition.' He read all the medical books which treated of his disease. But he said to a friend, who found him thus engaged: 'I do not know what good this reading is to do me, except that it will qualify me to give lectures in Heaven on the ignorance of doctors on earth concerning diseases of the spinal marrow.'

It is extremely difficult to make any selection from among the innumerable brilliant sayings that scintillate on his pages. The story is told of an author who sent his manuscript to an eminent critic, with the request that he should be good enough to turn down any page on which he would discover a remark to which he took exception. The author was not over-pleased when he found that all the corners of the pages of his book formed one big dog-ear. Similarly, I might lay all the volumes written by Heine under contribution, but I must limit myself to culling a few smart sayings here and there. Novels he terms the dessert of literature.

Wise men think out new thoughts, and fools proclaim them.

Every man who marries is like the Doge, who weds the Adriatic: he knows not what he may find therein, treasures, pearls, or—monsters.

His contemporary, Börne, was an equally ardent soldier in the war of the liberation of human thought, and equally zealous in pleading for the civil emancipation of his race, but he did not wield the pen with like mastery. One of his utterances is extremely noteworthy, tracing, as it does, the genesis of that anti-Semitism which still shames Germany. He indicates it in a sentence which, rising from the low level of a pun, ascends to the higher plane of an epigram. He says, 'Ihr hasst die Juden nicht weil sie es verdienen, sondern weil sie verdienen,' which may be clumsily Englished thus: 'Your hatred of the Jews is not because they have earned it, but because they earn.' His satire is not uniformly so lucid or so keen as Heine's. Does he write in praise or dispraise of academic training when he says, 'The presence of a University makes a country stupid for miles around'?

During the major portion of this century, the Hungarian Saphir was acknowledged as the leading humourist in Austria. His caustic satire made him excessively distasteful to the petty sovereigns with whom the Germany of those days abounded. Ordered to quit the territory of one of those princelets, he calmly observed: 'If his Highness will deign to look out of his palace windows, he will see me crossing the frontier of his dominion.' On another occasion the King of Bavaria, who was fond of dabbling in poetry, ordered him to leave the country within twenty-four hours. On being asked whether he could manage to get away in so short a time, he answered, 'Oh, certainly. For if my own feet will not carry me with sufficient rapidity, I can always borrow some of the superfluous feet in his Majesty's last volume of poems.' An author, jealous of Saphir's fame, taxed him with writing for money. 'I do not act thus,' he continued, drawing himself up proudly, 'I write for fame.' 'I admit the soft impeachment,' rejoined Saphir, 'everyone writes for that which he most grievously lacks—I lack money, *you* lack fame.'

Some of his sayings anent money are as witty as they are true.

'Who has money? The rich. That is a misfortune. If only the poor people had money we should see what poor devils those rich people are. It is no art to be rich when you have much money, and it is no merit to be poor when you have none.'

'What is money? A metal heel under the boots of little people in order to make them appear as tall as others.'

An acquaintance once said to him, 'Making debts ruins a man.' 'My experience is different,' dryly observed Saphir: 'I find that paying debts ruins me.' He was asked to give his opinion concerning a certain comedian. 'Joking apart,' was the shrewd rejoinder, 'he is

not a bad actor.' He was equally severe upon himself. If he was not the exact counterpart of Socrates in his wisdom, he resembled him in the possession of satyr-like features. Many a shaft did he level against his ugliness. He wrote the following stanza beneath the portrait which faces the title-page of the edition of his collected works :

So ist mein Talent, so mein Gesicht;
Gefallen beide meinem Leser nicht,
So sprech' ich, wie die Jungfrau spricht,
Ach, es war nicht meine Wahl,

I have hitherto limited myself to the adducing of specimens of wit and humour that have been uttered by members of the Hebrew race. A few examples may be cited of instances in which notable Hebrews have stimulated the wit of their Gentile fellow-countrymen. Lovers of art will still remember the enthusiasm with which Abraham Solomon's stirring picture, 'Waiting for the Verdict,' was greeted. The artist, not being a Royal Academician, had his painting 'skied.' All the pictures contributed by that august fraternity were as usual hung on the line. Thomas Landseer was in ecstasies as he beheld the thrilling scene depicted on the canvas, and exclaimed: 'There is Solomon in all his glory, but not R.A.'d like one of these!'

The *Saturday Review*, shortly after the death of that illustrious philanthropist, Sir Moses Montefiore, published a very sympathetic and eulogistic review, in which the writer observed: 'Such a career cannot be crystallised into an epigram nor summed up in a *bon mot*.' On this statement *Punch* felicitously commented, 'Yes, it can. "*Bon Mo*," good Moses.' This is worthy to rank with another of *Punch*'s happy puns. When Lord Rothschild took his oath as a peer with his head reverently covered, in accordance with Jewish usage, that journal suggested that he should assume the style and title of Lord Hatton.

In conclusion, I propose, without, I hope, falling into anecdotage, to quote some short anonymous tales or remarks which describe a few of the characteristics of the Israelitish race—some of their foibles, ay, and their misfortunes—in a humorous garb. These witticisms possess all the essentials of true humour, as the jest is, for the most part, though not invariably, turned by the speaker against himself, and the laughter which the raillery evokes is invested with a genial, kindly, and loving character. The authorship of the joke is unknown; the witticism passes from mouth to mouth; in some instances, it has never before been written down. A striking commentary was recently made by a Russian Jew on the judicial corruption which stains his country. He passed the Law Courts in one of the cities of the Empire, and noticed a fine statue placed in front of the building. 'Whom does that statue represent?' he inquires of a passer-by. 'Why, Justice, of course!' 'How sad,' exclaims the Jew, heaving a

profound sigh, 'that Justice should be relegated to the outside of the edifice and be altogether excluded from admission within!'

'Death is the best physician,' said a witling to his medical attendant, who had been somewhat too assiduous in his professional visits. 'Why so?' asked the doctor. 'Because he only pays one visit.'

A dialogue overheard at the Stock Exchange on a frosty winter's day: 'Mr. Moses, what would you advise me to buy to-day?' 'Thermometers, of course; they are very low at present, and are sure to rise.'

A Mr. Goldsmith became a convert to Christianity. He thought it advisable to adopt a name with a more Gentile ring, and dubbed himself Mr. Smith. 'What a fool!' exclaimed a member of the congregation on hearing of the change; 'this is the first Jew who has thrown away his gold.'

At a festive banquet, representatives of the Protestant, Catholic, and Jewish clergy had been invited, and were engaged in pleasant converse. The Rabbi, faithful to the dietary precepts of his religion, partook of only a few of the dishes. An appetising joint of roast pork was set on the table. The Catholic priest turned to his neighbour, and asked, 'When will the time come that I may have the privilege of serving you with a slice of this delicious meat?' 'When I have the gratification of assisting at your Reverence's wedding,' the Rabbi rejoined, with a courteous bow.

I am painfully conscious that I have brought before you but very little original matter. All the instruction and amusement that I have been able to afford you are due to the labours of others. May I justify my action by relating to you the little-known fable of the Bee and the Spider? The bee and the spider were disputing with each other as to the superiority of their respective fabrics. 'Ah,' said the spider haughtily, 'you draw your material from outside; you cull it from every flower of the field, while I rely exclusively upon my own resources. I spin my threads out of my own body.' 'Quite true,' said the bee, 'and you fashion worthless cobwebs, which people are ever anxious to destroy. I produce sweet honeycombs, that serve for the perpetual delight and sustenance of man, satisfying his hunger and illumining his darkness.' Will it be arrogant on my part, if I utter the hope that I have not spun cobwebs into your brain, but set before you a small and not unwelcome dish of honey?

HERMANN ADLER,
Chief Rabbi.

HANSOMS AND THEIR DRIVERS.

THE honour of inventing the vehicle which Lord Beaconsfield poetically designated the 'Gondola of London' belongs to one Joseph Aloysius Hansom, an architect of some repute in his day. Hansom was born at York in the year 1803, and at the age of thirteen was apprenticed to his father, a joiner of that city. The youthful joiner, however, exhibited such remarkable skill in designing that it was resolved to give him a better opportunity of developing his talents, and in the second year of his apprenticeship his articles were cancelled and fresh ones taken out with Mr. Phillips, an architect of York. At the expiration of his term Hansom served successively as clerk and assistant to sundry firms until 1828, when he started business on his own account, entering into partnership with an architect of the name of Welch. For a time he prospered exceedingly, and executed many important works in various northern towns and in the Isle of Man. But the terms of the contract for his best-known work, the erection of Birmingham Town Hall, were so unfavourable that they caused his bankruptcy. After this he abandoned architecture for the nonce, and became manager of the business affairs of one Dempster Hemming, of Caldecote Hall. His abilities in designing did not, however, remain idle, and it was during this period that he evolved the invention which bears his name. In 1834 he was persuaded by Hemming to register his 'Patent Safety Cab,' which by a process of gradual development and improvement has since resolved itself into the smart-looking vehicle with which we are familiar in the streets of London to-day.

But the hansom as we know it now bears little resemblance to the cumbrous vehicle designed by the inventor. In its original design the hansom consisted of a square body with two wheels (about seven to eight feet in diameter), of the same height as the body of the carriage. The specification of the invention may be read with interest. It sets forth that—

I, the said Joseph Hansom, do hereby declare that the nature of my said invention consists in the construction of vehicles or carriages for the conveyance of passengers, goods, and all other kinds of loads of such certain and improved form that:

Firstly, the centres of the wheels or other equivalent rotary agents may correspond to any degree that may be fitting or expedient with the line of traction or propulsion, and, at the same time, the wheels be of much larger dimensions, and the body parts of the carriages situated much nearer the ground than has hitherto been conveniently practicable.

Secondly, that the wheels and shafts may in all cases be of those dimensions best adapted to facility of draught, and in certain cases the wheels be dispensed with altogether; that is to say, understanding by the term wheels what are usually so-called, having felloes, naves, and spokes.

And thirdly, that the part appropriated to the load, or body part, shall in the case of passenger carriages be more easy of entrance and exit than the body parts of such carriages now usually are, and in the case of carriages for the conveyance of goods and other articles of dead weight, that the said body part may be conveniently detached or unattached upon loading or unloading.

By which several improvements, one, or other, or all of them, I consider that the constructive or propulsive force requisite, the wear and tear of the carriages, and the risk of accidents will each and all be greatly lessened; and much also of the labour, loss of time, and waste of commodity attendant on ordinary methods of loading and unloading carriages be avoided.

Hansom sold his rights to a company for 10,000*l.*, a large sum, but he never seems to have received any of the money. Like so many other inventors, he sowed the seed for others to reap the harvest, but in this instance the harvest was not reaped by the company which bought the patent. Notwithstanding that much money was spent in improving the invention, and in floating it upon the market, the company became insolvent in 1839. Hansom then took over the management for a time, and succeeded in getting things once more into working order. For these services he was paid 300*l.*, and this appears to have been the only money he ever received for his invention. He died at Fulham so lately as 1882.

Hansoms, like their inventor, appear to have been exposed to many vicissitudes of fortune, especially in their early days. They were regarded at first with suspicion and dislike, and their 'safety' qualities were greatly doubted. The British public of fifty years ago was notoriously slow to accept new ideas, and to this may doubtless be attributed the failure of the company which endeavoured to float Mr. Hansom's invention. For many years the steady-going 'four-wheeler' held the field against its new and more enterprising rival, but little by little the hansom made its way; though how slow was its growth in popularity may be gathered from the following extract from a magazine article,¹ written nearly twenty years after the patent was taken out:

We admire the talent of the man who invented the 'Hansom.' The design must have appeared to him in a dream, for no working man could ever have hit off such a queer, upside-down, incongruous-looking vehicle. The construction of a Hansom is certainly not handsome according to old-fashioned ideas of beauty or symmetry, unless, indeed, we adopt the venerable adage that 'Handsome is that

¹ *Colbourne Magazine*, 1850.

handsome does,' for there is no denying that they get over the ground well. But with respect to appearance, what would have been thought of a mail-coachman in former days driving in the guard's seat? It would have been the death of poor Nimrod, who studied propriety from the cock of the beaver—or 'castor' as they used to call it—to the square of the elbow. . . . There is a Hansom's Patent Safety Cab Company, which leads one to infer that Hansom is a real living hero, and not a sort of Old Parr, or Earl of Aldborough of Holloway's Pills, . . . and there are many others all on the 'safety' principle, which means that if the horse tumbles down he will get up again at his leisure without inconveniencing the passenger. Still, they are queer-looking things, with their high wheels, their back seats, and trap-doors for the rider to communicate with the driver.

However, in spite of ridicule and unfavourable criticism, the hansom won its way slowly but surely. 'All the world seems to be acquiring a taste for patent safeties,' wrote some one a year or two later, 'and every club-house in Pall Mall and St. James's Square has a fringe of hansoms hanging about its skirts.' But the 'world' of that particular writer was a narrow one, for at that period hansoms were chiefly affected by the *jeunesse dorée*, the dwellers in what Sir William Harcourt once called the 'parallelogram of ignorance'—club-land. To quote from another source:

Hansoms are most patronised by young men, who like them as a vehicle in which they can see and be seen, and because they are fast and will push on despite of stoppages and policemen, defying the ever opening trenches of the rival gas and water companies, the hazards of a pulling up before the sitting magistrates or the aldermen, or the Lord Mayor in the east, or the High Court of Police Commissioners in the west—alike undaunted by the fear of Captain Hay or Commissioner Harvey; because they turn corners so sharply as almost to cut down lamp-posts, and grind away granite curbstones in performing this feat; because it is more pleasant to smoke in them than in their competitors. Young-elderly gentlemen—the Colonel Oldbags of our days—who are well pleased with any safe opportunity for exhibiting a little youthful temerity, also uphold your hansoms as adapted to show, without the appearance of ostentation, their constitutional insensibility to all the dangers of an open carriage, to each and all of which they are really all the time most sensitive.²

At that period hansoms were rarely seen in the City; in fact, they were generally regarded with dislike by the staid portion of the community. To ride in one was thought 'fast,' a curious superstition which still lingers in the breasts of some elderly ladies at the present day. 'Hansoms,' we are gravely told, 'are never seen in waiting near the chapel of a private lecturer or popular preacher.' The four-wheelers monopolised all that sort of custom, for which their more sober and steady gait eminently qualified them. Time changes all things, and now we find the hansom patronised alike by the Exeter Hall evangelist and the young man about town. No doubt this growth in popularity is largely due to the steady advance which has been made in the construction and appointments of hansoms. The smart, dashing-looking vehicles with their india-rubber tires, spring

seats, square lamps, and numerous little contrivances to enhance the comfort of the rider, which may be seen in the West End and the City to-day, bear about as much resemblance to the original cumbrous invention of Mr. Hansom as Westminster Abbey does to a Noah's ark.

Turning from hansoms to their drivers we find that a corresponding improvement has taken place with respect to them also. They have their little failings, of course—what body of men has not?—but, taken as a whole, the average drivers of hansom cabs in the present day are smart, intelligent men, sober, honest, and hard-working, possessed of keen powers of observation, and a more than usual share of good humour. They have little or nothing in common with the obtrusive, surly, besotted drivers of the 'growlers' and 'crawlers' of fifty years ago. In writing thus it must be understood that reference is only made to the drivers of hansoms. The drivers of four-wheelers may have the same good qualities for aught I know, but I know nothing about them, and as a hansom-driver once remarked to me with an air of ineffable superiority, 'You see, they belongs to quite another class.' Without making any invidious comparisons, it must be generally admitted that, in outward appearance at least, the driver of a hansom has distinctly the advantage of his brother of the four-wheeler. He has often about him a certain 'horsey' cut as of a loungee at Tattersalls', he is prodigal with his coats and capes, his hat is neatly brushed, and he goes in for startling effects in the way of neckties. In fine weather he will sport a button-hole—generally a dahlia or some flower of that ilk—on good days he even runs to a cigar. Such are the outward and visible signs of a prosperous driver, and the public which notes them approvingly should not be niggardly of its fares, for often they are dearly bought, and a good swift hansom is worth twice as much as a 'bone-shaker' any day. In spite of all that may be urged to the contrary, the London cabmen have many hardships to endure. Their struggle for a living is a very keen one, they have to work early and late in all winds and weathers, and often for a mere pittance, or for nothing at all.

The burden which presses most hardly upon them is the high price they have to pay for their cabs, and which they *must* pay before they get any return for their labour. The price a driver pays for the hire of his hansom (four-wheelers are on a totally different footing) varies according to the season. In the winter the driver pays about 12s. a day for a cab and a change of horses—the cabman's 'winter,' it should be noted, runs from about September to March. In the summer season the prices are much higher. The summer season begins on Easter Monday, when the price for a cab and a change of horses is from 15s. to 20s. a day, according to the cab. From that date it gradually rises week by week to the Derby Day, when it reaches its zenith, and after that gradually declines until September. On Derby Day it has been known to run up to as

much as 35s. or 40s. for a good horse and cab. Such are the average prices, and it is obvious that a driver must work both himself and his horses very hard to make them up, and to leave any profit over for himself. There is one day in the year, though, on which a cab-proprietor will take practically what he can get, and that is Good Friday. Good Friday is a black-letter day with London cabmen. Every man who can do so without losing his place stops at home. It is not worth the while to take a cab out on that day. A driver told me that on last Good Friday he took out a hansom, for which he engaged to pay 5s. He only earned 2s. 6d. by fares all day long, so that he actually lost 2s. 6d. by the transaction.

This is the more general—in fact the almost universal—system of hiring, but, of course, other arrangements may be made. Some drivers, for example, hire a cab and a horse for so much, taking the good with the bad, and paying a fixed weekly price all the year round. A few are so fortunate as to have a stock-in-trade of their own. A cabman will tell you that it would cost him about 150*l.* to start on his own account—that is, with one of the latest cabs and two horses—but that, as a matter of fact, he could start for as little as 60*l.* A very decent cab-horse can be obtained for 25*l.* A man starting would not take a ‘green’ horse, but a seasoned one, which had seen some service. With a good turn-out he would reckon to take in fares, on an average, 17s. to 18s. a day in winter, and in summer about 25s. Of course, out of that there has to be paid forage and stabling for his horses, and a shelter for his cab. But the man who drives his own cab and horses can manage very comfortably indeed.

Most hansom-cabdrivers speak very bitterly—and with reason—of the hard terms imposed upon them by those who let them their cabs. There are many cruel ‘sweaters’ among the London cab-proprietors, who take an unfair advantage of the poverty and disorganised condition of the men—for there is very little *esprit de corps* among London cabmen, unfortunately—and grind them down to terms which render it well-nigh impossible for them to make a decent living. Of course, there are honourable exceptions to this rule, notably the Shrewsbury and Talbot Company, who are considerate with their men, and whose terms are very fair. But in cab-letting, as in other things, the middleman enters largely, and it is the middleman, or ‘cab-minder,’ who sweats so mercilessly for the large horse-dealers and cab-builders. But some of the proprietors are very merciless too. The mere mention of the name of one of them raises a howl of execration in any assembly of cabmen. This man, last June, was demanding 17s. 6d. a day for inferior cabs, with iron tires, and bad, slow-going horses, which the drivers could scarcely urge along. People will not patronise these sort of cabs if they can help it, yet, if the drivers fell only a penny short of the 17s. 6d. at night, they were dismissed without mercy. There

is also a firm owning many cabs, whose property is a disgrace to the streets. The majority of their cabs would not fetch 5*l.* each in a sale, and most of their horses are suffering from the disease popularly known as the 'Duke.' Yet the charge for these tumble-down 'properties' is 19*s.* a day, and woe betide the unfortunate driver who at the end of the day fails to produce the uttermost farthing of that sum.' There is another proprietor who out-Shylocks Shylock, and insists upon the drivers paying half the hire when they come in to change their horses, and if they are unable to produce it he summarily dismisses them. In fact, many cab-proprietors put the price of their cabs up to such an extent that the men at times have to resort to the 'buck-rider' (of whom more anon) to get their money, and, what is worse, they have to punish and distress their horses. The money has to be paid somehow. If it is not forthcoming they get their 'bill,' and when a man gets his 'bill' it means that he must go and find a cab elsewhere—if he can. There is a distinct disadvantage in starting anew, for many proprietors will palm off an old cab and a worn-out horse on a driver who comes to them for the first time, promising to improve his property later on, a promise which is not always redeemed. A notable exception to this rule, however, is a proprietor by the name of Fairbank, commonly known as 'Flying Fairbank,' because he provides such swift horses and easy-going cabs.

The number of hours which a cabman works is very great. The average is from 9 o'clock in the morning of one day, until about 1 A.M. of the next. 'To keep a home comfortable a man cannot manage under 9 A.M. until 1 A.M., and at times I "follow myself" and lie down in my clothes,' said a cabman to the writer a few months ago. A cabman has to work every day in the week to make a living. Often they work thirteen days at a stretch before they rest. The Shrewsbury and Talbot Company strongly advocate the Sunday rest, and they are also the pioneers of the half-day-on-Saturday movement. With them also a man who works five days at a stretch gets the cab on the sixth day for half the money. This is, however, an exceptional company. For the most part the length of hours the men have to work is excessive, and in a more laborious occupation would be impossible. Under existing circumstances an eight hours day would be of no use to cabmen. It would simply mean starvation.

It is well-nigh impossible to give an accurate idea of a cabman's average earnings. Speaking roughly, it may be said to average from about 15*s.* to 18*s.* a week. There are times, of course, when many make more than this; some make less; and not a few, it is to be feared, at the end of the week have nothing to show but a positive deficit, that is when their luck is against them. The earnings vary, and must vary, according to the season, the weather, and the value of the 'property,' i.e. of the horse and cab. Doubtless something

depends upon the driver, and certainly much depends upon his luck—the number of his fares, and the generosity of those who pay them. As to fares, it may be stated that if everyone only paid a cabman his strictly legal fare he would starve; fortunately there are some who are more open-handed. Drivers will tell one that the fare ‘most respected’ by them is the City man. He puts the money down on the roof without a word, and he almost invariably gives sixpence over the fare. Upon asking a cabman once which was his worst fare, he replied, ‘the hour fare,’ and then somewhat ungallantly added, ‘but the worst fare of all is a lady.’ He gave an instance of this, which it will be best, perhaps, to repeat in his own words, noted down at the time.

Two old ladies (he said) once called me off the rank, and a cabman is always obliged to obey when called off the rank, otherwise I should have avoided them: I always avoid ladies if I can. When they had got inside, they said they meant to go for an hour’s drive for 2s. 6d., but added that they might give me 3s. if I took them for a *nice* drive. They had called me off the Kensington Crescent rank to Addison Crescent. The route of the drive lay from there through Warwick Gardens into Cromwell Road and Sloane Street; through Knightsbridge, across the Park into the Bayswater Road; back through Kensington Palace Gardens, down High Street, Kensington, as far as the ‘Red Cow,’ Hammersmith, where we turned back to Addison Crescent. It was a broiling hot day, my horse was very tired, and he was kept at a trot the whole time. When they got out I was rewarded with 2s. 6d. They would not give the extra 6d., though they said they had a ‘nice drive.’ But they said I might call for them again the next day—a permission I did not take advantage of.

Cabmen, it would seem, have a vocabulary of their own. Thus, to eke out their fares they are often driven to seek the assistance of a ‘buck-rider,’ and their grievances are complicated by the existence of ‘butterflies,’ and ‘bilkers.’

The ‘buck-rider’ is a dummy fare to whom the driver is often obliged to resort in order to scrape together sufficient money to pay the proprietor. This is especially the case should he be unfortunate over his first horse. The great use of the ‘buck-rider’ is that he enables the cabman to get his cab into the market; in other words, to get past the police constables who keep all empty cabs from loitering at places where people are most likely to want them—at St. James’s Hall for example, the Criterion, and the various theatres and music-halls. But desperation makes the cabman fertile of resource; he picks up his ‘buck,’ who may be either a man or a woman, and carries him, or her, past the constables to the place where he wishes to go. A coin changes hands, usually one arranged upon beforehand, and in the momentary delay of alighting and passing the money, the cabman may secure a genuine fare, and drives off triumphant. Of course the trick has to be done with caution, for the penalty is a heavy one if the cab-driver is caught carrying a ‘buck.’ Policemen are well aware of the dodge, and at certain points (such as the entrance to St. James’s Park) constables are stationed, whose special

duty it is to spot the professional 'buck-riders.' The profession is not a lucrative one, for the 'buck' seldom gets more than a shilling or a gratis ride for his or her services.

The 'butterflies' are those who, as their name implies, come forth with the sunshine; the men who only drive cabs for two or three months in the summer, and who work at other avocations during the remainder of the year. They are generally men with a little capital, and are consequently able to place the regular driver, who is always very poor, at a disadvantage. By the aid of a little judicious 'palming,' or tipping, the 'butterfly' is able to secure the best cabs and horses in the market, while the regular driver, who works all the year round, has not got the money to 'palm,' and is, therefore, put off with inferior property. The feeling of the regular drivers against these 'butterflies' is very strong. Mr. Beasley, the secretary of the London Cabdrivers' Union, contends that 'a cabdriver is a public servant, and if he drives the public during the winter he ought to have the cream of the work and the profits during the summer. A man who has a cabdriver's licence should be considered in the same light as a policeman, and not be allowed to work at another trade during very bad weather and then return to cab-driving in the summer.' Certainly there can be little doubt that this periodical influx of 'bounty-fed' labour renders the conditions under which the regular drivers labour harder than they were before.

Another grievance is the 'bilker' system. The 'bilker' is a man who cheats the cabman out of his fare, usually by giving him a fictitious name and address. Only last Derby Day a cabman, known to the writer, took a 'bilker' down to Epsom and was cheated out of 30s. It speaks well for his brother Jehus that when they knew of his misfortune they sent round a whip for him, and by sixpences and shillings subscribed the sum. Mr. Beasley has stated that he knows of one member of the medical profession who has 'bilked' no fewer than forty cabmen. He engaged cabs in London day by day, and when the day was finished the men could not get their money, and a false name and address were given them. It is not easy to see why such a flagrant offender as this was not brought to book earlier. Another favourite dodge of the 'bilker' is to say when he gets out, 'Cabby, I shall be back in a minute,' and then, stepping down a passage or sideway, he disappears for good and all. In the case of railways, omnibuses, and other means of conveyance, when a passenger alights and refuses to pay his fare, or give his name and address, he can be given in charge of a constable. It is a distinct grievance that the cabmen have no such remedy. As things stand it is most difficult for them to recover fares from those who wish to defraud them. The time for taking out a summons expires in seven days, it often takes longer than that to hunt a 'bilker' down, and then with a cabman time means money.

The cabdrivers do not get too much protection from the law. In point of fact, they dread having anything to do with it. Those other sorely-trying public servants, policemen, are not disposed to be over lenient with licensed drivers. 'Wherever we are and whatever we do we are liable to be summonsed,' said a cabman to me plaintively, and then he proceeded to relate that

You can sometimes step into Marlborough Street Police Court and find about thirty cases disposed of in about half an hour. Should a cabman plead 'not guilty,' we reckon it costs him about 1s. a word. As an instance: I was called off the rank to St. James' Hall by a gentleman who, after hailing me, went back for a lady, and the constable would not allow me to wait for him. I was summonsed for loitering, and pleaded 'not guilty,' and was fined 3s. and costs, total 5s. If I had pleaded 'guilty,' I should only have had to pay 6d. and 2s. costs. Therefore it is always better to plead guilty, as the policeman's word is always taken before the cabman's. . . . The fairest magistrate to go before is Mr. Montagu Williams.

Such are some of the grievances of the London hansom-drivers as gathered from themselves; they are very real ones, but it must be confessed that it is not easy to remedy them. Much good work has been done by such bodies as the Cabdrivers' Union, the Cabdrivers' Friendly and Protection Society, the Cabmen's Shelter Company, and the Cabdrivers' Benevolent Society, but every one of these societies testifies to the immense amount of work which still remains to be done. The difficulty is complicated by the fact that the men are not agreed among themselves as to what they want. At a deputation of cabmen this year³ to the Home Secretary to protest against the proposed extension of the radius, a cabdriver of thirty-six years' standing expressed himself as being all in favour of free contract and free trade. But Mr. Beasley, the secretary of the London Cabdrivers' Union, who may be regarded in the light of an authorised spokesman, wants something very different. He wishes for some kind of tribunal to settle a tariff between the owners and the drivers, and he desires further to make the cabdrivers a close corporation with strict trade union rules. Most cabmen if interrogated personally will tell you that all they want is a little reduction in the price of their cabs. This goes to strengthen Mr. Beasley's contention, for the extortionate prices which some cab-proprietors are wont to demand from the drivers can only be resisted by a strong combination. This is the agency which cuts down a cabman's earnings to a vanishing point, which compels him to work unduly long hours, to distress his horses, to resort to the 'buck-rider,' to 'loiter,' and to commit most of those other offences which land him in Marlborough Street Police Court or elsewhere—this and the lack of combination, by which alone he would be able to make, and to maintain, an effective protest against unfair demands. Unfortunately the great bulk of London cabdrivers are too underpaid, too overworked, too isolated to combine,

and it is just because they do not combine that they remain underpaid, overworked, and isolated. That is, in fact, the problem which confronts those who fain would find a remedy for the present state of affairs, and whoever solves it will do much to lighten the burdens which now press heavily on a numerous, hardworking, and deserving body of men. Perchance a wider knowledge of the facts and the influence of a public opinion born therefrom, may do something to help them. It is in this hope that the present paper has been written.

W. H. WILKINS.

THE DECREASE OF CRIME

IN June of the past year, an article appeared in this Review entitled 'The Increase of Crime.' That article was somewhat of a surprise to me, for more reasons than one. The subject is one which I have had under consideration for some years past, not merely because of the interest it naturally has for a person in my position, but because it is a necessity for me and my colleagues to watch the result of executive and legislative measures for checking crime, and to try as far as we can to forecast the future, so that we may make our arrangements accordingly.

It is, therefore, of consequence to form a reliable and sound opinion, founded on substantial fact, as to the tendency of crime to increase or decrease, and not to be misled by prepossessions, or hopes, or fears, or delusions of any kind. The best opinion we have been able to form on a review of all the facts, and from the opinions of persons whose practical connection with the subject gives weight to their opinion, is that crime is decreasing.

There is no doubt that the returns of the prison population since 1877 have shown an almost continuous annual decrease. The average number in local prisons in 1876-7 was 20,361; in 1891-2 it was 12,663. The sentences to penal servitude have also continuously diminished during many years, and in a notable degree. In 1869 there were 2,006 such sentences. In 1891 there were 751. At the end of the former year the convict population in prison numbered 9,726, and rose for some years afterwards. On the 31st of March, 1892, it was 4,701. What are the causes of these phenomena? They have been explained by some people as due to a shortening of sentences; but, even if there is some foundation for the fact, there is no evidence of the consensus of such a large number of independent sentencing courts as would justify the assertion as a general rule. Moreover, it was not possible to show, and no attempt was made to show, that it would account for the whole of the decrease; and it would not account at all for the continuance of the fall year after year, for the sentences have certainly not been proportionately shortened year after year.

Others suggested that they were due to the practice of fining instead of committing to prison, which would account for some part

of the decrease, but again not for the continuous fall. Some said they were due to the depression of trade, which furnished less money for drinking with, and others that a certain class of criminals found the prisons less comfortable than they had been, and kept out of them. In whatever degree these two latter were the causes, they both amounted to saying that there was a decrease of crime. But, as the view that there has been such a decrease is impugned, and it is even asserted that there has been an increase, it is desirable to examine the grounds on which the latter view is held, and to show, as I believe, that they will not stand examination.

The 'text' of the article I refer to may, I think, be found on the fifth page, which seems to me like a jeremiad on the incurable and unimprovable immorality of human nature:—'General considerations based upon an ordinary knowledge of mankind are in harmony with statistics in giving no sort of sanction to an idea' that 'this country has recently entered upon a career of sudden and unexampled moral renovation.' The 'expansion of moral well-being . . . may possibly be demonstrated in the far-off future, when the discordant elements at present raging in society are brought into harmonious concert, but as the day-spring of that glorious time is not yet perceptible on the horizon, Rousseau's contention, that a high civilisation makes men worse instead of better, may be just as near the mark.'

The Gospel according to Rousseau is largely responsible for the development of a certain breed of sentimental tiger, to whom the atrocities of the French Revolution were principally due, and it has been a good deal discredited since the end of the last century. This doctrine of the evil inflicted by civilisation may, however, probably still be held in Anarchist circles, and if it were true would perhaps almost justify their existence. But many people, even philosophers and others not professionally bound to uphold the older Gospel which was preached some nineteen hundred years ago, hold that it has profoundly affected our civilisation, and has introduced into it elements by force of which it decidedly does make men better and not worse. The very matter we are discussing furnishes a case in point. It will not, I imagine, be contested that philanthropy is a distinguishing characteristic of that Gospel of Love which is the essence of the Christian religion, and philanthropy has never attained a higher development than now, when it is perhaps one of the principal features of the present stage of civilisation. Philanthropy has led to an entirely new way of dealing with crime, namely, by prevention instead of by punishment, and one of the principal results of this philanthropic idea is the establishment of Industrial Schools, in which young persons who seem likely to fall into crime and to develop into adult criminals may be trained in a better way and made into useful members of society.

It has led to those movements for providing better dwellings,

and otherwise raising the condition of those who are called sometimes 'the disinherited,' sometimes 'the submerged,' which help to remove temptations to crime, and purify the atmosphere in which those who may develop into criminals have been compelled to live.

It is perhaps one of the most curious features in the proof offered of the increase of crime that the adoption and development of the very means by which it is diminished are cited as corroborations of the doctrine that it has increased—among them being the increase in the number of juveniles committed to Industrial Schools. To show this, we are given the number of those committed to 'Reformatories and Industrial Schools' added together. The Reformatories are penal and reformatory institutions for young persons convicted of crime, and correspond therefore to prisons. The Industrial Schools, on the other hand, are preventive institutions for children who have not been convicted, but might fall into crime for want of proper care and training. To mix the two together obviously obscures the facts, and the more thoroughly, because the committals to Reformatories have decreased during the last ten years, so that the increase in the united numbers is solely due to the development of the distinctively preventive institutions, to which there is little doubt the decrease in crime and criminals is largely due, and which are the product of the Christian civilisation of which Rousseau thought so little. In fact, mixing the two together is as if an increased prevalence of small-pox was proved by adding together the number of people who developed the disease and the number who were vaccinated to guard against it.

Further than this, the figures given in the article compare the three decades beginning in 1860, 1870, and 1880, and show what is true enough, that the number of inmates of these two classes of institutions has increased in each ten years; but this does not show an increase of convicted or even of potential criminals, but only reminds us that there were comparatively few such schools until the great development of these institutions took place after the Reformatory and Industrial Schools Acts were passed, in 1866, for the purpose of encouraging them, and that advantage has been taken of them with still greater vigour in connection with the Education Acts passed in and since 1870.

In a similar way the increase in the police force is cited as a proof of the increase of crime. If this view were sound we should expect to find that when there was no police force at all it was because there was no crime—a paradox which, perhaps, it is not necessary to spend time in refuting. Many years ago no traveller could cross Hounslow Heath, Wimbledon Common, or similar desolate approaches to the Metropolis, without a good chance of being robbed. Hanging those who were caught did not check this inconvenience, but at last Sir John Fielding hit upon the idea that it might be prevented, and established the armed horse patrol which soon put a check on the

highwaymen. Their appointment was no sign that highway robbery had increased; it was only the adoption of a better mode of preventing it. Another most potent mode of preventing crime is by making detection more certain. In 1869 there were only fifteen detectives in the metropolitan police; there are now 434, an increase which we may assume adds to the convictions but cannot increase the crimes committed. An increase in the police force, with a view to their greater preventive efficiency, is no more a sign that crime has increased than an increase in the amount spent in drainage and water supply, when towns or localities become alive to their advantage, is a proof of increased unhealthiness in places which have adopted such preventive precautions. If an inquiry into the health of a town was to assume that the increased activity of drainage was a sign of increasing bad health, and was altogether to ignore and pass over the evidence afforded by the improved death-rate and the opinion of the medical men of the town, it would be precisely similar to taking the increased activity in progressive development of these preventive institutions as a sign of increase of crime, omitting altogether any investigation into their effect on the number of the criminal classes or disorderly houses, and ignoring the direct testimony of the police, who must know how these matters stand, as well as an army can tell whether it is advancing or retreating, victorious or defeated.

It has to be remembered, too, that the maintenance of a police force was not compulsory until 1856, and these establishments do not at once attain maturity, but take time to develop into their proper size. This, no doubt, depends too in part on the value of the property to be protected as well as on the population, both of which have risen very much, and the mere collection of large numbers of people together makes a police force necessary, without any reference to the crime they actually commit. Anybody can see that a very large part of the duties of the police in London, or any large town, have no more to do with crime than those of the gentlemen-at-arms who regulate the movements of the gentlemen and ladies who attend Her Majesty's *levées* and drawing-rooms.

What then is the testimony of the police as to the increase or decrease of crime and criminals? Every year they furnish a return of the number of the criminal classes, and a comparison of the numbers in successive years furnishes what seems to be irresistible testimony of an immense improvement in this matter. Since the year 1867-8 the decrease in their number has been practically continuous, so that they have fallen from 87,668 to 51,095. Is it conceivable that, while the criminal classes have thus diminished in number, crime has increased? Would it not be more reasonable to say that the increase in the efficiency of the preventive measures and preventive institutions, and of the means for bringing offenders to justice, have produced the effect.

expected of them? Is it not at least noteworthy that this diminution tallies in point of time with the establishment of the preventive institutions, and seems to gather additional force as their effect might be expected to mature? for the fall has been greatest and most rapid from 1882 onwards, just when the children for whose care the Industrial Schools Act and the Education Act were intended to provide would probably, but for them, have developed into full-blown adult criminals.

And what do the police themselves say as to crime?

The Commissioner of Police of the Metropolis in a recent report observes :—

The criminal returns for 1890 disclose a most satisfactory record for the year. The felonies relating to property numbered 17,491, or 2,053 fewer than in 1889, though the figures for 1889 were a marked improvement on those for the preceding year. A reference to Table No. 13 in the Appendix (p. 32) will show that there were fewer offences of this kind committed in the Metropolis during 1890 than in any year since 1875. But in 1875 the felonies of this class were, relatively to the population, in the ratio of 4.182 per thousand, whereas last year the proportion per thousand was only 3.002, or less than half the number considered normal twenty years ago. And if the reference be extended to Table No. 13A, it will be seen that serious crimes against the person were also, relatively to population, fewer than ever before. It thus appears that there was greater security for person and property in the Metropolis during 1890 than in any previous year included in the statistical returns. It should be remembered that in relation to police work the difficulties of dealing with crime, as each decade adds a million to the population of the Metropolis, are augmented in a ratio far greater than that of the arithmetical increase. The facilities for the commission of crime, and the chances of immunity relied on by professional criminals, are very much greater in a population bordering on 6,000,000 than they were in 1875, when the population of London was only about 4,000,000.

The Chief Constable of Liverpool says :—

Never, since the first publication of returns of crime in Liverpool (i.e. since 1857) have the statistics disclosed so small an amount of crime or so large a success in making criminals amenable to justice as those for the year ended the 29th of September, 1891.

The number of indictable offences committed during the year was 3,320, being 907 less than last year, and 967 less than the year previous.

Each class of serious crime shares in the general improvement.

The books kept at the Detective Office show that the total number of offences against property (whether indictable or summary) have been 6,397 during the year, as against 6,797 last year, and 6,789 the year previous.

Turning now to the offences dealt with summarily during the year, improvement is again exhibited.

Minor offences of violence have fallen from 1,952 to 1,546. Offences committed by juveniles have fallen from 1,331 to 1,019.

His report, quite recently issued for the year just concluded, is to the same effect, except that crimes of violence have slightly increased in the year.

I will now turn to the testimony of an experienced observer, who necessarily looks at the question in the dry manner of a professional

statistician, and who has the additional qualification that he knows the precise meaning of the figures given in the annual volumes of the judicial statistics, because he, for many years, prepared them himself. I refer to Mr. Grosvenor, who, just before leaving the Home Office, read to the Statistical Society in 1890 a paper on the subject we are now considering, entitled, 'The Abatement of Crime' during the twenty years to 1887-8. He summed up the matter thus:—

It is obvious that these combined causes have materially assisted in securing the abatement shown to have taken place in nearly all classes of crime during the last twenty years; while the great reduction in the number of known thieves and other suspected persons at large, as well as in the houses of bad character which they frequent, and more especially the extraordinary diminution in the number of *receivers of stolen goods*, has made manifest the increasing efficiency of the police. When to this is added the fact that during the period in question the population of England and Wales has increased by nearly *six millions and a half* (6,463,957), we must admit that the many agencies enlisted for the purpose of diminishing the number of criminals have been most successfully applied, and the result cannot fail to afford the utmost satisfaction and encouragement to all who are anxious for the improved moral and physical advancement of our nation.

Of all the competent people present at the meeting, including the then Commissioner of Police of the Metropolis, not one expressed any doubt that the 'abatement of crime' was a substantial fact.

In referring to the very large decrease in the number of the criminal classes, Mr. Grosvenor calls particular attention to the 'extraordinary decrease' in the number of receivers of stolen goods, and of crimes of this class reported to the police, pointing, as he says, to 'the successful action of the police'; and perhaps no more effective blow than this could be delivered at crime, for it has been truly said that if there were no receivers there would be no thieves.

Concurrently with this decrease in the number of criminals is the decrease in the number of houses of bad character, 'the resort of thieves and depredators,' which, for reasons very clearly set forth, fell, by means of the action of the police, from 8,743 in 1869 to 2,978 in 1888, and numbered only 2,429 in 1891, or, in proportion to the population, one-fourth of the number they were.

The figures in these last returns are not of course accurate in the sense that the muster rolls of a regiment are, but they can be taken as substantially representing the facts, and the continuous and uniform decrease they show could not arise from a conspiracy among all the police forces to misrepresent or be inaccurate.

I think I have said enough to show that to reckon the increase in the Police and Industrial Schools as indirect proofs of an increase in crime is to confuse the prevention of crime with crime itself, and that to leave out of consideration the evidence afforded by the large and continuous diminution in the number of habitual criminals, receivers, and bad houses, is to ignore the most valuable indirect evidence that can be obtained.

It is necessary now to consider the figures which measure the fluctuation in the actual crimes themselves; and, first, to explain what material it is proposed to make use of, and to define what is meant by the word 'crime' as used in this connection.

I propose to make use of the returns given in the judicial statistics of the number of crimes committed, so far as they can be ascertained. In these tables the various offences which come under the notice of the police are set forth in two divisions. One relates to the indictable offences, and gives 'the number of crimes committed, so far as known to the police, and not summarily dealt with'; the other relates to the offences disposed of summarily, and gives 'the number of offences for which persons were proceeded against summarily.' These two tables obviously do not treat the offences in quite the same way, but they form the best material we have for arriving at the number of offences committed, and used for purposes of comparison of one year with another they afford ample means of arriving at a correct result.

Next, as to the word 'crime.' Any person who studies these tables, and, with a view to ascertaining the fluctuations in crime, looks merely at the total number at the foot of them, would very probably conclude, as do apparently some writers, that 'the total volume of crime has increased very materially,' for the numbers rose from 578,841 in 1869-70 to 770,392 in 1890-1, if, for the sake of illustration, we compare those years; but if we look a little more closely at the figures of which these totals are made up, we see that a very large proportion of these offences are not 'crimes' at all, as the word is ordinarily understood. For instance, offences against the Education Acts could not be committed before 1870, but they count for 96,601 in the latter year. Few people, however, would say that 'crime' was increasing and 'civilisation demoralising us because we now compel parents to send their children to school, and hale before the magistrates those who fail to do so, not having yet been accustomed to accept the new law. Offences against Local Acts and Borough Bye-Laws, which are not 'crimes,' have, in the same time, increased from 35,681 to 59,108; begging and other offences against the Vagrant Acts, from 41,780 to 46,019; offences against the Highway and similar Acts, from 29,837 to 32,889. If the efforts that are being made to make it a penal offence to work more than eight hours a day are successful, we might expect to find several hundred thousands added to the number of offences brought before the magistrates, but nobody would consider this a proof of an increase of 'crime.'

The article maintaining the increase of crime refers to the Education Act as having 'fostered the growth of crime' (the first time I have ever seen it spoken of in such terms) by increasing the number of offences, but states that it is 'counterbalanced to some extent by the abolition of several old penal laws, as well as by the

greater reluctance of the police and public to set the law in motion against trivial offenders.' No information is given as to the 'several old penal laws' which have been enforced till lately, but are no longer, nor of the number of offences by which the total is thus diminished. Some Acts may have been abolished, but, if they had become obsolete before they were abolished, the repeal would make no difference, and, in any case, the 'some extent' must be minute in comparison with the effect of the Education Act alone. Nor is any authority or statistical information given to show that the reluctance to prosecute has increased, while certainly the appointment in 1879 of a Public Prosecutor (which is not referred to) tends in the opposite direction, as do the Habitual Criminals and Prevention of Crimes Acts, 1871 and 1879; and the large increase made in the detective force of the Metropolitan Police, which, as before stated, numbered only fifteen in 1869 and now numbers 434, has helped to increase prosecutions.

To find out, therefore, whether 'crime' has increased or decreased, it is necessary to extract from the mass of figures those which really illustrate the point we are considering; and the first step in this is not difficult, for the judicial statistics have provided an excellent classified analysis of the offences, in which those which consist of breaches of the laws for the protection of the person or of property are set forth in five classes, which constitute substantially what people have in their minds when they speak of an increase or decrease of 'crime.'

This classification is, in the judicial statistics, applied only to the tables of 'indictable offences not summarily dealt with.' Those which were summarily dealt with are not so classified. The former tables afford clear evidence of a continuous decrease in the number of crimes committed which is fatal to the theory of an inevitable increase. It is assumed, therefore, but with no attempt at proof, that this decrease is only apparent, and that it must arise from the effect of the Summary Jurisdiction Act, 1879, by the operation of which certain crimes were made triable summarily, and so have been taken out of the classified set of tables and put out of sight in the unclassified mass which composes the other set. This Act is, therefore, credited with a principal share in the diminution in Class III. (the offences against property without violence), which comprises about two-thirds of the whole of the crimes tried on indictment. But this Act only carried somewhat further a reform of procedure which had been initiated many years before (1855), and whatever effect it may have had in decreasing the number, as between 1879 and 1880 or 1881, it clearly could not account for the further continuous fall which has been going on ever since.

The tables of offences summarily dealt with, however, though not classified, set out those offences in detail, so that, with a certain amount of labour, it is quite possible for an inquirer to classify them

for himself, and so give a substantially complete and correct view of the fluctuation of crime independent of any disturbing cause arising from a change in the mode of trial.

A different method is, however, adopted in the article on 'The Increase of Crime.' It is to select from among the various classes of crime one which is 'the most serious of crimes, and which' is free from any ambiguity in the above sense, and adopt it as a 'criterion' of the fluctuations of crime in general, and of the effect which the change of procedure has had on the figures in the other classes. The typical crime thus selected is one which forms so small a proportion of the whole, and is of so special a character as murder. Out of a total of crimes in the five classes triable on indictment, which amounts in round numbers to 200,000, a crime which, by stretching its number to the utmost, accounts for less than one in 1,000, is taken as a type or criterion of the whole. It is as if the increase or decrease of imports was judged by the value of some peculiar and rare article, such as diamonds or works of art, brought into the country. Mr. Grosvenor's paper, moreover, gives a further caution on the meaning to be attributed to the returns of 'murder,' for he points out that 'a considerable proportion of these crimes, reported as murder from verdicts given by coroner's juries, resolve themselves into the lesser offences of manslaughter and concealment of birth,' which certainly ought to be distinguished in an inquiry of this sort from 'the most serious of crimes,' as they have always been by common consent in practice. It is clear, therefore, that this crime cannot be taken as typical of crime in general, nor should the numbers be quoted without a caution as to their real force and meaning.

I must also point out that the method adopted of comparing the average number for any decade with the average for the preceding or succeeding decade does not bring out the essential facts of the situation. We want to know whether the barometer is rising or falling—if it is steadily rising we anticipate good weather; if it is falling we may expect bad. It is of very little consequence whether the average height this week is higher or lower than the average height last week; and, similarly, if the number of crimes, after rising for say ten years, has been continuously falling during the next ten years or more, this goes to show that something has happened, which ten years or more ago converted a rise into a continuous fall, and we need not be uncomfortable if the average number of the last ten years is, nevertheless, on the whole greater than in the ten years preceding.

If, for example, in the earlier decade the number of cases of a certain crime rose regularly from 1,000 to 2,000, and in the succeeding decade fell from 2,000 to 1,200, the average in the latter period would be higher than in the former; but to say, therefore, that crime was increasing would obscure the important fact that it had been falling in a marked manner for so long a period as ten years, and any

action founded on the supposition that it was increasing would clearly be entirely mistaken.

I propose, therefore, to accept no crime as typical of all the rest, but to take the absolute number of crimes reported, both those which represent indictable crimes not dealt with summarily and those which represent such as were dealt with summarily, as accurately as the judicial statistics enable them to be arrived at. I will endeavour to put the case as fully and fairly as I can without flooding this paper with masses of figures, and I will, therefore, give the figures for the year (if any) in which a decided and continuous tendency seems to have set in, and for the last year for which the figures are known. For fuller information I will refer those who want it to the judicial statistics themselves, and to the diagrams published with the Report of the Commissioners of Prisons for 1891-2. And here I must call attention to a method of comparison which is likely to, and does, lead to a false inference, and which I propose to avoid. The comparison of fluctuations of crimes in the different classes, made by taking the figures which give the number of persons *tried* on indictment, gives no correct measure of the fluctuations in the number of *crimes committed*. It would omit, for instance, all notice of those Whitechapel murders for which nobody was tried. Clearly then it would give an imperfect gauge of the crime in the country, for it mixes together and confuses an increase or decrease of crime with an increase or decrease in success in bringing crime to justice.

This point was fully discussed in the Report of the Constabulary Commission, 1839, who entirely rejected this mode of comparison, saying:—

How little the convictions can be trusted as evidence of the increase and diminution of crime will be perceived on reference to the return of crimes known to have been actually committed. It would have been inferred from comparison of the year 1817 with the year 1820 that crime increased threefold, though, in fact, it had somewhat diminished. The comparison of convictions for 1806 with 1826 would be received as proving that up to the latter period crimes had doubled in number, whereas, in fact, they had been reduced more than one-half; as between 1812 and 1820 . . . , that crime had increased sevenfold, whereas it had scarcely doubled.

‘Crimes,’ as I have above defined them, are set forth in the judicial statistics in five classes:—

Class I. Offences against the person, including assaults.

Class II. Offences against property, with violence.

Class III. Offences against property, without violence, including stealing, embezzlement, offences against the Game Acts, &c.

Class IV. Malicious offences against property, destroying fences, fruit, trees, &c.

Class V. Forgery and offences against the currency.

These classes contain substantially all the offences against person and property ordinarily understood by the word ‘crime.’ To save

space and for conciseness I shall use the word 'indictable' as meaning only those which were not summarily dealt with, and 'summary' those crimes which would fall into the same five classes, but which were summarily dealt with.

I believe that an examination of the figures will show that there has been substantially for many years past until the latest recorded year a continuous fall in the number of crimes committed; that only one class of crime has fallen during so few as six years; that most of them have fallen during ten to fourteen years, and one class during twenty-five years. And it must be noted also that this fall has occurred during a time when the population and wealth of the country has been largely increasing.

Indictable offences in these five classes have fallen, as a whole, since 1867-8, when the number was 57,812, and the fall has been almost continuous since 1877-8, when the number was 52,397, till in 1890-1 the number was 35,335. Summary offences in the same five classes have been falling since 1873-4, when the number was 192,440. In 1890-1 the number was 159,534.

It is clear at once from these figures that if the Summary Jurisdiction Act, 1879, diminished the indictable offences by 3,000, it accounts only for about one-third of the total decrease; that it does not account for the fall in summary offences for six years previous; also, that the addition of the above number to the summary has not prevented a net fall in these offences by 32,906.

Now as to the fluctuations in the crimes of each class separately.

CLASS I. OFFENCES AGAINST THE PERSON, INCLUDING ASSAULTS

The *indictable offences* fluctuated very much before 1884-5, displaying no marked continuous tendency either to rise or fall, but in that year they suddenly rose from 3,073, and stood in 1885-6 at 3,626. They have since fallen somewhat, standing in 1890-1 at 3,352.

The *summary offences* of this class have fallen almost continuously since 1875-6, when they numbered 100,422. In 1890-1 they numbered 77,857.

CLASS II. OFFENCES AGAINST PROPERTY, WITH VIOLENCE

Indictable.—It is difficult to give a clear and brief account of the fluctuations in this class, and changes in the mode of classifying offences increased them by an unknown amount at one time, and diminished them at another. All that can be said is that since 1881-2 the tendency has been to fall. There were in 1881-2 7,112; in 1890-1, 5,938 cases. The number of *summary offences* in this class is too small to take into consideration, as they never have exceeded 87, and have been as low as 1.

CLASS III. OFFENCES AGAINST PROPERTY, WITHOUT VIOLENCE, INCLUDING STEALING, EMBEZZLEMENT, OFFENCES AGAINST THE GAME ACTS, &c.

Indictable.—These have fallen almost continuously since 1877–8, when the number was 41,341; in 1890–1 it was 25,086. This is the class which is said to have fallen notably by the operations of the Summary Jurisdiction Act, 1879, which, however, only accounts for a diminution of about 3,000 out of a net fall of 16,000.

Summary.—The number of these offences was not apparently increased by the number by which the indictable had diminished, for it substantially remained the same from 1879–80 to 1881–2, when there were 72,434. Since that date it has continuously fallen, and in 1890–1 was 62,990.

CLASS IV. MALICIOUS OFFENCES AGAINST PROPERTY, DESTROYING FENCES, FRUIT, TREES, &c.

Indictable.—The number has not risen or fallen in any marked way, keeping a little on one side or the other of 600 during the last ten years, in which it has been higher than in the decade immediately preceding, but lower than in the decade preceding that.

Summary offences of this class have fallen almost continuously since 1873–4, when there were 25,800, and in 1890–1 numbered 18,675.

CLASS V. FORGERY AND OFFENCES AGAINST THE CURRENCY

Indictable.—The number of these offences has fallen with short interruptions since 1856–7, when there were 2,839; in 1890–1 there were 446. This class affords further illustration of the fallacy of measuring the state of crime by the convictions, for, in the article which upheld the view that crime has increased, it is said that these offences have increased on the average of the two last periods of ten years from 421 to 499 per annum, whereas the crimes themselves, in the same periods of ten years, fell on the average from 853 to 841, showing, of course, that these offences decreased, but that a larger proportion was brought to justice. I have previously pointed out how the large increase in the detective force is calculated to produce these effects. It exemplifies further the erroneous deduction which may follow from selecting certain particular periods for comparison, for, if the decades selected had been those commencing 1871 and 1881, the average number of crimes would have shown a large decrease from 861 to 742, instead of the small decrease from 853 to 841.

I have already expressed my opinion that these results should be no matter of surprise, as they have, to all appearances, followed the

preventive measures taken in order to effect them, and I especially specified the establishment of institutions to guard young people from falling into crime. This is further corroborated by the decrease in the number of first convictions, which have fallen gradually from 109,916 in 1883 to 93,390 in 1892, and the diminution in the number of young persons (under 16 years of age) committed to prison (which includes all those sent to reformatories), which in 1869-70 was 9,998, in 1880-1, 5,579; and in 1891-2, 3,855.

I am inclined to suppose that the doctrine that crime is decreasing is to some people less acceptable than the reverse, for it is duller and affords less scope for sensation, and particularly if the doctrine of increase can be accompanied by announcing an 'appalling' increase of murders or something which curdles the blood. This advantage, however, I must forego.

I know that anyone who does not resolutely take a gloomy view of human affairs, and finds himself compelled to believe and say that they are not so bad as they are sometimes represented, is liable to be answered by being called an 'optimist,' and if he happens to be in the Government service and discussing public interests his crime is considered to be still heavier, and he is styled an 'official optimist.' But calling names, after all, proves nothing. I have, at all events, given the grounds for my opinion, and I can only repeat what I once heard Sir William Harcourt say to a person who made a similar charge against him, 'It is better to be an optimist after full inquiry than a pessimist without.'

Further, though I have set forth the grounds of my belief that crime has decreased, and have shown that this belief is shared by those whose evidence, from their being practically in constant contact with the facts, is almost more valuable evidence than statistics, I think it may be as well that I should try to remove the suspicion which the suspicious will entertain, that I have special interest in proving it for the glorification of the particular department of the Government service with which I am connected. I have, it will be seen, not referred most distantly to punishment as in any degree the cause of the decrease, though I well remember that, when crime was increasing, it was at once set down to the prison system. I will not endeavour to appraise the share which punishment has in the decrease of crime, but will repeat that, in my opinion, prevention is far and away better than any possible cure, and that next to prevention stands certainty of detection and of bringing to justice. Punishment then naturally comes into operation to serve as a warning and a deterrent to the wavering, and to the detected culprit a chastening experience, which should always be accompanied by influences calculated to reform.

A BRITISHER'S IMPRESSIONS OF AMERICA AND AUSTRALASIA

TRAVEL may be made more than a means of obtaining refreshment, recreation, or health. It enables a man to compare foreign lands with his own, and learn the points in which the latter is behind or ahead of other countries. Such a study may be very profitable if undertaken in an honest manner and with an open mind. Having visited the United States four times, my first journey having been made as long ago as 1864, and having recently returned from a tour round the world, passing through Australia and New Zealand, and returning by way of San Francisco and New York, I propose to consider the particulars in which these new countries appear to have gone ahead of the mother-land, as well as those which in my opinion it would be well if we abstained from imitating. I shall divide the subject which I propose to treat under separate heads, and I shall commence with that of government and the political systems by which that government is secured and maintained; but before doing so I would desire at once to remark that, as this paper does not profess to be more than a brief statement of the impressions produced by travel on the mind of the writer, no attempt shall be made to enter under this head into any comparison of the forms of government in the old and new countries—a subject which has already been so exhaustively treated by the ablest writers in several serious works, that it would be presumptuous as well as useless for me to enter upon its consideration. I shall therefore only touch upon those matters which have thrust themselves on my attention through the daily Press or otherwise.

GOVERNMENT

The two points which must strike all travellers familiar with continental civilisation, notwithstanding little variations, are the similarity of the mode in which the people govern themselves in Great Britain, America, and the colonies, and the absence of that paternal form of rule which is almost universal in Europe, whether it be exercised under the title of a Republic, a Kingdom, or an Empire. We sometimes doubt—and history has given us cause to doubt—whether, on the continent, under the most democratic forms, the will of the people always finds true expression in its government; but no reasonable man can fail to perceive that the British, the American,

the Canadian, and the Australian people really rule. There may be a difference of opinion which vessel of State answers the quickest to the pressure of the helmsman's hand, or according as our sympathies lean towards a cautious or rapid line of action; so we may prefer that system which seems to our minds best calculated to insure instantaneous obedience to the directing will, or which by slower action makes it possible for the helmsman, before it is too late, to rectify an error of judgment. Great Britain and her colonies might almost be described as republics under the forms of monarchy, whilst America (her President retaining the old kingly power of veto, besides other rights no longer possessed by the British Sovereign) may be considered to be an elective limited monarchy under the forms of a republic. It is usually acknowledged that the people of Great Britain can give effect to their desires more rapidly through Parliament than can the people of the United States through Congress; for, as is well known, the President and his ministers are irremovable during his term of office, and if they think fit, or believe that the people are at their backs, can rule the country for four years in opposition to the votes of Congress.

There is greater individual freedom in Great Britain and her colonies than in America. For instance, every Sunday small knots of men may be seen in the principal London parks, giving expression to the most varied sentiments on matters political, social, and religious, and language painful to the great majority of the people is constantly being used. No restriction is ever placed on such expressions of opinion, so long as they are uttered on sites designated by the police, where there can be no obstruction to traffic or danger of intimidation being exercised. In America, however, no meetings of any kind are permitted in these open spaces. In Central Park, New York, no one may even pick up a leaf without danger of fine or imprisonment; no one may walk on the grass unless he is playing a game. I barely escaped arrest for walking on the carriage drive. The police march about with their bâtons out—often swinging them—and appear to regard themselves more as the masters than the servants of the people. Socialists are under a special ban, and in Chicago are forbidden to display the red flag in public. It may not be shown even from a private window, and their meetings have been broken up by the police in Philadelphia, although held in a building and perfectly orderly in character.

The real difference between the old and the new countries is material rather than political. The high wages current in America, Canada, and Australasia enable a thrifty workman to live in comparative comfort, and save money for his old age, whilst the immense, undeveloped resources of these new lands, and the demand for men of intelligence and energy offer chances of rising in the social scale and of accumulating fortunes which older civilisations cannot rival.

New Zealand appears to be the country in which the working man holds the firmest grip on the reins of power. Capital is weakest here, and is largely represented by the absentee bondholder, whose effective resistance to the attacks of labour is necessarily weakened by absence from the scene of conflict. This colony approaches nearer than any other country I have visited to the ideal of the socialist, where there shall be neither poverty nor riches, and where land and all the means of producing wealth shall belong to the State. This ideal has not yet been reached; but the present Premier, Mr. Ballance, cannot be accused of delaying its advent. The land not in private hands has already been nationalised, and not one more foot of New Zealand soil is ever again permanently to pass into private hands. The national property can only now be temporarily alienated on short leases, and, but for the action of the Upper House, which last session rejected six of Mr. Ballance's proposals, no man would now, by Section 85 of his Land Bill, be able to hold more than 2,000 acres of land under penalty (Section 86) of five years' imprisonment, without option of a fine, for false declaration. With the exception of a short line from Wellington to Palmerston, all the New Zealand railways are in the hands of the Government, and it is the Premier's ambition to see the State in possession of all mines, factories, and steam transit lines. Mr. Ballance has not allowed the grass to grow under his feet. It was only in December 1890 that the first thoroughly democratic parliament was elected under manhood suffrage, on the one man one vote principle. In the session of 1891 fifty-two Public General Acts were passed, and out of these six may be classed as bearing on their face a distinctly democratic character, viz.: Coal-mines, Employers' Liability Act Amendment, Factories, Lands Income Assessment, Mining and Truck; and he attempted, but failed through the action of the Upper Chamber, to pass six other bills having a similar tendency, namely: Industrial Arbitration, Land, Land for Settlement, Selectors' Land Revaluation Continuance, Shop Hours, and Workmen's Lien bills. Exasperated at the repeated checks which his more radical measures have met with in the Legislative Council, Mr. Ballance is credited with the intention of swamping the Upper Chamber by submitting to the new Governor, Lord Glasgow, the names of fifteen men, several of them belonging to the working class, for nomination to seats in that house. If His Excellency should yield to this demand, there will exist no longer any political barrier in the colony to the advances of pure democracy.¹ Although capital has had a hard fight to hold its own in the Australian colonies, it has issued victorious from the recent struggle; whilst in America, notwithstanding democratic forms of government, it may be

¹ Since the above was written, Lord Glasgow has been instructed by the present Colonial Secretary, Lord Ripon, to give his consent to the appointment, as members of the Upper House, of twelve of Mr. Ballance's nominees.

said to be in great measure omnipotent. Although in the American States and the colonies government is almost universally based on manhood suffrage, I cannot remember having spoken with any one who ever said a good word in its favour in any of these countries. The universal complaint seems to be that manhood suffrage means the practical disfranchisement of the best and most intelligent portions of the community, and the enthronement in the seat of power of the 'boss' and professional wirepuller. Although it was a frequent subject of complaint on the part of colonists in Australasia that the men who filled the legislative chambers were of an inferior type to those to be found there in the early days, the absence of men of character, of social position, and of intellectual capacity from the legislatures does not appear to me as marked a factor in colonial as in American political life. There are few, if any, self-ruling lands in which the best class of citizen has less voice in the government of his country than in America. Money can make its power felt often by undesirable means; but unmoneyed educated respectability seems to be helpless, and often hopeless. Of course there are many eminent and self-respecting men in the American political world. The great and honourable names that adorn the roll of Presidents would alone show this; but, speaking broadly, America's noblest sons keep aloof from politics; so much so is this the case, that the word 'politician' has assumed a peculiar meaning which it does not bear in other countries. I would advise any alderman of a British County Council, travelling in the States, anxious to impress the natives with a sense of his own position, not to mention the title of the office he holds. A body of young men in New York have lately organised for the purpose of breaking up the tyranny of the 'boss'-run political machine, and for the purification of political morality, irrespective of party. Upon this subject one of the leading Western papers lately remarked:—

"It is an encouraging sign of the times that many prominent citizens of New York, irrespective of party, have united in a memorial to Congress asking for the appointment of a committee to inquire into the system of naturalisation in New York city, with a view to remedial legislation in reference thereto. Irregularities and glaring frauds have undoubtedly been practised under the present system. In a single court, during the first twenty days of last October, there were nearly 7,000 naturalisations, of which about 6,000 were by one judge. Such figures are entirely beyond the bounds of reason, and it is evident that there must be something wrong in the working of the machinery that turns out citizens of the United States at such a prodigious rate.

"For many years the making of voters out of new material, in such numbers as the exigencies of politics might seem to require, has been a great industry in the metropolis, and it has been carried on only a little less recklessly in some other cities. It is a reproach to the whole country, and an affront to the dignity of American citizenship that such proceedings should have been tolerated so long. If the honest men of both great parties in New York will unite against the system complained of in the memorial referred to, it can be reformed, but not otherwise. The proposed investigation may bring about some good results.

Mr. Bryce, in his *American Commonwealth*, has pointed out one reason why so few men of position and culture enter politics. Supposing a man of character and refinement to have made up his mind for patriotic reasons to face the muddy roads which lead to political power, he can only hope to represent the district in which he resides, as he is forbidden by law to stand for any other constituency. Country life as we understand it is unknown in America. No man lives out of a town if he can help it. Now, unfortunately, in the States as well as at home, the rich gentlemen who reside in the city have a tendency to congregate together. Suppose, therefore, a particular suburb of a city, returning one member to the municipal body, to contain several hundred men who by position and education would be well fitted to occupy seats on the council, only one of these could by any possibility find his way into the governing assembly of his town, whilst the others would be practically debarred from taking any similar position, although they might be the owners of property in several districts within the city, and be compelled to pay heavy taxation to a body upon which it was impossible for them to sit or even to obtain representation. The same restriction would prevent them from being returned to their State legislatures, although a hundred neighbouring electoral districts might find it impossible to discover within their limits men equally fit to represent them.

The election of judges by the people has occasionally tended in America to lower the character of the judicial bench, and consequently the respect entertained for it. There is in some States, partly owing to the above cause, a distrust of the power of the ordinary procedure of law to cope effectively with certain forms of crime; especially is this feeling predominant in the South; hence, lest criminals should escape justice, barbarous lynchings are frequently resorted to, with the natural consequence that the innocent sometimes suffer with the guilty. This distrust of judges and juries is not confined to small out-of-the-way places, but occurs occasionally in districts where one would have expected a higher civilisation to have reigned; for instance, in New Orleans the world has recently been scandalised by outrages in the name of Justice for which the United States has since had to indemnify the Government of Italy. Even the North is not free from this crime. A negro was lynched by the mob quite recently at Port Jervis, in the State of New York, and on the 12th of June an attempt was made to lynch another at Yardley, in the State of Pennsylvania. The bitter feeling which exists on the part of the white man against the negro in the South is the reason why so many of his race have suffered from this travesty of justice. It is said by the apologists of this species of mock judicial murder that the authorities are on these occasions powerless to restrain the mob. This may often be the case; but that it is not always so is proved by the rapidity with which a large armed negro mob was recently dispersed when the coloured men

attempted to copy the example of their white neighbours and had assembled for the purpose of hunting down and lynching a white murderer. The Southern Press, as a rule, supports the mob in the perpetration of these outrages; but the Northern has, on the whole, manfully championed the right of the negro accused of crime to a fair and legal trial. It is not only the negroes, however, who have thus been murdered; many a white man has suffered death on American soil without a legal trial. The following account of an attempt in Florida to lynch an innocent man from a beam in the very Court-house in which he had been tried, and in the presence of the very judge who had acquitted him, will show how powerless the authorities may sometimes be, and how small is the respect occasionally entertained for them. The European mind will find it difficult to credit the veracity of the following telegraphic report taken from the columns of one of the most respectable Northern journals:—

* Key West, Fla., June 2 —Ernesto Camero, a Cuban, twice came near being hanged by a mob yesterday for a crime he did not commit. Rena Hooker, a nine-year-old negro girl, was assaulted on Sunday, and she was supposed to have indicated Camero as her assailant. He was arrested and arraigned before Justice De Lamar, another Cuban, but dismissed. It was believed by the crowd in the Court-room that he had let the prisoner go through partiality, and in two minutes after the case was dismissed a rope was thrown around Camero's neck, but, before he could be strung up, somebody released him. Camero then rushed into the justice's office for protection, but De Lamar was roughly handled, and the rope was fixed around Camero's neck again, and swung over a beam in the Court-room. As it began to tighten, Camero said the guilty man was named Fernandez. He had refused the information before. De Lamar then reversed his decision, and committed Camero to jail. Ten minutes afterwards Fernandez was told of the fury of the mob, and that his guilt was known. Alarmed at this, he stabbed himself over the heart and in the neck, but not dangerously. He was arrested and jailed. Believing he was dying, he confessed, and cleared Camero.

* Personal violence offered to a magistrate on the very seat of justice, an invasion of the sacred precincts of the Court, an insult to the State and to its representative, two repeated attempts to murder an innocent man—if such outrages had occurred in a European country, the Press and the Legislature would have echoed the indignant sentiments of the people, and strenuous efforts would have been made to teach respect for law to these would-be murderers and insulters of authority. Although I carefully scanned the newspapers for some days subsequently to the appearance of this telegram, I saw no mention of the incident, nor did I ever hear it alluded to in conversation. I can only presume that such scenes are less uncommon in America than I supposed, and that the gravity of such an outrage on justice is not as apparent to the average American as it is to the European.

The negroes have held meetings all over the country protesting against the treatment they are receiving at the hands of white men,

especially in the South; they have sent a deputation to wait on the President and represent their grievances. He received them kindly and spoke sympathetically, pointing out to them, however, how impotent was the United States Government to interfere with the execution of the laws in the different States, but promising that he would do all in his power to obtain justice for them. A day of fasting and prayer was held whilst I was in America in all the coloured churches, and resolutions were adopted denouncing outrages in the South against negroes; urging that the general Government should indemnify American victims of mob law as well as those of foreign birth maltreated in the United States, and creating a committee to petition Congress to submit to the States a constitutional amendment empowering the general Government to grant such indemnity where no prosecution of the mob or redress is offered by the State where the crime occurs, the cost to be assessed against such States; and also paving the way for a national convention. This protest of the coloured population of America has met with the support of some of the most influential of her white citizens and leading newspapers. The *Cleveland Leader*, commenting on a speech lately made by Bishop Fitzgerald of the Methodist Church, South, says:—

The Bishop has disgraced himself and his church by making a speech in defence of the lynchers of coloured men in the South, declaring that the 'unspeakable crime for which negroes are lynched' places them beyond the pale of the law. The Bishop means to convey the impression that every negro hanged by a Southern mob has committed a criminal assault on a white woman. He knows better than that. During the past eight years 728 negroes have been lynched. Of that number only 269 were charged with or suspected of having committed a criminal assault. The causes given in reliable statistics for other lynchings were as follows: murder, 252; robbery, 44; incendiarism, 37; unknown reasons, 32; race prejudice, 27; quarrels with white men, 13; making threats, 10; rioting, 7; miscegenation, 5; burglary, 4. This accounts for 700 of the lynchings. The other 28 negroes were killed for various causes—3 for circulating scandal; 3 for defending themselves when attacked by white men; 2 for cutting levees; 2 for turning State's evidence against whites; 2 for gambling; 1 for drinking; 1 for trying to poison a well; 1 for colonising negroes; 1 for swindling; 1 for poisoning horses; and 1 for voodooism. Bishop Fitzgerald (the paper continues) might study this list with profit. No church can hope for progress under the leadership of a minister who defends murder, on no matter what ground, and it seems inconsistent that a man claiming to be a Christian should resort to deliberate misrepresentation, in order to make a defence of the barbarism that exists in the South to-day.

In contradistinction to the action of the Methodist Bishop it is pleasing to be able to record that a Bishop of another denomination, namely, the Rev. Arthur Cleveland Coxe, Protestant Episcopal Bishop of Western New York, during my visit to the States, called upon his fellow-churchmen to participate in the day of fasting and prayer observed by the coloured people.

On the 12th of June, Judge Albion W. Tourgee said at St. Paul:

"If there is not a marked change in the attitude of the country towards the coloured race, we shall have within the next ten years a massacre such as has not been paralleled since the French Revolution. The gravity of the danger which threatens us is not appreciated. I am amazed that the negro has been patient under the intense persecution which he has to endure. Since the proclamation of emancipation there have been more coloured men murdered by whites in the South than there have been days in all the years which have elapsed. And yet, of that fearful array of crime, justice has only avenged four.

RELIGION

The effect of separation between Church and State can be usefully studied in these new countries. Both the voluntary and the State system possess their advantages, and it is not as easy as some persons may think to decide offhand upon which side the balance leans. Probably each man will give the palm to that system towards which he has a natural or inherited inclination. Under the voluntary system the country districts and the poorer portions of the large towns often suffer; on the other hand, the scandal of a drunken, dissolute, careless, idle or broken-down clergyman retaining his cure in spite of the efforts of bishop and people to oust him, which, alas! too often arises in England, could not take place in either the colonies or America. In the two latter there are extensive tracts of country where a church is not to be found, as the resident farmers are too few and scattered to be able to support both a minister and a church. In the new countries churches in large cities will, as a rule, be met with only in the suburbs where the rich live, whilst the masses of the people are either comparatively neglected or their spiritual needs are only supplied by mission chapels provided by the charity of the congregations in the richer districts. These mission cures, owing to this arrangement, cannot, as a rule, command the services of the best and most eloquent clergy, who are naturally attracted by the higher salaries given by the wealthy congregations, and they are consequently usually filled by the younger and less experienced men, or by those of second-rate ability who have failed to obtain a call to the better-paid positions. The working men know this, and naturally resent the position of the poor and dependent relation. A minister who owes his salary to the gifts and goodwill of his congregation finds it difficult to speak from the pulpit with the freedom and independence which it is desirable that he should possess, and is exposed to the temptation of servility to the rich members of his congregation. It would not be easy, for instance, for a minister whose salary was dependent on the offerings of tradespeople to speak out boldly, if some of the most prominent had been convicted of adulterating their goods, nor could one well blame the man who ministered to the spiritual needs of merchants and stockbrokers if he laid greater stress on the sinfulness of adulteration than on that of the sin which

these latter classes are more exposed. In small communities, coarse and low men and women possessed of some means can tyrannise over a clergyman, knowing that they have it in their power to starve him out and drive him from the place if he be not obsequious to their whims and fancies. To obtain the payment of even the pittance which he has been promised on accepting the ministry he has sometimes to submit to the humiliation of frequent appeals and visits to his patrons, whilst his family do not know where they are to turn for money to pay their weekly bills. To show the poverty of some of the country clergy in America, a bishop told me that, when visiting in his diocese, he always wore patent leather boots, for he knew that if he did not the clergyman with whom he was staying would have to blacken them with his own hands; and a clergyman in New Zealand informed me that he had to submit at vestry meetings to the most foul and abusive language from men who chose this opportunity of venting their spleen on him, knowing that he was helpless. To refined and cultivated men with a sense of the high responsibilities attached to their sacred office such a position must be almost unbearable. I have said that in America and the colonies large tracts of country in thinly settled districts may be found without a church. As soon, however, as small hamlets and villages grow up, a new difficulty presents itself under the voluntary system. All churches being on an equality and none endowed, all rush in simultaneously where a hamlet or group of hamlets has grown large enough to give promise of support to a clergyman and church. Mr. W. de Witt Hyde, President and Professor of Bowdoin College, points out this difficulty in an article headed 'Impending Paganism in New England,' which appeared in the *Forum* of June last. He says:

New England to-day is confronted with the danger that the country village will be the first to lapse from vital Christianity, that here the English word countryman will repeat the history of its Latin predecessor, and that rusticity will again become synonymous with godlessness and superstition. Statistics recently gathered by the Maine 'Bible Society' show that Waldo County, Maine, has 6,987 families, divided in religious preference as follows: Adventist, 239; Baptist, 713; Christian, 159; Congregational, 691; Episcopal, 24; Free-will Baptist, 734; Methodist, 1,818; Roman Catholic, 136; Unitarian, 126; Universalist, 619; other denominations, 541; without preference, 1,046; not recorded, 141. Of the total, 4,850 report themselves as not attending church. Oxford County contains 7,258 families, of which 4,577 report that they attend no church. The combined statistics of fifteen counties show that, of 133,445 families, 67,842 are not attendants upon any church.

The writer of the above concludes that this spiritual indifference in the country is due in a great degree to the rivalry between the different denominations, which, as soon as a district is capable of supporting one church, induces them to rush in and force it to maintain half a dozen or more, with the result that the strain is too great for the neighbourhood. Only inferior men can be obtained for these

struggling cures, and the rivalry of the different denominations destroys all chance of the growth of real religious life, with the lamentable result that men get disgusted and abstain from all religious services alike.

NEWSPAPERS

Some of the American Sunday and religious newspapers which are written for a serious or leisured public are excellent in style and matter, as also are a few which appeal to a refined and literary class, and are content with a comparatively small circulation; but the average daily Press to be met with in the States is not of a high order. These newspapers are apt to be filled with sensational accounts under startling headlines of crimes, lynchings, disasters, and personalities. The telegraphic news of political interest is most meagre, and often appears in small type. The debates in Congress are either not reported at all or only recorded in barest outline. The interesting speeches of eminent men, and the instructive and thoughtful articles on political, artistic, commercial, religious, or social subjects, which form so large a portion of European newspapers, are, as a rule, conspicuous by their absence. There is a want of dignity and refinement in the tone of the ordinary newspaper, especially in the West, where the writer seems often deliberately to seek out flippant or vulgar phraseology with which to clothe his ideas. In Europe one looks forward with a sense of pleasure and of keen interest to the arrival of the morning newspaper, feeling that, as a rule, much matter for thought and interest will be presented to his mind; but in the States it is different. He rises from the perusal of the paper feeling that he has been dragged along a low level of crime and vulgarity. Of course there are exceptions to every rule, and doubtless a native would in most States know where to turn in order to obtain pleasure and information from his newspaper reading; but a stranger is not possessed of this information, and suffers accordingly. I need hardly say that the above remarks do not apply to the American magazines, which are widely known and read in Europe, and which to my mind are in some ways in advance of those of other countries. They surpass ours in the beauty of their engravings, in the excellence of their paper and print, and in their general attractive appearance. As far as I was able to judge, during my short visit to Australia and New Zealand, the daily papers in these colonies were superior in tone to the American, and, as a rule, free from that vulgarity to which I have alluded.

RAILWAY TRAVEL

The facilities for travel are, as a rule, very perfect in the United States. Nothing can be more magnificent than the continuous vestibuled Pullman cars on the principal lines of railway, making

what is termed a 'solid' train, from one end of which to the other a passenger may walk, not only without danger, but protected from the weather, and almost without being aware that he is passing from one separate carriage to another. But, notwithstanding the luxury to be found in these travelling palaces, and the splendour as well as taste with which they are furnished, to the European traveller they appear to possess certain disadvantages which go far to counterbalance their merits. Moreover, these continuous trains are only to be found on the main lines of railway. If the traveller diverges from these he must be content with the ordinary carriage, where there exists no distinction of class. Each Pullman car has seats for some twenty, and the ordinary carriage for some forty passengers. It is impossible for the conductor to please all the occupants as regards temperature and ventilation, nor can windows well be opened without creating draughts. One is, therefore, dependent for his comfort on the feelings, forbearance, or inclinations of twenty or forty other passengers, and must consent to be suffocated or to sit in draughts, or be overwhelmed with dust and ashes, in volumes unknown to the European, unless he be content to make himself exceedingly disagreeable, and come into unpleasant conflict with fellow-passengers or conductors. In many of these palace cars the seats are affixed to a central pivot, which continually turns with the swaying motion of the train. After half an hour's exercise in such a seat, persons liable to sea-sickness are apt to be disagreeably reminded of the feelings they experienced when crossing the Atlantic; and if an effort be made to keep the seat steady by stiffening the legs, such muscular action will be found somewhat fatiguing when carried on for several consecutive hours. There is no possibility, either, of reclining at full length, as can be done in a first-class European railway compartment. The continual slamming of the doors also in the ordinary carriages, as passengers, conductors, guards, and newsboys pass to and fro, is most trying to sensitive nerves. Both in the palace and ordinary cars there is the most limited accommodation for hand-baggage, only one small bracket about three feet by six inches being provided for the needs of four persons. Owing to the presence of a metal bar no baggage can be stowed under the seats, and none is permitted to be placed in the gangways, whilst in the ordinary cars there are no pegs or straps on which a hat can be suspended. On arriving at his destination the traveller is obliged to carry his own hand-baggage and wraps, for there is only one negro attached to each Pullman car, and none to the ordinary ones, and station porters are unknown in the United States. On taking a ticket one is obliged to register his luggage, and is given a metal numbered check corresponding to a similar one attached to each registered article. The Americans are very proud of this system, and it has its advantages. If the traveller be not in a hurry to obtain his baggage on arrival, it is very pleasant to be able

to leave the station at once, after placing the checks in the hands of an 'express' man, and be relieved of all anxiety in regard to impedimenta; but to a Briton who does not like to be separated from his baggage, and who has been accustomed to give sixpence or a shilling to a porter, and drive off in a few minutes with all his worldly goods on the top of his cab, it is irritating to find that neither cabs nor omnibuses are fitted to carry baggage, and that he is obliged to leave his luggage behind him, and quietly wait in faith at his hotel from half an hour to even four hours (as once occurred to the writer) before receiving his possessions. If the train in which he is travelling be behind time, the officials not infrequently send the registered luggage by a subsequent one, when a still longer delay has to be endured by the suffering passenger. I have more than once heard Americans complain, and very justly, of Englishmen appearing at their hosts' dinner table in travelling costume. It is possible, though I do not think probable, that the American baggage arrangements may in some instances have been responsible for the lapse in good manners on the part of the strangers. As Americans are accustomed to heat their apartments some 10° Fahrenheit higher than we care to at home, the Englishman is usually stewed alive as soon as the date arrives for turning on the steam into the heating-pipes of the cars. He has no redress; for the great mass of his fellow-passengers only find the heated atmosphere agreeable, and, moreover, the temperature does not depend so much on the feelings of the travellers as on those of the negro in charge of the car, whose ancestors lived under a tropical African sun, and who himself was probably born and bred on a Southern plantation. Americans will probably reply that this is no worse than being frozen to death in a British railway carriage in winter, where the only means of heating is a lukewarm water-can. This would be a very just retort; on the other hand, it is possible by rugs and clothing to defy the cold; but there is a limit to the extent to which a man can divest himself of clothing in a public overheated car. The best method of warming a railway carriage is, in my opinion, the German, where in each compartment the traveller can himself regulate the heat by turning a metal handle as few or as many degrees as he likes in the direction marked 'hot' or 'cold.' The arrangements for night travelling on American railways are in some respects very comfortable, but in others the reverse. Upper and lower berths are arranged on either side of a central gangway, separated from the public gaze by a leather or thick damask curtain, opening in the middle. The beds are broad, and the spring mattresses luxuriously soft; but the above arrangement, by which strangers of opposite sex are placed above and below each other, behind the same curtain, in rear of which they are expected to dress and undress, does not commend itself to the European idea of propriety. The railway authorities in Victoria and

New South Wales, in adopting the general features of the American sleeping-berth system, have improved upon it by dividing the car into two sections—one exclusively reserved for men, and one for women. The objection to this is that married couples must be separated. The sleeping-compartment arrangement of Europe as improved on the line between Melbourne and Adelaide seems to me to combine the advantages of both systems. Attached to the fast through trains on the main lines of traffic in the United States is a sleeping-car containing one drawing-room section, with two folding beds and a sofa. If a traveller be fortunate enough to purchase a ticket entitling him to the use of this separate compartment he may consider himself fortunate, for on no railway in the world will he travel in greater comfort and luxury. The misfortune is that there is only one such compartment in each train. The New Zealand railway carriages on the State lines are very comfortable, though not so magnificent as the American. They combine the advantages of the continuous car and separate compartment systems. The weak point of the European railway carriage is the difficulty of communication between each section, and the consequent danger to passengers of insult and outrage. This trouble is avoided on the New Zealand lines, whilst the privacy and comfort of the compartment arrangement are retained. Each car is built in two communicating sections, the one half on the American principle, with seats on either side and a passage down the centre, the other half in compartments like a British first-class carriage; the latter possesses a passage way on one side, covered by a roof, but open to the air and protected by ironwork and wire. This passage-way communicates with that in the American section of the car, so that travellers can pass freely from one end of the train to the other, and all may suit their tastes in the choice of seats. These carriages contain the toilet conveniences usually found in the American cars. Engine-drivers in the United States are better protected from the weather than are their British brethren, and they are supplied with a leather cushioned seat and elbow-rest, which appeared to me in no way to detract from their efficiency. If this be so, these little comforts should no longer be withheld from them at home. There is another railway improvement which should at once be introduced into Great Britain. I allude to the automatic couplers which are almost universally fitted to locomotives and cars engaged in *passenger* service in the United States, and yet, curiously enough, it would appear from an article in the last *June Forum*, entitled 'The Slaughter of Railway Employees,' that the loss of life amongst this class of men is greater in America than in England. It would appear that, although almost all the passenger engines and carriages in the States have this life-saving arrangement in use, the cars employed in carrying freight, which far surpass in number those which are engaged in passenger service, are

not provided with this useful invention. Out of a total of 1,105,042 cars used in freight service, the writer says there are but 87,390 fitted with automatic couplers, and but 100,990 equipped with train brakes. This will, in great measure, account for the enormous mortality by accidents amongst American railway men. He says:—

The facts in the case are somewhat startling. The total number of railway employes on June 30, 1890, was 749,301. The number killed during the twelve months preceding was 2,451, and the number injured 22,396. This means one death for every 306, and one injury for every 30 men employed. Confining the statement to those employes engaged directly in the handling of trains—that is to say, engineers, firemen, conductors, and other trainmen—the results are beyond the experience in any other business or trade. The number of employes of this class was 153,235, and out of this number there occurred during the year 1,459 deaths and 13,172 injuries due to some form of railway accident. This means one death for every 105, and one injury for every 12 men engaged in handling trains. In no other employment, not even in mining, which is a most dangerous occupation, can such results be shown.

President Harrison has interested himself in the matter, and on each succeeding January for three years has sent a special message to Congress, calling the attention of that body to the imperative necessity for some action.

It is (he said) a reproach to our civilisation that any class of American workmen should, in the pursuit of a useful and necessary vocation, be subjected to peril of life and limb as great as that of a soldier in time of war.

I imagine that one cause for this deplorable loss of life, which applies to civilians almost as much as to employes, is the absence of platforms in American stations. Passengers have frequently to cross lines in order to get in and out of trains, whilst in many towns, even in those of large size, such as Chicago and Buffalo, the cars and locomotives run through the centre of the town on level crossings, and sometimes even down the open street.

ELECTRICITY AND TELEPHONES

Great Britain is far behind her colonies and the United States in the employment of electricity and the telephone. Even small towns in these new countries are lit by the electric light. It is to be found in the streets and in dwellings. All the nuisance attending the escape of gas and the destruction of paintings and gilding is avoided. Rooms are not rendered unhealthy and oppressively hot by unnecessary consumption of oxygen and superheating of the atmosphere through the gas-flame. Much time and correspondence are saved by the universal employment of the telephone in town and country, and, by means of the long-distance telephone, communication is kept up between remote cities.

RAPID TRANSIT IN CITIES

The means for cheap and rapid communication is, as a rule, more thoroughly developed in American and colonial than in European cities. This remark applies exclusively to street railways and tram-cars, for public horse conveyances are ruinously dear both in the colonies and the States, and in the latter the streets are usually atrociously paved, and the foot-pavements badly laid and as badly cleansed. This is, in a great measure, owing to the fact that few persons walk, and still fewer drive, unless absolutely compelled to do so. The streets in Australian and New Zealand cities are generally well maintained; but there, as well as in America, tramcars are largely patronised, and are usually both clean and comfortable. The horse-car in all the new countries is rapidly becoming obsolete, so much so that there is a story of an American woman who entered a horse-car in a small town, and, not seeing either an electric wire overhead or a cable below, and not noticing the horse, asked her neighbour to explain to her by what novel power the car was being propelled. One great drawback to the comfort of the tramcar in America is the lack of all regulations as to the number of passengers to be carried. The result of this is that rows of men, and sometimes of women, may be seen standing in the gangway holding on painfully to leathern straps. All these persons have paid for their seats, but it never seems to enter into the head of the American to protest or expostulate against this breach of contract on the part of the tram company. Such a state of things could not exist for a fortnight in Great Britain without the daily Press being inundated by the protests of irate and indignant Britons, who would never rest until they had altered what must be a very serious tax on the physical strength and vital powers of women and of elderly men.

PUBLIC PARKS, GARDENS, AND ICE-CREAM PARLOURS

It would be difficult to find anywhere in the world more beautiful public gardens than those of Sydney, or a more fairylike scene, owing to situation and semi-tropical vegetation, than the interior of the palm-house at Geelong in the colony of Victoria; but the public parks and open spaces of America are, as a rule, superior to those of the colonies, and only inferior in some particulars to those of the mother country. Our open spaces are generally more accessible to the great masses of the population, and the public are, as a rule, allowed in them greater freedom of movement; owing also to the different climate and habits of the people the British parks are more used on a weekday. There is no park in the United States which can compare either in extent, in natural beauty, or in size of timber with the forests of Windsor and Epping; nor in the last two particulars with that of Richmond; but we have no 'parkways' of from three to five miles long, with

from three to five avenues of trees, as are to be found connecting some of the larger city parks of America, nor can we show outside Kew and certain private gardens such a splendid conservatory as is to be found in Golden Gate Park, San Francisco, or in a smaller way in that of Chicago or of Baltimore. In the first-mentioned park, buffalo, moose, and reindeer may be seen roaming wild within large well-fenced reservations containing within their limits water and thick copses, where the animals may almost lead a natural life. We do not spend as much money as the Americans on the adjuncts of a park, such as aviaries, refreshment houses, music-stands with seats for the audience, sometimes partly under cover, steam merry-go-rounds, like that at San Francisco, with three rows of horses and carriages sheltered from the weather by a huge domed roof; nor am I aware that any British municipality has ever ventured to build in a park, as at Chicago, a parquetted ballroom for the enjoyment of its citizens, nor provide its athletes, as at Boston, gratis, with dressing-rooms, attendants, lockers, and lavatories.

The ice-cream parlour is in hot and thirsty weather one of the most delightful of American institutions. Why do not our temperance people at home sell in summer such drinks in every busy thoroughfare? I believe the existence of a few of these establishments would go a long way towards weaning the thirsty Briton from the public-house and spirit-shop. The most delicious iced temperance drinks, flavoured with fruit juices, are to be purchased also in most chemists' as well as confectioners' shops. Of all the pleasant drinks on earth in hot weather recommend me to an iced-cream soda. It matters little what is the flavour, it cannot help being grateful and refreshing. Soda-water and frozen cream, whipped up into a froth, is the foundation of all these beverages—the true nectar of the gods.

HOTELS

As a rule the hotels of the United States are better appointed than those to be found in Great Britain outside the Metropolis, some large towns, and a few fashionable watering-places. They are almost all electrically lighted, provided with swiftly moving lifts, the rooms are comfortably and artistically furnished, and the private apartments are almost always provided with a separate bathroom, lavatory &c.; the latter is a doubtful advantage, however, in the eyes of those who entertain a wholesome dread of typhoid fever. The system of paying a fixed sum per day for board and lodging simplifies matters, and diminishes the risk of friction between manager and guest. The average charge per head per day is from \$4 to \$5, (16s. to 20s.). Such conveniences as the telegraph and the telephone are generally to be found in the halls of the larger hotels, as well as stalls where books, magazines, and newspapers can be purchased. In Australia and

Canada the hotels are very similar to those of America; but in New Zealand they resemble more the old-fashioned hostelries to be found in county towns of England, where the guests are entertained with greater civility and attention, but with fewer luxuries, than in the more pretentious establishments of the former countries. The cost of living in New Zealand is about 10s. per head per day, without any extras, except wine, being charged. The objections to the large caravansaries are the lack of kindly personal service, the difficulty of obtaining anything out of the ordinary routine, or of being waited on in one's apartment. Boot-cleaning and clothes-brushing are special services for which, as a rule, extra charge is made; and, if the negro whose duty it is to perform this office should be absent, the visitor must either clean his own boots or issue forth with yesterday's mud still adhering to them, for a free American citizen would consider himself disgraced if he were to perform such menial offices for another. I heard of an Englishman travelling in the States who, being told that there was exceptional distress amongst the labouring class from lack of employment, and seeing a group of idle men leaning against a rail opposite his hotel, thought he would test this feeling; so, walking across the road, he offered half-a-dollar (2s.) to any man who would clean his boots for him. No one responded to the appeal; and I believe he was considered fortunate to have been permitted to retire with a whole skin.

The Americans heat their hotels, like their cars, to a temperature which is unbearable to the average Briton—70° or 75° Fahrenheit. It is not the custom, as in England, to provide the guests with the daily papers—these he has to purchase for himself. In some of the hotels the beds fold up and turn into handsome pieces of furniture, resembling sideboards or consoles; thus the bedroom can during the day be converted into a comfortable sitting-room, for the washing apparatus is usually in a small adjoining closet, lit by electricity or gas. Electric bells communicating with the central office are sometimes affixed in the bedrooms. The guest, before retiring for the night, states the hour he desires to be called in the morning. At the said hour the bell begins to ring in the sleeper's room, and continues to ring until he communicates electrically with the office, as a proof that he is awake and out of bed; for he must rise to stop the ringing—a splendid invention to arouse the man who, after being called, is accustomed to turn round in bed and go to sleep again upon the other side. As a precaution against fire a small globe of quicksilver is occasionally affixed to the ceiling of each apartment, which, when heated, causes by its expansion an electric current to be set in motion, ringing an alarm bell in the central office. By this means a fire originating in any part of the building gives notice automatically of its own existence. I have seen in a New York hotel a clever arrangement in each apartment like a small clock dial, on which is

engraved in a circle almost all a guest's possible desires. By turning a hand like that of a watch to the desired point, electric communication with the office is established, and the guest's need is supplied without the waiter having to answer the bell and inquire what is wanted. One journey, time, and much fatigue is thus saved to the attendant. The difficulty of obtaining labour renders the American inventive, and his clever contrivances to make machinery do the work of human hands and feet has added much to the happiness of mankind; but there is one labour-saving article which I trust may never be introduced at home—I allude to the electro silver-plated knife which is now almost universally used in American hotels and even in some private houses. The silver-plated knife may be excellent for service at dessert, but when a man is required to cut his meat with it he is asked to do an impossibility. The knives are supposed to be tipped with steel, but they decline to assume the qualities of the inferior metal, and are consequently the source of much vexation of spirit, indigestion, and temptation to the use of strong language. Even the tenderest fillet assumes a leathern character when attempted to be severed with this instrument. Its merit in the eyes of the American domestic is that it requires no cleaning—a doubtful advantage from the point of view of him who uses it.

POLICE PATROL, AMBULANCE, AND FIRE BRIGADE STATIONS

In some of the best-managed American cities, the police patrol, ambulance, and fire brigades are all worked upon a system or systems of intercommunication which it would be well to adopt at home. A certain number of street lamp-posts, at convenient distances from each other, are constructed to contain within a protuberance in the centre all the apparatus necessary for telephonic communication with the central police bureau. This office contains a telephonic department, with operators constantly in attendance, and every ambulance, fire brigade, and police station is in direct communication with it. In some towns the ambulance waggons are kept in the police stations, and are manned by the constables, who are trained in the rudimentary knowledge needed for rendering first aid to the wounded. In every police station, or at all events in the principal ones, patrol waggons are kept with horses ready harnessed, or ready to have the harness dropped on their backs by electric motion, as is done in the fire brigade stations, where it only takes from three to twelve seconds for a fire-engine to come from the building after the electric bell has sounded. Every policeman on duty is supplied with a key with which he can open the lamp-post boxes containing the telephonic apparatus. If an accident has occurred in the streets, a fire has broken out, a prisoner has to be conveyed to the lock-up, or extra police assistance is needed, the policeman communicates by

telephone through the central office to the nearest police station, and within a few seconds or minutes an ambulance waggon, containing stimulants, medicines, bandages, &c., and well-trained assistants, a fire-engine, or a police patrol waggon manned by constables, may be seen galloping down the street. By this method the efficiency of the police force is greatly increased. Under the old system a police constable had often to struggle single-handed with a violent prisoner, and drag him, after a series of exhausting and dangerous encounters, long distances before he could obtain assistance or lodge him in safe custody. If he attempted single-handed to arrest more than one prisoner at a time, he ran the risk of being overpowered, of losing some or all prisoners, and of serious personal injury. During all the time, too, that he was struggling with his prisoner or prisoners, his beat was deserted, and robbers or burglars would sometimes intentionally divert the attention of a constable from the point they had selected as the scene of their serious operations, by one of their number simulating riotous drunkenness and inviting arrest. No constable now is permitted to leave his beat except under exceptional circumstances. However numerous may be the law-breakers, he can always obtain adequate assistance through the telephone, and the waggons obviate all difficulty of transport. The central office can also communicate with each separate policeman in the city, or with all of them, by electrically raising a red signal board on the summits of any or all of the specially constructed lamp-posts. It is the duty of every policeman, on seeing this signal, to proceed at once to the lamp-post, open the box with his key, intimate his presence by an electric bell, and through the telephone receive his instructions from the central office. At night, instead of a board being raised, a red-coloured glass globe is by the same means placed around the gas-flame. It will be readily seen what an assistance such an invention must be to the police in the arrest of criminals. A murder or burglary is committed. Within a few minutes after the occurrence of the crime every policeman on duty in the city has been informed of its nature, has been furnished with a description of the criminal, and has been told of the supposed direction and manner of his flight. The fugitive will find it hard to conceal his identity from so many searching eyes, and, if he attempts to leave the city, will probably be arrested long before he reaches its outskirts. Had this system been in operation in London the predatory classes of the metropolis would have been deprived of that one brief hour of license when on a memorable occasion they gave the slip to their natural enemies of Scotland Yard.

SOCIAL CONDITION AND MANNERS

So much has been said and written of the social condition of the people in Australasia and America that it seems almost superfluous

for me to make any observations on the subject. It is difficult to say whether the working man occupies a better position in America or in Australasia. In both he is king; but I am of opinion that his rule is less challenged in the latter than in the former, and that it approaches nearer despotism in New Zealand than in any other colony or State. It is here that one recognises the least difference between rich and poor. Indeed, to the traveller it would seem as if New Zealand contained no wealthy men; but they must exist there, for one of the principal planks of Mr. Ballance's policy is the 'bursting up' of the large run-holders. It is well known that New Zealand is the paradise of the working man. Universal suffrage, combined with the principle of one man one vote, has made him supreme at the ballot-box. Trade organisations have consolidated his power, and furnished him with a lance of tempered metal; but indeed he need not set it in rest, for he has no opponent there worthy of his steel. Capital indigenous to the colony seems practically non-existent. Millionaires are unknown, and rich men conspicuous by their absence; on the other hand, there is a general high standard of comfort amongst the masses, and the only man who can be called poor is not the workman with his eight to ten shillings a day, but the run-holder eaten up by rabbits and on the verge of bankruptcy, the clergyman, or the clerk, who has to keep up appearances and to work longer hours than the so-called working man, who rules the colony, and has limited his labour to eight hours a day. Having mounted the box-seat of State, and holding the reins of power in his hands, the 'working man,' wise in his generation, is determined to take such precautions as shall render it exceedingly difficult, if not impossible, for any rival to oust him from his position. There is a determined look upon his face as he gathers up the reins, cracks his whip, and settles himself firmly in his seat—a good sign if only self-confidence be restrained by caution. Aristocracy and Bourgeoisie have sat on that box-seat for many a long year. Let us not grudge the new driver the delight with which he finds himself, sometimes to his own astonishment, installed in the place of honour and responsibility, or the pride with which for the first time he feels the reins firmly grasped in his hands. Let us hope that he will drive with discretion as well as with boldness, and that he will remember that under certain circumstances the skid is of more value to the safety of the passengers than the whip.

If in New Zealand there be neither wealth nor poverty, the same cannot be said of America, where both are on the increase. Money has so often been made in the States, especially in the West, by sudden lucky chances, sometimes by practices differing but slightly, if at all, from those of a fraudulent character, that the public entertain little respect for the rich man, and in some cases even feel for him a bitter hostility—not to be wondered at, seeing that property in America is, as a rule, divorced from responsibility. To this as well as

to the republican sentiment may be due the lack of respect for wealth and position which is such a marked characteristic of the middle and working classes of America. The bump of veneration is so entirely absent from the head of the average American child that it is exceedingly difficult for parents or pastors to instil into him respect for elders, or even reverence in religious matters. In the colonies, as well as in California, parents complained that their children were most difficult to control. This is, in a great measure, the fault of the parents themselves, who in these countries have in too many instances deliberately uncrowned themselves. They laid the blame, strangely enough in both places, on the beautifully warm climate which forced the whole family into the streets, and broke up the home circle. Boys and girls, they said, got into roving, independent ways, and resented the slightest restraint on the freedom of their actions. An octogenarian clergyman, a man of high distinction and regarded as the leader of his Church, besides being one of the founders of the New Zealand town in which he resides, told me that a little chit of a girl of fifteen had openly complained that the doctor had failed to raise his hat to her when he met her in the street. In New York an almost equally eminent man informed me that a young girl whom he had known from infancy, the daughter of a very dear deceased friend, had received his salutation with such marked discourtesy that he had felt it a duty to his old friend to expostulate with her.

It is painful to remark in America how children in overcrowded tramcars are permitted by their parents to keep their seats whilst their elders stand. Children seem prematurely brought forward, and are often spoilt, especially the girls. In hotels one sees little maidens of from five to ten adorned with rings, earrings and bracelets, wearing high-heeled shoes, and giving themselves the airs of grown-up women. They do not seem as if they were capable of a good romp or game of play out of doors. They sit at table with bored faces, giving their orders to the waiters, and partaking of the same food as their parents. It was quite refreshing, when home was once more reached, to see the younger generation dressed as children, treated as children, and enjoying good healthy games of play in many a pleasant field as the train whirled one through smiling England, or from the window of one's London house to hear the shouts of joy with which the children were pursuing one another under the shadow of the Kensington Garden elms.

Max O'Rell has pointed out that America is the only country where the man who is paid is the master. One feels this everywhere. The attitude of the clerk behind the counter, of the waiter of the hotel, of the conductor in the car, of the official who hands one the letters at the Post Office, too frequently varies between injured dignity, offensive patronage, and what to the British mind amounts to downright rudeness. I have seen a lady poked by a conductor in

the back without a word of explanation ; the man simply required her ticket, and it was too much trouble for him to ask for it. Mr. Hamilton Aidé complained last year in this Review that an American waiter once removed Mr. Aidé's hat from his head and put it on a peg without uttering a word ; this has never happened to me, but I have had a ticket several times stuffed between the ribbon and the hat by a railway guard. Manners in the West are occasionally peculiar. An acquaintance of exceedingly short standing has poked me continuously in the ribs to insure my appreciation of the good points of a story. A waiter, when an order is given, never thinks of answering, and it is difficult to know whether he has heard it or not. I was once told by an attendant that he guessed if I asked again I should not get what I wanted.

Colonists and Americans are both proverbial for their hospitality. They teach us a lesson in this particular. Wherever the English language is spoken, there the Briton may be sure that he will meet with a kind and even a warm welcome. He will never be treated as a foreigner, but as a relation, and as one who through kinship possesses a claim on the hospitality of his hosts. May the British visitor never prove unworthy of the confidence reposed in him ! Amongst large classes in the colonies there is an affectionate and loyal feeling towards the Mother Country, which only needs some great event to draw it forth in its full power to the astonishment of the world. It is to me a continual and lasting satisfaction to know that some of my best and truest friends are to be found in those great and distant countries which have been colonised by men and women of British race, and which are destined to play so important a part in the future history of the world.

MEATH.

THE RUPEE AND THE RUIN OF INDIA

AN impression seems to prevail in certain quarters that the fall in the gold value of silver affects only the European officials in India, and that an attempt to restore the rupee to anything like its old value would be prejudicial to the people of the country. This fallacious idea owes its origin, no doubt, to an imperfect acquaintance with the condition of the masses, and I therefore propose to show how the depreciation of the rupee in relation to gold affects the population at large. With the wealthy rajah, the rich *mahajan*, and the flourishing pleader I have no concern; when the general weal is in the balance, their interests are of little weight. The general population of India may, for the purposes of my remarks, be divided into two classes, agricultural and non-agricultural. The non-agricultural portion, speaking roughly, forms about one-third of the entire body of inhabitants. Of the so-called agricultural classes, the largest portion, or more than three-fourths, are mere labourers, and are consequently classified as such in all Government statistics.

The first question to consider, therefore, is how the fall in the gold value of the rupee affects the non-agricultural classes and the urban population of India. In connection with this, one circumstance which furnishes a remarkable index to the popular feeling is worthy of note. Throughout the country there is an opinion prevalent among the masses that the Queen's rupee does not possess the same 'blessing' as the old coins bearing the King's effigy. This opinion is loudly expressed among themselves, and often, to outsiders when the fear of the police or of the penal code is not present to their minds; but the idea has a strong hold over them, and is a frequent topic of bewailment. The feeling, no doubt, is an ignorant expression of the fact that the purchasing power of the rupee has declined, that it does not go as far to relieve their wants as before. In their ignorance they are unable to apprehend the causes of this decline, and are led to ascribe it somehow to the British rule. They would not be far wrong in supposing that were it not for the lethargy which hangs over the counsels of Government the distress would be neither so acute nor so prolonged.

Coming back to the question, How does the fall in the gold value of the rupee affect the people in general? we find that within the last twenty years the incomes of the wage-receiving classes have for the

most part remained stationary, whilst the prices of food-grains have risen by leaps and bounds. Among the wage-receiving classes I include the underpaid 'ministerial' clerks of Government, the not overpaid clerks in the employ of private individuals or companies, and people in the like condition.

Taking Bengal first, we find that in 1873 the monthly wages of the agricultural labourers varied from Rs.3 in the Behar districts to Rs.10 in Chittagong, giving on the average Rs.5 over the whole province. In the North-Western Provinces the average wages amounted to Rs.4 a month, in the Punjab to Rs.5, in the Madras Presidency to Rs.3. Of a horse-keeper, in Bengal, the average wages were Rs.5; of a common mason or blacksmith, Rs.9. In 1878 the average wages of the agricultural labourer in Bengal were Rs.5; in the North-West, Rs.4; in the Punjab, Rs.6. Of a horse-keeper the average wages during this year in Bengal were Rs.5; of a common blacksmith or carpenter a little over Rs.9. From 1883 to 1888 there was no substantial variation in the wages; in 1891 there was, if anything, a reduction.¹ In towns like Calcutta, Patna, Cawnpore, Meerut, Bombay, and Kurrachee some slight increase is shown, but the variation is so small as to be of very little account in the consideration of the general question. For example, in Calcutta the average of wages of a common mason or carpenter or blacksmith between 1873 and 1880 is given as Rs.13 3a. 1½p.; between 1881 and 1885, Rs.12 8a. 9¾p.; between 1886 and 1892, Rs.14 and a fraction. In Patna the average wages during the same periods were Rs.6 10a. 6p. Rs.6 12a. 6p., Rs.7 4a. 4p., and Rs.7 8a. Of the agricultural labourer the average wages in Patna were Rs.3 8a., Rs.3 14a., Rs.4 8a., Rs.4 8a., and so forth.

A reference to the wage rates in some of the industrial and other establishments may also prove useful. At the Mirzapore East Indian Railway station the maximum wage of a blacksmith in 1866 was Rs.10, in 1892 it was the same, although it had a slight rise for some years in the interval. The minimum of Rs.8 has always remained the same. The carpenter's wage in 1892 was the same as in 1870, viz. Rs.10. In private establishments, such as collieries, no change in the monthly wages rates is perceptible. It would be useless to multiply examples for what I have stated above, that, in spite of little variations here and there, the bulk of the wage rates in Bengal have remained stationary.

As regards the clerks, &c., in the employ of Government, or of private individuals, or companies, railway, trading and banking, it is notorious that their incomes have not varied for the last twenty years, and those of the professional classes (among whom I might mention the country *mookhtears* and the native doctors) have fallen, whatever the cause of the fall may be.

¹ These averages are struck from figures in Government statistics. I have not given the fractions.

During this period of time the fluctuation in the gold value of the rupee has been as follows:—

| Year | Average rate for Rupee | Year | Average rate for Rupee |
|-------|------------------------|-------|------------------------|
| | s. d. | | s. d. |
| 1872. | 1 11½ | 1882. | 1 8 |
| 1873. | 1 10¾ | 1883. | 1 7½ |
| 1874. | 1 10¼ | 1884. | 1 7½ |
| 1875. | 1 10 | 1885. | 1 7¼ |
| 1876. | 1 9½ | 1886. | 1 6½ |
| 1877. | 1 8½ | 1887. | 1 5½ |
| 1878. | 1 8¼ | 1888. | 1 5 |
| 1879. | 1 7¼ | 1889. | 1 4½ |
| 1880. | 1 8 | 1890. | 1 6 |
| 1881. | 1 8 | 1891. | 1 4½ |

In March 1892 it stood at 1s. 3¼d.; a slight reaction raised it to 1s. 4½d.; since then it has declined steadily, and now stands at 1s. 2¾d.

Whilst, as shown already, the earnings of the wage-receiving classes have practically remained stationary, the price of the food-grains has gone on increasing steadily in inverse proportion to the rapid declension in the gold value of the rupee.

In 1873 the average retail price in Bengal of common rice was R.1 10a., and of *ballam* rice Rs.1 14a. per maund; in 1878, which was an abnormal year, the price of the first rose to Rs.3 5a. 4p.; in 1883 it fell to Rs.2; in 1888 it rose to Rs.2 1a.; in 1891 to Rs.2 9a. 4p. Of other food-grains the prices varied as follows:—

| | Rs. | a. | p. | | Rs. | a. | p. |
|-------------|-----|----|----|-------------|-----|----|----|
| Wheat, 1873 | 3 | 11 | 3 | Grain, 1883 | 2 | 2 | 7 |
| „ 1878 | 4 | 0 | 7 | „ 1888 | 2 | 4 | 6 |
| „ 1883 | 3 | 1 | 3 | „ 1891 | 2 | 4 | 9 |
| „ 1888 | 3 | 12 | 3 | | | | |
| „ 1891 | 3 | 15 | 9 | | | | |

Millet sold in 1873 at R.1 5a. 4p. per maund, in 1892 for Rs.2 5a. 8p., and is now sold for Rs.2 8a.

In January 1893 the retail price of common country rice had risen to Rs.3 13a. per maund, and of *ballam* rice to Rs.4 8a. The table hereunder shows the prices of other food-grains at the beginning of the current year, taking a general average from three different places:—

Table showing Prices of Food-grains and Salt, January 1893.

| | Rs. | a. | p. |
|-----------------------------------|-----|----|-------------|
| Table rice (1st class), per maund | 6 | 4 | 0 |
| Common country rice | 3 | 13 | 0 |
| <i>Ballam</i> rice | 4 | 8 | 0 |
| Grain | 2 | 12 | 0 |
| Millet | 2 | 8 | 0 |
| Wheat | 4 | 6 | 0 to 4 12 0 |
| Pulse (Arhar). | 3 | 8 | 0 |

When we consider that among the labouring classes the average number of adults composing a household is three, and among classes slightly better off five, it will be seen how heavily the rise in the price of food-grains presses upon these people. They are, in fact, on the verge of starvation, and the majority of them have to be satisfied with one meal a day.

The intimate connection between the fall in the gold value of the rupee and the abnormal rise in the prices of food-grains is self-evident. It is in fact admitted, and a claim is based upon it by the speculative exporter that no attempt should be made to remedy the evil.

It is said that the agricultural classes have gained by the depreciation of the rupee, and it is urged that the export trade in India in grains and cereals of all kinds derives its chief impetus from the falling exchange, and is beneficial to the agriculturist because he sells so much more! I shall not pause to inquire whether an export trade in food-grains factitiously fostered and maintained by the fall in the gold value of silver is beneficial to the people; nor shall I dwell on the fact that whatever impetus the export trade in grains has received from the fall in the exchange has resulted to the benefit of the small body of the produce brokers and exporters, who are now vociferously clamouring to prevent any interference to rehabilitate the rupee. The genuine export trade of India owes its development to causes wholly independent of the depreciation of silver. The Suez Canal, increased facilities of transport, immense reduction in the freight of goods, the construction of railways and roads, have combined to develop this trade. Were it left to these natural agencies for its development, the rise in the price of food-grains would have been balanced by the decline, owing to the same causes, in the prices of other necessaries of life. But the fall in the rupee has intensified the evil and accentuated the burden upon the people. The produce broker and the exporter are, no doubt, able with their sovereign to buy sixteen rupees' worth of goods, but how far that benefits the producer or the agriculturist I shall now proceed to examine. If, instead of theorising, we would only take the trouble to inquire for ourselves into the question of this hypothetical benefit, we would find that the bulk of the profit due to increased prices of food-grains goes into the pocket of the exporter; in another case, when the grain remains for consumption in the country, to that of the wholesale *mahajans* and the retail dealers. In Bengal, the producer himself estimates his profit as four annas to ten annas per maund over the old prices that existed before the 'cyclone,' which takes us back to the year of grace 1864.

But let us look to the other side of his account. For the agriculturist also, all over the country, the necessaries of life other than what he himself grows—the clothes which he wears, the oil which he burns, the salt for himself and his cattle, &c.—have become

dearer. And, what is more, his rent is enhanced because he obtains more for his produce. Under a rule of peace and equal laws, free from the danger, generally speaking, of illegal exactions or forced contributions, with the developing resources of the country, the people had immense and potential opportunity of prosperity, had it not been for the terrible curse of a depreciated currency. Careful inquiry would show that no benefit accrues to any section of the people, agriculturist or non-agriculturist. If the former wears an aspect of comparative prosperity, it is due to fairly good harvests and the immunity he has enjoyed for the last few decades from illegal exactions and 'cesses.' The fall in the rupee only helps in his being deprived of his just prices. You might as well give him sixteen eight-anna pieces for, say, five maunds of rice, and call the coins rupees. That is just what is allowed to take place under the glamour of theories promoted and propounded by self-interest.

The native Indian employés above the rank of mere clerks, whether in the service of Government or private individuals and firms, with fixed salaries, which have not, in the majority of cases, altered for the last twenty years, are equally sufferers. The income of the bulk of them varies from Rs.50 to Rs.100 a month. Had the rupee retained its original value this would represent 5*l.* to 20*l.* a month; at present these figures barely represent 3*l.* and 12*l.* respectively. Only few get more than Rs.200 a month. When it is considered that the household of a fairly well-to-do inhabitant of India consists of a number of poor relatives and dependents; that the cost of living, schooling, clothing, &c., has increased all round, there will be no difficulty in understanding how the struggle for existence is becoming harder for even this class of people. The education of boys is becoming dearer every day, resulting from a variety of causes too numerous to detail; many youths, chiefly from amongst the sons of Government officials, are sent to England to acquire that training, discipline, and culture which are conspicuous by their absence from the educational institutions of this country. Can it be said with any approach to truth that the fall in the gold value of the rupee does not affect these people with fixed salaries and a number of mouths to feed, children to educate, and some position to maintain in their society?

The native trader, the native banker, the native merchant (if their own statements, repeatedly made, are to be relied on), are half-ruined. Trade is disorganised, and business transactions generally in a most unsatisfactory condition. Nobody can say with certainty what the morrow may bring forth; nobody can properly forecast his gain or his loss; nobody can safely engage in any enterprise with any reasonable assurance of a fair outturn.

I have thus far endeavoured to show, albeit imperfectly, how the fall in the gold value of the rupee affects the people of India. How

it affects the Government, the official and professional classes of Europeans, and those Indians who, from choice or necessity, desire to give their children a European education, are matters beyond controversy. The position of the Government may be described in one sentence: it is on the verge of veritable bankruptcy. Its vaunted surpluses have turned into deficits, ever growing. All new productive work practically stopped, expenditure reduced to what is absolutely needful, the mournful admission of helplessness implied in the quiet appropriation of the Famine Insurance Fund, furnish a clear and unmistakable indication of what is impending unless the Government awakens from its lethargic condition and abandons the *laissez-faire* course which has marked its policy throughout in dealing with the currency question.

The Indian Government has, from the necessities of the situation, to meet large sterling liabilities in England by payments in the coin in which it realises its revenue. So long as India is a dependency of the British Crown she has to remit to England each year a certain number of pounds sterling in discharge of her liabilities. The question whether this burden is right or proper is not relevant to the present issue. Not even the wildest Home-ruler would suggest that cutting India adrift from England, even if it were possible, would be for the benefit of this country. Now, as the revenue is collected in rupees, it is evident that in making the payment in sterling her loss or gain would be determined by the gold value of the silver coin. This is so obvious that it is unnecessary to dwell further on the subject. In 1843 the exchange was 2s. 0 $\frac{1}{4}$ d.; in 1853, 2s. 1 $\frac{1}{4}$ d.; in 1863, 2s. 0 $\frac{3}{4}$ d.; in 1872, as already mentioned, it was 1s. 11 $\frac{1}{4}$ d.; at the close of 1892, 1s. 2 $\frac{1}{2}$ d. In the course of twenty years, from 1872 to 1891, as pointed out by a competent authority, the Indian Government has lost fully sixty-seven millions sterling over its remittances to England. This enormous sum, which might have been profitably spent in developing the resources of the country, in making railways, roads, canals, and opening up tracts still inaccessible to the outer world, in effecting reforms or reducing taxation, in providing means to prevent or to minimise famines, in constructing defensive fortifications on a threatened frontier, might, so far as any benefit to India is concerned, or for the matter of that to anybody else, have just as well been thrown into the sea.

As regards the threatening deficit, the local *Englishman*, in its issue of the 7th of January, had an interesting and instructive article, from which I venture to quote one or two passages to enforce my own remarks. After giving a table showing the surpluses and deficits each year from 1879 to 1890, it proceeds thus:—

The surplus estimated for 1892-93 has, as the public is aware, been turned into a deficit of Rs. 1,600,000.* The net result of fourteen years of Indian finance

* The figures represent tens of rupees.

is, therefore, a surplus in seven years of the period amounting to Rx.11,192,000, and a deficit in seven other years amounting to Rx.12,124,000, the deficit thus exceeding the surplus by Rx.932,000, or, say, one crore.

Then, after referring to the circumstances which led to the re-imposition of the taxes that had been reduced by Sir Evelyn Baring, to the imposition of new taxes, and to the various economies effected to make the two ends meet, the article in question runs thus:—

We find, then, that after the recovery of the finances from the effects of the war with Afghanistan we had down to 1884 a period of prosperity, which has been followed since then by a time of stress and strain. The period of prosperity was coincident with a relative steadiness in the exchanges. From 1878-79 to 1884-85 the average annual rate of exchange varied between 19.96*d.* and 19.308*d.*, the decline in seven years being under 3½ per cent. Beginning with 1885, the rupee tumbled headlong down the abyss, and with its downward progress we have had a period of increasing financial pressure, in which it has been necessary to impose heavy additional taxation, to deprive the local Governments of the means for carrying out material improvements, to restrict the progress of railway construction, to starve the administration generally, to suspend the Famine Insurance Grant, and to hunt unsuccessfully in every hole and corner for cheese-parings in the way of savings. It is not, however, a mere coincidence that the period of prosperity went, with the steadiness of the rupee. We have given above the statement of the Ministers responsible for the finances, that the coincidence was more than a coincidence—that it was cause and effect.

In the course of fourteen years, whilst taxation has increased by four crores annually, the public debt has increased by twenty. A huge deficit for the present financial year is inevitable, and another, probably much larger, for the ensuing year is equally certain. How is this to be met? There is no margin for further taxation; practically the produce broker and exporter, the real gainers by the present state of things, the zemindars, who possibly have profited a little in consequence of increased rental from the ryots, are beyond the range of taxation. Any addition to the income-tax will be received with grave dissatisfaction. Is the country to be allowed to go to ruin, the people to starve, the official classes driven to the verge of insolvency, to satisfy theories or to fill the pockets of a small class of people?

The Viceroy, in his reply to the address of the planters of Coorg, made a statement, which, I submit, ought to form the keynote of the financial policy of Government. His Excellency observed:—

No fortuitous advantage which any particular trade may for a time derive under a falling exchange can be allowed to weigh against the general injury and loss resulting to the trade of the Indian empire as a whole from fluctuations and uncertainty in the rate of exchange. . . . It will, perhaps, be sufficient if I say that, as the Indian empire does most of its commercial business with countries in which a gold standard obtains, it appears to me that it would be for the general advantage that India should be provided with a currency of which the gold value would no longer be subject to the fluctuations which have for some years past unsettled our commercial system and discouraged the investment of capital in this country.³

The wonder is that, in spite of the unhesitating terms in which the enunciation was made, no action has yet been taken to carry it into effect. As regards the official classes of Europeans, it is indisputable that they have suffered severely by the loss on exchange. They are paid in a depreciated coinage, whilst almost everything they have to pay for, either directly or indirectly, is paid for in gold. Stores, wines, clothing, the schooling of their children, and the cost of living for their families at home, has all to be disbursed in sterling. The loss affects every grade and every class—the man who has a salary of fifteen hundred rupees a month, and the small sergeant of police who gets barely a hundred.

The extent of the hardship entailed upon the official classes can be gauged from the fact that many men holding offices hitherto considered as well paid have been compelled to withdraw their children from school, bring out their daughters to India, and send the sons to the Continent for that education which the falling rupee will not allow them to obtain in England. In a country like India, where influence depends a great deal on prestige, it is idle to expect an ill-paid official, Indian or European, can either command or maintain his position, and it will be the fault of Government if its poorly-paid servants get entangled in straits which in most civilised countries are regarded as detrimental to the public interests.

The professional classes are in exactly the same predicament; the fee of the doctor or of the lawyer, paid in rupees, has not increased. As in the case of service holders, though their earnings have lessened in value the expenses have increased in an inverse ratio. In neither case is there any compensation. The small trader who imports his goods from Europe has to pay for them in gold, and in order to compensate himself has to raise his own prices proportionately in silver, at the risk of losing customers whose diminishing incomes furnish little inducement for much outlay. The merchant and the banker appear to be little better off. One can now understand the angry discontent which pervades the official classes of Europeans, high or low. To suggest that the proper remedy for this evil is for the English to make a permanent home in the plains is to ignore the lessons derivable from the past. The fate of the Mahomedan conquerors of India ought to be a warning to those who discourage occasional home visits to Europe.

It is almost unnecessary to repeat the fact that a few years' existence without change of climate or scene robs English women of their vitality and reduces them almost into the condition of permanent invalids. Visits to Europe, or, as a *dernier ressort*, to the hills, are matters of life and death to them. Children of European parentage do not thrive in the hills beyond a certain age, and even if they did, education in the proper sense of the term, with the same discipline and training as in Europe, is not to be had. The hill schools under

European management are mere makeshifts, to be resorted to only in dire straits. The necessity of a European training has forced itself even into the minds of a large number of Indians, who, although themselves without English education, appreciate the benefits that accrue therefrom.

The Manchester Chamber of Commerce recently gave expression to a somewhat strange sentiment, viz. that any attempt to introduce a gold standard or to improve the currency of India would involve a serious political danger. The weight of this opinion may be fairly discounted. Speaking with some sense of responsibility and with some acquaintance with the condition of the people, in my opinion it would be a serious political blunder to let the rupee stand at its present low value, or to allow it to sink lower. 'The rupee and not the Congress will drive the British out of India,' was a remark once made to me by a member of the National Congress. The idea is by no means chimerical. If the present state of things is allowed to continue much longer, there can be little doubt that sooner or later the number of Europeans in the civil and military employ of Government will be considerably reduced. Few Englishmen will care to take up almost a life-long service in India upon the pittance into which the fairly good salaries of former days have turned, nor would parents be willing to invest money in the training of their sons for the Indian service. Under the apprehended circumstances, the unwillingness of Europeans to come out to India, or of Indians trained in Europe to take service under Government, will promote the employment of men trained in the country, but whether that will be for the advantage of the State is a matter for question.

To my mind, it would be an evil day for India when, from a permanent reduction in the emoluments of officers in the civil and military employ of Government, the agency which has been the making of India is either withdrawn or its efficiency impaired.

Another disastrous effect of the fall in the rupee, which is likely to be far-reaching and permanent in its character, is that it stops all influx of capital from outside. Capitalists in gold countries will not invest in securities in silver countries, because they have no confidence in the value of silver in relation to gold, and consequently, while money flows freely to foreign gold countries, it is denied to the British dependency of India. A currency which fluctuates from day to day, and the value of which depends upon the smartness of foreign speculators, hardly leaves room for any safe calculation. The result of this is that many of the projects for the development of the resources of the country have either to be abandoned or to be postponed until better times.

My object is not to suggest any theory for the solution of a difficulty which may certainly be regarded as the life-problem of India, and the gravity of which is recognised by all classes of people.

My sole aim is to dispel the illusion that the fall in the rupee affects only the official classes and benefits the country at large. If Holland could devise a means for the protection of its colonies from a ruin such as is threatening India, surely it is possible for the talented men at the helm here and in England to find a remedy for the evil. Had the Brussels Conference resulted in an agreement for universal bimetallism our problem would have been solved and our difficulties would have disappeared; but as it is evident that there is no prospect of the dual standard being adopted by England for many years to come, the only remedy for India is to change her standard of value from silver to gold, closing her mints to the free coinage of silver, and retaining the silver currency as token-coinage, fixing the rupee at, say, 1s. 6d.

The change can be made without any of the risks of economic loss or political danger predicted by the Manchester bimetallists, and should be carried out without further delay. I venture to predict that if India's standard of value is brought into line with the standard in England, the country's progress and prosperity during the next twenty years will be such as has never before been recorded in the annals of Indian history.

AMEER ALI.

CALCUTTA: *January* 1893.

ALFRED DE MUSSET¹

THERE are not a few artists, poets, musicians, &c., the story of whose life is almost as interesting as their works, and France is especially rich in such. We have only to think of George Sand, of Chopin, of Poe, and Alfred de Musset. As regards the last, there is the additional circumstance that his writings have an elective affinity with his life. His life was desolate and forlorn, a concatenation of anguish and despair; for this reason he is, as Honegger has somewhere remarked, 'the genius of despair,' or, as Gottschall calls him, 'the poet of lost and abandoned souls.' That the tones which he found for the expression of such states of feelings are wonderful must be admitted even by those who condemn them altogether as a literary phenomenon. He is for the French what Byron was for the English, Heine for the Germans, Poe for the Americans, and Leopardi for the Italians. He resembles all these; but with all this, he possesses many qualities which distinguish him, or we may rather say his poetical genius, from that of his prototypes. Alfred de Musset was the brother of the well-known Paul de Musset, and the son of a well-to-do official, also endowed with literary tastes. Paul, who from his childhood evinced the most ardent devotion and love for his younger brother, was his senior by about six years. Alfred proved to be a very precocious child, and early exhibited all the faults which usually accompany premature mental development. Nervous irritability and a desire to distinguish himself were plainly visible at the age of three years. Once he got a pair of new red shoes, and he went into raptures about them; he was so impatient to show himself in his new shoes that he could scarcely wait to be dressed. Whilst his mother was dressing his hair he was trembling with impatience, and at last he exclaimed in an angry tone, 'Make haste, mamma, or else my new shoes will get old!' The precocious boy was pampered and spoiled, and allowed to become a despot in the house. A highly comical story—which to our knowledge was first related by Paul de Musset in his book on his brother—relates an event which happened when

¹ 1. Paul de Musset: *Biographie d'Alfred de Musset*. Paris, 1877.

2. Paul Lindau: *Alfred de Musset*. Zweite Auflage. Berlin, 1878.

3. Rudolf v. Gottschall: *Alfred de Musset*. Leipzig, 1879.

4. *Elle et Lui*. Par George Sand. Paris, 1859.

5. *Lui et Elle*. Par Paul de Musset. Paris, 1859.

Alfred was only four years old. He fell in love with one of his cousins and actually sued for her hand. She was only allowed to go away after he had exacted a promise, or rather a solemn vow, that she would be his as soon as he arrived at the requisite age. He looked upon himself as her affianced husband; and when the cousin got married some time after, every pains were taken at home to conceal the circumstance from her 'betrothed.' He found it out, however, a relative having mentioned the circumstance in a moment of forgetfulness, when instantly the jilted lover sprang up and demanded an explanation: He was so spoiled, that all sorts of subterfuges and contradictions were resorted to in order to pacify him, and it was not before several years had passed that they ventured to tell him how matters really stood. When he learnt the truth, he raved and stormed at the perfidy and faithlessness of his cousin, and was only pacified when he was told that 'she loved him like a sister.' Then he remarked condescendingly, 'Very well, then; in that case I shall be satisfied.' A number of anecdotes which are related both by Lindau and Paul de Musset in their respective biographies of Alfred de Musset, only one of which we shall refer to here, show how badly the boy was brought up. After a summer's residence in the country the two brothers returned to Paris. In consequence of want of air and exercise, Alfred was sometimes affected with delirium. One day he broke a mirror, cut some new curtains, and pasted a map of Europe all over with wafers, without ever being punished; he made no promise that he would behave better in the future, but 'seemed astounded at the accidents.' This was quite sufficient to insure him immunity from all chastisement. He would scarcely allow any one to speak to him, and his brother was obliged to have recourse to a little banter in order to teach him a lesson. He would say, for instance: 'The mirror is broken, let us think no more about it; but try at least not to cut the curtains into ribands, and don't paste the Mediterranean over with wafers.'

The handsome, blond boy attended the college of Henry the Fourth, which he left when he was seventeen years of age, after having successfully passed his examination. He had now developed into a young man, and even then his horizon seemed to be clouded. That he was exceedingly precocious will be seen from the following extract from a letter which he wrote at this time—that is to say, at the age of seventeen—to his schoolfellow Paul Foucher, the subsequent brother-in-law of Victor Hugo:—

I am sad, and oppressed with weariness. . . . I have not even the heart to work. What shall I do? I don't want to write, unless I could be a Shakespeare or a Schiller. For this reason I do nothing. I feel that for impassioned men it must be the greatest misery to be without passions. I would barter my life for two centuries, if one only were not obliged to die to get rid of life. If I were at present in Paris I would drown in punch and beer every serious and respectable

emotion there is left within me. That would indeed be a relief. They give opium to a dying man in order to lull him to sleep, although it is known that sleep will kill him. I would fain do the same with my soul.

At first these fearful words were words and nothing else, but later on the writer of them transformed them into a reality, with this difference, that he was not satisfied with beer and punch, but strove to drown his cares in absinthe.

After returning to Paris, he made the acquaintance of Victor Hugo through Foucher, and was thus brought into connection with the 'romanticists,' and became a member of their society, which was known as *Le cénacle*. The stimulus he received there awoke in him likewise the determination to become an author. Anyhow, a very short experience in mercantile affairs had convinced him that he had neither the taste nor the ability to make a man of business. Still, he did not conform to the doctrines of the romanticists by any means in every respect. A philippic which he published against *la rime riche* led to a breach between him and Victor Hugo. Applying himself to his new career, he wrote first of all a small volume of poems, which he published in 1829, under the title of *Contes d'Espagne et d'Italie*. Lindau calls these poems 'the production of a terrible but exquisite child.' In this collection is contained the celebrated *Ballade à la lune*, which more than any other poem of Musset's has contributed to render his name famous. The whole *quartier Latin* got the poems off by heart. The four largest *contes* in verse bear the titles *Chestnuts out of the Fire*, *Mardocche*, *Don Paez*, and *Portia*, and treat of love-adventures and adultery. The subjects are handled poetically, no doubt, but for all that dangerously. The imagination of the youthful poet, who was then only nineteen, revels in voluptuous and fearfully tragical pictures, destitute of any ethical background, which produce a feeling of sadness when we think of his youth. *Portia* is generally regarded as the finest of these four tales.

The second collection of poems, which he published two years later, were not received by the public with the same favour as the first. These *Poésies diverses* were more matured and tasteful as to form, and less exuberantly treated; nevertheless, on the whole, they were much in the same spirit as the previous ones. Some of the smaller poems utter the plain unvarnished and attractive language of ardent feeling, others give the most charming expression to the frivolity of an inconstant love; in others, and especially in *Les Vœux Stériles*, the hopeless *blasé* state of mind predominant in the poet is strongly marked.

In 1832 Musset lost his father. This event operated powerfully on the mind of the poet, and gave him a taste for work, of which he had hitherto done very little. In fact, at this time he was more industrious and prolific than in the subsequent years of his life, so that

in the following year there appeared a larger number of his works than before. *Between the Cup and the Lip* is a sort of fantasia which reminds us strongly of Byron's *Manfred*, although Musset was careful not to lay himself open to the reproach of intentional imitation. Gottschall points repeatedly, and not without justification, to the similitude which this ghastly drama bears to the German romances of the previous century, which, however, were probably altogether unknown to the French poet. The comedy entitled *What Young Girls Dream about*, is exceedingly pretty, and shows that the author is a man of sufficiently varied acquirements to produce tit-bits for the stage, in which, without calling in the aid of any particular action, he is able to charm simply by rhythm and frolic. The Oriental story of *Namouna*, in three cantos, is also treated after Byron's manner, and in fact reminds us strongly of *Don Juan*. With the very best will, we are unable to credit Musset here with any originality. The humorous episodes are numerous, but little importance is attached to the action, for in reality there is none except in the last canto. Nevertheless, *Namouna* abounds in poetical beauties and spirited passages, not at all inferior to Byron.

Again, in 1833 there appeared in the *Revue des Deux Mondes* the most fearful and most impassioned poem that Musset ever wrote. In *Rolla* he reaches the pinnacle of his boisterous being, of his wild romanticism, of his disgust with the world. This extreme point was never reached by him in any of his subsequent works, although he approached near to it in his *Confessions*, written in prose, of which more anon. *Rolla* is neither more nor less than a concatenation of wild, fantastic pictures, illuminated by shooting reflexes, and occasionally warmed by the beams of a genuine feeling. It falls under the same category as George Sand's *Lélia*; but whilst this fearfully sublime work is by no means characteristic of George Sand, we are obliged to recognise in *Rolla* the characteristic emanation of the actual mind of Musset. Rolla's life is one continual suicide. For three years he lives upon his means, and then resolves to shoot himself. His eventual reconciliation to life is poetically worked out. Before his death Rolla is vouchsafed a glance of pure, genuine love, which casts a transfiguring light on the moral decay by which he is consumed.

In the same year Musset wrote three more large theatrical pieces. *Fantasio* is a comedy in the style of the English dramatists of the Elizabethan period. The hero, a decayed genius who condescends to become court fool and go-between in intrigues, reminds us strongly of Victor Hugo's *Le Roi s'amuse*. The piece is brimful of trouble and disgust of the world, with a very meagre plot. *Andrea del Sarto* is an art tragedy, in which enthusiasm for art plays but a very subordinate part; a melodrama, full of unnatural occurrences, it is not at all unpoetic, but in consequence of imperfect dramatic

New South Wales, in adopting the general features of the American sleeping-berth system, have improved upon it by dividing the car into two sections—one exclusively reserved for men, and one for women. The objection to this is that married couples must be separated. The sleeping-compartment arrangement of Europe as improved on the line between Melbourne and Adelaide seems to me to combine the advantages of both systems. Attached to the fast through trains on the main lines of traffic in the United States is a sleeping-car containing one drawing-room section, with two folding beds and a sofa. If a traveller be fortunate enough to purchase a ticket entitling him to the use of this separate compartment he may consider himself fortunate, for on no railway in the world will he travel in greater comfort and luxury. The misfortune is that there is only one such compartment in each train. The New Zealand railway carriages on the State lines are very comfortable, though not so magnificent as the American. They combine the advantages of the continuous car and separate compartment systems. The weak point of the European railway carriage is the difficulty of communication between each section, and the consequent danger to passengers of insult and outrage. This trouble is avoided on the New Zealand lines, whilst the privacy and comfort of the compartment arrangement are retained. Each car is built in two communicating sections, the one half on the American principle, with seats on either side and a passage down the centre, the other half in compartments like a British first-class carriage; the latter possesses a passage way on one side, covered by a roof, but open to the air and protected by ironwork and wire. This passage-way communicates with that in the American section of the car, so that travellers can pass freely from one end of the train to the other, and all may suit their tastes in the choice of seats. These carriages contain the toilet conveniences usually found in the American cars. Engine-drivers in the United States are better protected from the weather than are their British brethren, and they are supplied with a leather cushioned seat and elbow-rest, which appeared to me in no way to detract from their efficiency. If this be so, these little comforts should no longer be withheld from them at home. There is another railway improvement which should at once be introduced into Great Britain. I allude to the automatic couplers which are almost universally fitted to locomotives and cars engaged in *passenger* service in the United States, and yet, curiously enough, it would appear from an article in the last *June Forum*, entitled 'The Slaughter of Railway Employees,' that the loss of life amongst this class of men is greater in America than in England. It would appear that, although almost all the passenger engines and carriages in the States have this life-saving arrangement in use, the cars employed in carrying freight, which far surpass in number those which are engaged in passenger service, are

not provided with this useful invention. Out of a total of 1,105,042 cars used in freight service, the writer says there are but 87,390 fitted with automatic couplers, and but 100,990 equipped with train brakes. This will, in great measure, account for the enormous mortality by accidents amongst American railway men. He says:—

The facts in the case are somewhat startling. The total number of railway employes on June 30, 1890, was 749,301. The number killed during the twelve months preceding was 2,451, and the number injured 22,396. This means one death for every 306, and one injury for every 30 men employed. Confining the statement to those employes engaged directly in the handling of trains—that is to say, engineers, firemen, conductors, and other trainmen—the results are beyond the experience in any other business or trade. The number of employes of this class was 153,235, and out of this number there occurred during the year 1,459 deaths and 13,172 injuries due to some form of railway accident. This means one death for every 105, and one injury for every 12 men engaged in handling trains. In no other employment, not even in mining, which is a most dangerous occupation, can such results be shown.

President Harrison has interested himself in the matter, and on each succeeding January for three years has sent a special message to Congress, calling the attention of that body to the imperative necessity for some action.

It is (he said) a reproach to our civilisation that any class of American workmen should, in the pursuit of a useful and necessary vocation, be subjected to peril of life and limb as great as that of a soldier in time of war.

I imagine that one cause for this deplorable loss of life, which applies to civilians almost as much as to employes, is the absence of platforms in American stations. Passengers have frequently to cross lines in order to get in and out of trains, whilst in many towns, even in those of large size, such as Chicago and Buffalo, the cars and locomotives run through the centre of the town on level crossings, and sometimes even down the open street.

ELECTRICITY AND TELEPHONES

Great Britain is far behind her colonies and the United States in the employment of electricity and the telephone. Even small towns in these new countries are lit by the electric light. It is to be found in the streets and in dwellings. All the nuisance attending the escape of gas and the destruction of paintings and gilding is avoided. Rooms are not rendered unhealthy and oppressively hot by unnecessary consumption of oxygen and superheating of the atmosphere through the gas-flame. Much time and correspondence are saved by the universal employment of the telephone in town and country, and, by means of the long-distance telephone, communication is kept up between remote cities.

RAPID TRANSIT IN CITIES

The means for cheap and rapid communication is, as a rule, more thoroughly developed in American and colonial than in European cities. This remark applies exclusively to street railways and tram-cars, for public horse conveyances are ruinously dear both in the colonies and the States, and in the latter the streets are usually atrociously paved, and the foot-pavements badly laid and as badly cleansed. This is, in a great measure, owing to the fact that few persons walk, and still fewer drive, unless absolutely compelled to do so. The streets in Australian and New Zealand cities are generally well maintained; but there, as well as in America, tramcars are largely patronised, and are usually both clean and comfortable. The horse-car in all the new countries is rapidly becoming obsolete, so much so that there is a story of an American woman who entered a horse-car in a small town, and, not seeing either an electric wire overhead or a cable below, and not noticing the horse, asked her neighbour to explain to her by what novel power the car was being propelled. One great drawback to the comfort of the tramcar in America is the lack of all regulations as to the number of passengers to be carried. The result of this is that rows of men, and sometimes of women, may be seen standing in the gangway holding on painfully to leathern straps. All these persons have paid for their seats, but it never seems to enter into the head of the American to protest or expostulate against this breach of contract on the part of the tram company. Such a state of things could not exist for a fortnight in Great Britain without the daily Press being inundated by the protests of irate and indignant Britons, who would never rest until they had altered what must be a very serious tax on the physical strength and vital powers of women and of elderly men.

PUBLIC PARKS, GARDENS, AND ICE-CREAM PARLOURS

It would be difficult to find anywhere in the world more beautiful public gardens than those of Sydney, or a more fairylike scene, owing to situation and semi-tropical vegetation, than the interior of the palm-house at Geelong in the colony of Victoria; but the public parks and open spaces of America are, as a rule, superior to those of the colonies, and only inferior in some particulars to those of the mother country. Our open spaces are generally more accessible to the great masses of the population, and the public are, as a rule, allowed in them greater freedom of movement; owing also to the different climate and habits of the people the British parks are more used on a weekday. There is no park in the United States which can compare either in extent, in natural beauty, or in size of timber with the forests of Windsor and Epping; nor in the last two particulars with that of Richmond; but we have no 'parkways' of from three to five miles long, with

from three to five avenues of trees, as are to be found connecting some of the larger city parks of America, nor can we show outside Kew and certain private gardens such a splendid conservatory as is to be found in Golden Gate Park, San Francisco, or in a smaller way in that of Chicago or of Baltimore. In the first-mentioned park, buffalo, moose, and reindeer may be seen roaming wild within large well-fenced reservations containing within their limits water and thick copses, where the animals may almost lead a natural life. We do not spend as much money as the Americans on the adjuncts of a park, such as aviaries, refreshment houses, music-stands with seats for the audience, sometimes partly under cover, steam merry-go-rounds, like that at San Francisco, with three rows of horses and carriages sheltered from the weather by a huge domed roof; nor am I aware that any British municipality has ever ventured to build in a park, as at Chicago, a parquetted ballroom for the enjoyment of its citizens, nor provide its athletes, as at Boston, gratis, with dressing-rooms, attendants, lockers, and lavatories.

The ice-cream parlour is in hot and thirsty weather one of the most delightful of American institutions. Why do not our temperance people at home sell in summer such drinks in every busy thoroughfare? I believe the existence of a few of these establishments would go a long way towards weaning the thirsty Briton from the public-house and spirit-shop. The most delicious iced temperance drinks, flavoured with fruit juices, are to be purchased also in most chemists' as well as confectioners' shops. Of all the pleasant drinks on earth in hot weather recommend me to an iced-cream soda. It matters little what is the flavour, it cannot help being grateful and refreshing. Soda-water and frozen cream, whipped up into a froth, is the foundation of all these beverages—the true nectar of the gods.

HOTELS

As a rule the hotels of the United States are better appointed than those to be found in Great Britain outside the Metropolis, some large towns, and a few fashionable watering-places. They are almost all electrically lighted, provided with swiftly moving lifts, the rooms are comfortably and artistically furnished, and the private apartments are almost always provided with a separate bathroom, lavatory &c.; the latter is a doubtful advantage, however, in the eyes of those who entertain a wholesome dread of typhoid fever. The system of paying a fixed sum per day for board and lodging simplifies matters, and diminishes the risk of friction between manager and guest. The average charge per head per day is from \$4 to \$5, (16s. to 20s.). Such conveniences as the telegraph and the telephone are generally to be found in the halls of the larger hotels, as well as stalls where books, magazines, and newspapers can be purchased. In Australia and

Canada the hotels are very similar to those of America; but in New Zealand they resemble more the old-fashioned hostelries to be found in county towns of England, where the guests are entertained with greater civility and attention, but with fewer luxuries, than in the more pretentious establishments of the former countries. The cost of living in New Zealand is about 10s. per head per day, without any extras, except wine, being charged. The objections to the large caravansaries are the lack of kindly personal service, the difficulty of obtaining anything out of the ordinary routine, or of being waited on in one's apartment. Boot-cleaning and clothes-brushing are special services for which, as a rule, extra charge is made; and, if the negro whose duty it is to perform this office should be absent, the visitor must either clean his own boots or issue forth with yesterday's mud still adhering to them, for a free American citizen would consider himself disgraced if he were to perform such menial offices for another. I heard of an Englishman travelling in the States who, being told that there was exceptional distress amongst the labouring class from lack of employment, and seeing a group of idle men leaning against a rail opposite his hotel, thought he would test this feeling; so, walking across the road, he offered half-a-dollar (2s.) to any man who would clean his boots for him. No one responded to the appeal; and I believe he was considered fortunate to have been permitted to retire with a whole skin.

The Americans heat their hotels, like their cars, to a temperature which is unbearable to the average Briton—70° or 75° Fahrenheit. It is not the custom, as in England, to provide the guests with the daily papers—these he has to purchase for himself. In some of the hotels the beds fold up and turn into handsome pieces of furniture, resembling sideboards or consoles; thus the bedroom can during the day be converted into a comfortable sitting-room, for the washing apparatus is usually in a small adjoining closet, lit by electricity or gas. Electric bells communicating with the central office are sometimes affixed in the bedrooms. The guest, before retiring for the night, states the hour he desires to be called in the morning. At the said hour the bell begins to ring in the sleeper's room, and continues to ring until he communicates electrically with the office, as a proof that he is awake and out of bed; for he must rise to stop the ringing—a splendid invention to arouse the man who, after being called, is accustomed to turn round in bed and go to sleep again upon the other side. As a precaution against fire a small globe of quicksilver is occasionally affixed to the ceiling of each apartment, which, when heated, causes by its expansion an electric current to be set in motion, ringing an alarm bell in the central office. By this means a fire originating in any part of the building gives notice automatically of its own existence. I have seen in a New York hotel a clever arrangement in each apartment like a small clock dial, on which is

engraved in a circle almost all a guest's possible desires. By turning a hand like that of a watch to the desired point, electric communication with the office is established, and the guest's need is supplied without the waiter having to answer the bell and inquire what is wanted. One journey, time, and much fatigue is thus saved to the attendant. The difficulty of obtaining labour renders the American inventive, and his clever contrivances to make machinery do the work of human hands and feet has added much to the happiness of mankind; but there is one labour-saving article which I trust may never be introduced at home—I allude to the electro silver-plated knife which is now almost universally used in American hotels and even in some private houses. The silver-plated knife may be excellent for service at dessert, but when a man is required to cut his meat with it he is asked to do an impossibility. The knives are supposed to be tipped with steel, but they decline to assume the qualities of the inferior metal, and are consequently the source of much vexation of spirit, indigestion, and temptation to the use of strong language. Even the tenderest fillet assumes a leathern character when attempted to be severed with this instrument. Its merit in the eyes of the American domestic is that it requires no cleaning—a doubtful advantage from the point of view of him who uses it.

POLICE PATROL, AMBULANCE, AND FIRE BRIGADE STATIONS

In some of the best-managed American cities, the police patrol, ambulance, and fire brigades are all worked upon a system or systems of intercommunication which it would be well to adopt at home. A certain number of street lamp-posts, at convenient distances from each other, are constructed to contain within a protuberance in the centre all the apparatus necessary for telephonic communication with the central police bureau. This office contains a telephonic department, with operators constantly in attendance, and every ambulance, fire brigade, and police station is in direct communication with it. In some towns the ambulance waggons are kept in the police stations, and are manned by the constables, who are trained in the rudimentary knowledge needed for rendering first aid to the wounded. In every police station, or at all events in the principal ones, patrol waggons are kept with horses ready harnessed, or ready to have the harness dropped on their backs by electric motion, as is done in the fire brigade stations, where it only takes from three to twelve seconds for a fire-engine to come from the building after the electric bell has sounded. Every policeman on duty is supplied with a key with which he can open the lamp-post boxes containing the telephonic apparatus. If an accident has occurred in the streets, a fire has broken out, a prisoner has to be conveyed to the lock-up, or extra police assistance is needed, the policeman communicates by

telephone through the central office to the nearest police station, and within a few seconds or minutes an ambulance waggon, containing stimulants, medicines, bandages, &c., and well-trained assistants, a fire-engine, or a police patrol waggon manned by constables, may be seen galloping down the street. By this method the efficiency of the police force is greatly increased. Under the old system a police constable had often to struggle single-handed with a violent prisoner, and drag him, after a series of exhausting and dangerous encounters, long distances before he could obtain assistance or lodge him in safe custody. If he attempted single-handed to arrest more than one prisoner at a time, he ran the risk of being overpowered, of losing some or all prisoners, and of serious personal injury. During all the time, too, that he was struggling with his prisoner or prisoners, his beat was deserted, and robbers or burglars would sometimes intentionally divert the attention of a constable from the point they had selected as the scene of their serious operations, by one of their number simulating riotous drunkenness and inviting arrest. No constable now is permitted to leave his beat except under exceptional circumstances. However numerous may be the law-breakers, he can always obtain adequate assistance through the telephone, and the waggons obviate all difficulty of transport. The central office can also communicate with each separate policeman in the city, or with all of them, by electrically raising a red signal board on the summits of any or all of the specially constructed lamp-posts. It is the duty of every policeman, on seeing this signal, to proceed at once to the lamp-post, open the box with his key, intimate his presence by an electric bell, and through the telephone receive his instructions from the central office. At night, instead of a board being raised, a red-coloured glass globe is by the same means placed around the gas-flame. It will be readily seen what an assistance such an invention must be to the police in the arrest of criminals. A murder or burglary is committed. Within a few minutes after the occurrence of the crime every policeman on duty in the city has been informed of its nature, has been furnished with a description of the criminal, and has been told of the supposed direction and manner of his flight. The fugitive will find it hard to conceal his identity from so many searching eyes, and, if he attempts to leave the city, will probably be arrested long before he reaches its outskirts. Had this system been in operation in London the predatory classes of the metropolis would have been deprived of that one brief hour of license when on a memorable occasion they gave the slip to their natural enemies of Scotland Yard.

SOCIAL CONDITION AND MANNERS

So much has been said and written of the social condition of the people in Australasia and America that it seems almost superfluous

for me to make any observations on the subject. It is difficult to say whether the working man occupies a better position in America or in Australasia. In both he is king; but I am of opinion that his rule is less challenged in the latter than in the former, and that it approaches nearer despotism in New Zealand than in any other colony or State. It is here that one recognises the least difference between rich and poor. Indeed, to the traveller it would seem as if New Zealand contained no wealthy men; but they must exist there, for one of the principal planks of Mr. Ballance's policy is the 'bursting up' of the large run-holders. It is well known that New Zealand is the paradise of the working man. Universal suffrage, combined with the principle of one man one vote, has made him supreme at the ballot-box. Trade organisations have consolidated his power, and furnished him with a lance of tempered metal; but indeed he need not set it in rest, for he has no opponent there worthy of his steel. Capital indigenous to the colony seems practically non-existent. Millionaires are unknown, and rich men conspicuous by their absence; on the other hand, there is a general high standard of comfort amongst the masses, and the only man who can be called poor is not the workman with his eight to ten shillings a day, but the run-holder eaten up by rabbits and on the verge of bankruptcy, the clergyman, or the clerk, who has to keep up appearances and to work longer hours than the so-called working man, who rules the colony, and has limited his labour to eight hours a day. Having mounted the box-seat of State, and holding the reins of power in his hands, the 'working man,' wise in his generation, is determined to take such precautions as shall render it exceedingly difficult, if not impossible, for any rival to oust him from his position. There is a determined look upon his face as he gathers up the reins, cracks his whip, and settles himself firmly in his seat—a good sign if only self-confidence be restrained by caution. Aristocracy and Bourgeoisie have sat on that box-seat for many a long year. Let us not grudge the new driver the delight with which he finds himself, sometimes to his own astonishment, installed in the place of honour and responsibility, or the pride with which for the first time he feels the reins firmly grasped in his hands. Let us hope that he will drive with discretion as well as with boldness, and that he will remember that under certain circumstances the skid is of more value to the safety of the passengers than the whip.

If in New Zealand there be neither wealth nor poverty, the same cannot be said of America, where both are on the increase. Money has so often been made in the States, especially in the West, by sudden lucky chances, sometimes by practices differing but slightly, if at all, from those of a fraudulent character, that the public entertain little respect for the rich man, and in some cases even feel for him a bitter hostility—not to be wondered at, seeing that property in America is, as a rule, divorced from responsibility. To this as well as

to the republican sentiment may be due the lack of respect for wealth and position which is such a marked characteristic of the middle and working classes of America. The bump of veneration is so entirely absent from the head of the average American child that it is exceedingly difficult for parents or pastors to instil into him respect for elders, or even reverence in religious matters. In the colonies, as well as in California, parents complained that their children were most difficult to control. This is, in a great measure, the fault of the parents themselves, who in these countries have in too many instances deliberately uncrowned themselves. They laid the blame, strangely enough in both places, on the beautifully warm climate which forced the whole family into the streets, and broke up the home circle. Boys and girls, they said, got into roving, independent ways, and resented the slightest restraint on the freedom of their actions. An octogenarian clergyman, a man of high distinction and regarded as the leader of his Church, besides being one of the founders of the New Zealand town in which he resides, told me that a little chit of a girl of fifteen had openly complained that the doctor had failed to raise his hat to her when he met her in the street. In New York an almost equally eminent man informed me that a young girl whom he had known from infancy, the daughter of a very dear deceased friend, had received his salutation with such marked discourtesy that he had felt it a duty to his old friend to expostulate with her.

It is painful to remark in America how children in overcrowded tramcars are permitted by their parents to keep their seats whilst their elders stand. Children seem prematurely brought forward, and are often spoilt, especially the girls. In hotels one sees little maidens of from five to ten adorned with rings, earrings and bracelets, wearing high-heeled shoes, and giving themselves the airs of grown-up women. They do not seem as if they were capable of a good romp or game of play out of doors. They sit at table with bored faces, giving their orders to the waiters, and partaking of the same food as their parents. It was quite refreshing, when home was once more reached, to see the younger generation dressed as children, treated as children, and enjoying good healthy games of play in many a pleasant field as the train whirled one through smiling England, or from the window of one's London house to hear the shouts of joy with which the children were pursuing one another under the shadow of the Kensington Garden elms.

Max O'Rell has pointed out that America is the only country where the man who is paid is the master. One feels this everywhere. The attitude of the clerk behind the counter, of the waiter of the hotel, of the conductor in the car, of the official who hands one the letters at the Post Office, too frequently varies between injured dignity, offensive patronage, and what to the British mind amounts to downright rudeness. I have seen a lady poked by a conductor in

the back without a word of explanation ; the man simply required her ticket, and it was too much trouble for him to ask for it. Mr. Hamilton Aidé complained last year in this Review that an American waiter once removed Mr. Aidé's hat from his head and put it on a peg without uttering a word ; this has never happened to me, but I have had a ticket several times stuffed between the ribbon and the hat by a railway guard. Manners in the West are occasionally peculiar. An acquaintance of exceedingly short standing has poked me continuously in the ribs to insure my appreciation of the good points of a story. A waiter, when an order is given, never thinks of answering, and it is difficult to know whether he has heard it or not. I was once told by an attendant that he guessed if I asked again I should not get what I wanted.

Colonists and Americans are both proverbial for their hospitality. They teach us a lesson in this particular. Wherever the English language is spoken, there the Briton may be sure that he will meet with a kind and even a warm welcome. He will never be treated as a foreigner, but as a relation, and as one who through kinship possesses a claim on the hospitality of his hosts. May the British visitor never prove unworthy of the confidence reposed in him ! Amongst large classes in the colonies there is an affectionate and loyal feeling towards the Mother Country, which only needs some great event to draw it forth in its full power to the astonishment of the world. It is to me a continual and lasting satisfaction to know that some of my best and truest friends are to be found in those great and distant countries which have been colonised by men and women of British race, and which are destined to play so important a part in the future history of the world.

MEATH.

THE RUPEE AND THE RUIN OF INDIA

AN impression seems to prevail in certain quarters that the fall in the gold value of silver affects only the European officials in India, and that an attempt to restore the rupee to anything like its old value would be prejudicial to the people of the country. This fallacious idea owes its origin, no doubt, to an imperfect acquaintance with the condition of the masses, and I therefore propose to show how the depreciation of the rupee in relation to gold affects the population at large. With the wealthy rajah, the rich *mahajan*, and the flourishing pleader I have no concern; when the general weal is in the balance, their interests are of little weight. The general population of India may, for the purposes of my remarks, be divided into two classes, agricultural and non-agricultural. The non-agricultural portion, speaking roughly, forms about one-third of the entire body of inhabitants. Of the so-called agricultural classes, the largest portion, or more than three-fourths, are mere labourers, and are consequently classified as such in all Government statistics.

The first question to consider, therefore, is how the fall in the gold value of the rupee affects the non-agricultural classes and the urban population of India. In connection with this, one circumstance which furnishes a remarkable index to the popular feeling is worthy of note. Throughout the country there is an opinion prevalent among the masses that the Queen's rupee does not possess the same 'blessing' as the old coins bearing the King's effigy. This opinion is loudly expressed among themselves, and often, to outsiders when the fear of the police or of the penal code is not present to their minds; but the idea has a strong hold over them, and is a frequent topic of bewailment. The feeling, no doubt, is an ignorant expression of the fact that the purchasing power of the rupee has declined, that it does not go as far to relieve their wants as before. In their ignorance they are unable to apprehend the causes of this decline, and are led to ascribe it somehow to the British rule. They would not be far wrong in supposing that were it not for the lethargy which hangs over the counsels of Government the distress would be neither so acute nor so prolonged.

Coming back to the question, How does the fall in the gold value of the rupee affect the people in general? we find that within the last twenty years the incomes of the wage-receiving classes have for the

most part remained stationary, whilst the prices of food-grains have risen by leaps and bounds. Among the wage-receiving classes I include the underpaid 'ministerial' clerks of Government, the not overpaid clerks in the employ of private individuals or companies, and people in the like condition.

Taking Bengal first, we find that in 1873 the monthly wages of the agricultural labourers varied from Rs.3 in the Behar districts to Rs.10 in Chittagong, giving on the average Rs.5 over the whole province. In the North-Western Provinces the average wages amounted to Rs.4 a month, in the Punjab to Rs.5, in the Madras Presidency to Rs.3. Of a horse-keeper, in Bengal, the average wages were Rs.5; of a common mason or blacksmith, Rs.9. In 1878 the average wages of the agricultural labourer in Bengal were Rs.5; in the North-West, Rs.4; in the Punjab, Rs.6. Of a horse-keeper the average wages during this year in Bengal were Rs.5; of a common blacksmith or carpenter a little over Rs.9. From 1883 to 1888 there was no substantial variation in the wages; in 1891 there was, if anything, a reduction.¹ In towns like Calcutta, Patna, Cawnpore, Meerut, Bombay, and Kurrachee some slight increase is shown, but the variation is so small as to be of very little account in the consideration of the general question. For example, in Calcutta the average of wages of a common mason or carpenter or blacksmith between 1873 and 1880 is given as Rs.13 3a. 1½p.; between 1881 and 1885, Rs.12 8a. 9¾p.; between 1886 and 1892, Rs.14 and a fraction. In Patna the average wages during the same periods were Rs.6 10a. 6p. Rs.6 12a. 6p., Rs.7 4a. 4p., and Rs.7 8a. Of the agricultural labourer the average wages in Patna were Rs.3 8a., Rs.3 14a., Rs.4 8a., Rs.4 8a., and so forth.

A reference to the wage rates in some of the industrial and other establishments may also prove useful. At the Mirzapore East Indian Railway station the maximum wage of a blacksmith in 1866 was Rs.10, in 1892 it was the same, although it had a slight rise for some years in the interval. The minimum of Rs.8 has always remained the same. The carpenter's wage in 1892 was the same as in 1870, viz. Rs.10. In private establishments, such as collieries, no change in the monthly wages rates is perceptible. It would be useless to multiply examples for what I have stated above, that, in spite of little variations here and there, the bulk of the wage rates in Bengal have remained stationary.

As regards the clerks, &c., in the employ of Government, or of private individuals, or companies, railway, trading and banking, it is notorious that their incomes have not varied for the last twenty years, and those of the professional classes (among whom I might mention the country *mookhtears* and the native doctors) have fallen, whatever the cause of the fall may be.

¹ These averages are struck from figures in Government statistics. I have not given the fractions.

During this period of time the fluctuation in the gold value of the rupee has been as follows:—

| Year | Average rate for Rupee | Year | Average rate for Rupee |
|-------|------------------------|-------|------------------------|
| | s. d. | | s. d. |
| 1872. | 1 11½ | 1882. | 1 8 |
| 1873. | 1 10¾ | 1883. | 1 7½ |
| 1874. | 1 10¼ | 1884. | 1 7½ |
| 1875. | 1 10 | 1885. | 1 7¼ |
| 1876. | 1 9½ | 1886. | 1 6½ |
| 1877. | 1 8½ | 1887. | 1 5½ |
| 1878. | 1 8¼ | 1888. | 1 5 |
| 1879. | 1 7¼ | 1889. | 1 4½ |
| 1880. | 1 8 | 1890. | 1 6 |
| 1881. | 1 8 | 1891. | 1 4½ |

In March 1892 it stood at 1s. 3¼d.; a slight reaction raised it to 1s. 4½d.; since then it has declined steadily, and now stands at 1s. 2¾d.

Whilst, as shown already, the earnings of the wage-receiving classes have practically remained stationary, the price of the food-grains has gone on increasing steadily in inverse proportion to the rapid declension in the gold value of the rupee.

In 1873 the average retail price in Bengal of common rice was R.1 10a., and of *ballam* rice Rs.1 14a. per maund; in 1878, which was an abnormal year, the price of the first rose to Rs.3 5a. 4p.; in 1883 it fell to Rs.2; in 1888 it rose to Rs.2 1a.; in 1891 to Rs.2 9a. 4p. Of other food-grains the prices varied as follows:—

| | Rs. a. p. | | Rs. a. p. |
|-------------|-----------|-------------|-----------|
| Wheat, 1873 | 3 11 3 | Grain, 1883 | 2 2 7 |
| „ 1878 | 4 0 7 | „ 1888 | 2 4 6 |
| „ 1883 | 3 1 3 | „ 1891 | 2 4 9 |
| „ 1888 | 3 12 3 | | |
| „ 1891 | 3 15 9 | | |

Millet sold in 1873 at R.1 5a. 4p. per maund, in 1892 for Rs.2 5a. 8p., and is now sold for Rs.2 8a.

In January 1893 the retail price of common country rice had risen to Rs.3 13a. per maund, and of *ballam* rice to Rs.4 8a. The table hereunder shows the prices of other food-grains at the beginning of the current year, taking a general average from three different places:—

Table showing Prices of Food-grains and Salt, January 1893.

| | Rs. a. p. |
|-----------------------------------|-----------------|
| Table rice (1st class), per maund | 6 4 0 |
| Common country rice | 3 13 0 |
| <i>Ballam</i> rice | 4 8 0 |
| Grain | 2 12 0 |
| Millet | 2 8 0 |
| Wheat | 4 6 0 to 4 12 0 |
| Pulse (Arhar). | 3 8 0 |

When we consider that among the labouring classes the average number of adults composing a household is three, and among classes slightly better off five, it will be seen how heavily the rise in the price of food-grains presses upon these people. They are, in fact, on the verge of starvation, and the majority of them have to be satisfied with one meal a day.

The intimate connection between the fall in the gold value of the rupee and the abnormal rise in the prices of food-grains is self-evident. It is in fact admitted, and a claim is based upon it by the speculative exporter that no attempt should be made to remedy the evil.

It is said that the agricultural classes have gained by the depreciation of the rupee, and it is urged that the export trade in India in grains and cereals of all kinds derives its chief impetus from the falling exchange, and is beneficial to the agriculturist because he sells so much more! I shall not pause to inquire whether an export trade in food-grains factitiously fostered and maintained by the fall in the gold value of silver is beneficial to the people; nor shall I dwell on the fact that whatever impetus the export trade in grains has received from the fall in the exchange has resulted to the benefit of the small body of the produce brokers and exporters, who are now vociferously clamouring to prevent any interference to rehabilitate the rupee. The genuine export trade of India owes its development to causes wholly independent of the depreciation of silver. The Suez Canal, increased facilities of transport, immense reduction in the freight of goods, the construction of railways and roads, have combined to develop this trade. Were it left to these natural agencies for its development, the rise in the price of food-grains would have been balanced by the decline, owing to the same causes, in the prices of other necessaries of life. But the fall in the rupee has intensified the evil and accentuated the burden upon the people. The produce broker and the exporter are, no doubt, able with their sovereign to buy sixteen rupees' worth of goods, but how far that benefits the producer or the agriculturist I shall now proceed to examine. If, instead of theorising, we would only take the trouble to inquire for ourselves into the question of this hypothetical benefit, we would find that the bulk of the profit due to increased prices of food-grains goes into the pocket of the exporter; in another case, when the grain remains for consumption in the country, to that of the wholesale *mahajans* and the retail dealers. In Bengal, the producer himself estimates his profit as four annas to ten annas per maund over the old prices that existed before the 'cyclone,' which takes us back to the year of grace 1864.

But let us look to the other side of his account. For the agriculturist also, all over the country, the necessaries of life other than what he himself grows—the clothes which he wears, the oil which he burns, the salt for himself and his cattle, &c.—have become

dearer. And, what is more, his rent is enhanced because he obtains more for his produce. Under a rule of peace and equal laws, free from the danger, generally speaking, of illegal exactions or forced contributions, with the developing resources of the country, the people had immense and potential opportunity of prosperity, had it not been for the terrible curse of a depreciated currency. Careful inquiry would show that no benefit accrues to any section of the people, agriculturist or non-agriculturist. If the former wears an aspect of comparative prosperity, it is due to fairly good harvests and the immunity he has enjoyed for the last few decades from illegal exactions and 'cesses.' The fall in the rupee only helps in his being deprived of his just prices. You might as well give him sixteen eight-anna pieces for, say, five maunds of rice, and call the coins rupees. That is just what is allowed to take place under the glamour of theories promoted and propounded by self-interest.

The native Indian employes above the rank of mere clerks, whether in the service of Government or private individuals and firms, with fixed salaries, which have not, in the majority of cases, altered for the last twenty years, are equally sufferers. The income of the bulk of them varies from Rs.50 to Rs.100 a month. Had the rupee retained its original value this would represent 5*l.* to 20*l.* a month; at present these figures barely represent 3*l.* and 12*l.* respectively. Only few get more than Rs.200 a month. When it is considered that the household of a fairly well-to-do inhabitant of India consists of a number of poor relatives and dependents; that the cost of living, schooling, clothing, &c., has increased all round, there will be no difficulty in understanding how the struggle for existence is becoming harder for even this class of people. The education of boys is becoming dearer every day, resulting from a variety of causes too numerous to detail; many youths, chiefly from amongst the sons of Government officials, are sent to England to acquire that training, discipline, and culture which are conspicuous by their absence from the educational institutions of this country. Can it be said with any approach to truth that the fall in the gold value of the rupee does not affect these people with fixed salaries and a number of mouths to feed, children to educate, and some position to maintain in their society?

The native trader, the native banker, the native merchant (if their own statements, repeatedly made, are to be relied on), are half-ruined. Trade is disorganised, and business transactions generally in a most unsatisfactory condition. Nobody can say with certainty what the morrow may bring forth; nobody can properly forecast his gain or his loss; nobody can safely engage in any enterprise with any reasonable assurance of a fair outturn.

I have thus far endeavoured to show, albeit imperfectly, how the fall in the gold value of the rupee affects the people of India. How

it affects the Government, the official and professional classes of Europeans, and those Indians who, from choice or necessity, desire to give their children a European education, are matters beyond controversy. The position of the Government may be described in one sentence: it is on the verge of veritable bankruptcy. Its vaunted surpluses have turned into deficits, ever growing. All new productive work practically stopped, expenditure reduced to what is absolutely needful, the mournful admission of helplessness implied in the quiet appropriation of the Famine Insurance Fund, furnish a clear and unmistakable indication of what is impending unless the Government awakens from its lethargic condition and abandons the *laissez-faire* course which has marked its policy throughout in dealing with the currency question.

The Indian Government has, from the necessities of the situation, to meet large sterling liabilities in England by payments in the coin in which it realises its revenue. So long as India is a dependency of the British Crown she has to remit to England each year a certain number of pounds sterling in discharge of her liabilities. The question whether this burden is right or proper is not relevant to the present issue. Not even the wildest Home-ruler would suggest that cutting India adrift from England, even if it were possible, would be for the benefit of this country. Now, as the revenue is collected in rupees, it is evident that in making the payment in sterling her loss or gain would be determined by the gold value of the silver coin. This is so obvious that it is unnecessary to dwell further on the subject. In 1843 the exchange was 2s. 0 $\frac{1}{4}$ d.; in 1853, 2s. 1 $\frac{1}{4}$ d.; in 1863, 2s. 0 $\frac{3}{4}$ d.; in 1872, as already mentioned, it was 1s. 11 $\frac{1}{4}$ d.; at the close of 1892, 1s. 2 $\frac{1}{2}$ d. In the course of twenty years, from 1872 to 1891, as pointed out by a competent authority, the Indian Government has lost fully sixty-seven millions sterling over its remittances to England. This enormous sum, which might have been profitably spent in developing the resources of the country, in making railways, roads, canals, and opening up tracts still inaccessible to the outer world, in effecting reforms or reducing taxation, in providing means to prevent or to minimise famines, in constructing defensive fortifications on a threatened frontier, might, so far as any benefit to India is concerned, or for the matter of that to anybody else, have just as well been thrown into the sea.

As regards the threatening deficit, the local *Englishman*, in its issue of the 7th of January, had an interesting and instructive article, from which I venture to quote one or two passages to enforce my own remarks. After giving a table showing the surpluses and deficits each year from 1879 to 1890, it proceeds thus:—

The surplus estimated for 1892-93 has, as the public is aware, been turned into a deficit of Rs. 1,600,000.* The net result of fourteen years of Indian finance

* The figures represent tens of rupees.

is, therefore, a surplus in seven years of the period amounting to Rx.11,192,000, and a deficit in seven other years amounting to Rx.12,124,000, the deficit thus exceeding the surplus by Rx.932,000, or, say, one crore.

Then, after referring to the circumstances which led to the re-imposition of the taxes that had been reduced by Sir Evelyn Baring, to the imposition of new taxes, and to the various economies effected to make the two ends meet, the article in question runs thus:—

We find, then, that after the recovery of the finances from the effects of the war with Afghanistan we had down to 1884 a period of prosperity, which has been followed since then by a time of stress and strain. The period of prosperity was coincident with a relative steadiness in the exchanges. From 1878-79 to 1884-85 the average annual rate of exchange varied between 19.96*d.* and 19.308*d.*, the decline in seven years being under 3½ per cent. Beginning with 1885, the rupee tumbled headlong down the abyss, and with its downward progress we have had a period of increasing financial pressure, in which it has been necessary to impose heavy additional taxation, to deprive the local Governments of the means for carrying out material improvements, to restrict the progress of railway construction, to starve the administration generally, to suspend the Famine Insurance Grant, and to hunt unsuccessfully in every hole and corner for cheese-parings in the way of savings. It is not, however, a mere coincidence that the period of prosperity went, with the steadiness of the rupee. We have given above the statement of the Ministers responsible for the finances, that the coincidence was more than a coincidence—that it was cause and effect.

In the course of fourteen years, whilst taxation has increased by four crores annually, the public debt has increased by twenty. A huge deficit for the present financial year is inevitable, and another, probably much larger, for the ensuing year is equally certain. How is this to be met? There is no margin for further taxation; practically the produce broker and exporter, the real gainers by the present state of things, the zemindars, who possibly have profited a little in consequence of increased rental from the ryots, are beyond the range of taxation. Any addition to the income-tax will be received with grave dissatisfaction. Is the country to be allowed to go to ruin, the people to starve, the official classes driven to the verge of insolvency, to satisfy theories or to fill the pockets of a small class of people?

The Viceroy, in his reply to the address of the planters of Coorg, made a statement, which, I submit, ought to form the keynote of the financial policy of Government. His Excellency observed:—

No fortuitous advantage which any particular trade may for a time derive under a falling exchange can be allowed to weigh against the general injury and loss resulting to the trade of the Indian empire as a whole from fluctuations and uncertainty in the rate of exchange. . . . It will, perhaps, be sufficient if I say that, as the Indian empire does most of its commercial business with countries in which a gold standard obtains, it appears to me that it would be for the general advantage that India should be provided with a currency of which the gold value would no longer be subject to the fluctuations which have for some years past unsettled our commercial system and discouraged the investment of capital in this country.³

The wonder is that, in spite of the unhesitating terms in which the enunciation was made, no action has yet been taken to carry it into effect. As regards the official classes of Europeans, it is indisputable that they have suffered severely by the loss on exchange. They are paid in a depreciated coinage, whilst almost everything they have to pay for, either directly or indirectly, is paid for in gold. Stores, wines, clothing, the schooling of their children, and the cost of living for their families at home, has all to be disbursed in sterling. The loss affects every grade and every class—the man who has a salary of fifteen hundred rupees a month, and the small sergeant of police who gets barely a hundred.

The extent of the hardship entailed upon the official classes can be gauged from the fact that many men holding offices hitherto considered as well paid have been compelled to withdraw their children from school, bring out their daughters to India, and send the sons to the Continent for that education which the falling rupee will not allow them to obtain in England. In a country like India, where influence depends a great deal on prestige, it is idle to expect an ill-paid official, Indian or European, can either command or maintain his position, and it will be the fault of Government if its poorly-paid servants get entangled in straits which in most civilised countries are regarded as detrimental to the public interests.

The professional classes are in exactly the same predicament; the fee of the doctor or of the lawyer, paid in rupees, has not increased. As in the case of service holders, though their earnings have lessened in value the expenses have increased in an inverse ratio. In neither case is there any compensation. The small trader who imports his goods from Europe has to pay for them in gold, and in order to compensate himself has to raise his own prices proportionately in silver, at the risk of losing customers whose diminishing incomes furnish little inducement for much outlay. The merchant and the banker appear to be little better off. One can now understand the angry discontent which pervades the official classes of Europeans, high or low. To suggest that the proper remedy for this evil is for the English to make a permanent home in the plains is to ignore the lessons derivable from the past. The fate of the Mahomedan conquerors of India ought to be a warning to those who discourage occasional home visits to Europe.

It is almost unnecessary to repeat the fact that a few years' existence without change of climate or scene robs English women of their vitality and reduces them almost into the condition of permanent invalids. Visits to Europe, or, as a *dernier ressort*, to the hills, are matters of life and death to them. Children of European parentage do not thrive in the hills beyond a certain age, and even if they did, education in the proper sense of the term, with the same discipline and training as in Europe, is not to be had. The hill schools under

European management are mere makeshifts, to be resorted to only in dire straits. The necessity of a European training has forced itself even into the minds of a large number of Indians, who, although themselves without English education, appreciate the benefits that accrue therefrom.

The Manchester Chamber of Commerce recently gave expression to a somewhat strange sentiment, viz. that any attempt to introduce a gold standard or to improve the currency of India would involve a serious political danger. The weight of this opinion may be fairly discounted. Speaking with some sense of responsibility and with some acquaintance with the condition of the people, in my opinion it would be a serious political blunder to let the rupee stand at its present low value, or to allow it to sink lower. 'The rupee and not the Congress will drive the British out of India,' was a remark once made to me by a member of the National Congress. The idea is by no means chimerical. If the present state of things is allowed to continue much longer, there can be little doubt that sooner or later the number of Europeans in the civil and military employ of Government will be considerably reduced. Few Englishmen will care to take up almost a life-long service in India upon the pittance into which the fairly good salaries of former days have turned, nor would parents be willing to invest money in the training of their sons for the Indian service. Under the apprehended circumstances, the unwillingness of Europeans to come out to India, or of Indians trained in Europe to take service under Government, will promote the employment of men trained in the country, but whether that will be for the advantage of the State is a matter for question.

To my mind, it would be an evil day for India when, from a permanent reduction in the emoluments of officers in the civil and military employ of Government, the agency which has been the making of India is either withdrawn or its efficiency impaired.

Another disastrous effect of the fall in the rupee, which is likely to be far-reaching and permanent in its character, is that it stops all influx of capital from outside. Capitalists in gold countries will not invest in securities in silver countries, because they have no confidence in the value of silver in relation to gold, and consequently, while money flows freely to foreign gold countries, it is denied to the British dependency of India. A currency which fluctuates from day to day, and the value of which depends upon the smartness of foreign speculators, hardly leaves room for any safe calculation. The result of this is that many of the projects for the development of the resources of the country have either to be abandoned or to be postponed until better times.

My object is not to suggest any theory for the solution of a difficulty which may certainly be regarded as the life-problem of India, and the gravity of which is recognised by all classes of people.

My sole aim is to dispel the illusion that the fall in the rupee affects only the official classes and benefits the country at large. If Holland could devise a means for the protection of its colonies from a ruin such as is threatening India, surely it is possible for the talented men at the helm here and in England to find a remedy for the evil. Had the Brussels Conference resulted in an agreement for universal bimetallism our problem would have been solved and our difficulties would have disappeared; but as it is evident that there is no prospect of the dual standard being adopted by England for many years to come, the only remedy for India is to change her standard of value from silver to gold, closing her mints to the free coinage of silver, and retaining the silver currency as token-coinage, fixing the rupee at, say, 1s. 6d.

The change can be made without any of the risks of economic loss or political danger predicted by the Manchester bimetallists, and should be carried out without further delay. I venture to predict that if India's standard of value is brought into line with the standard in England, the country's progress and prosperity during the next twenty years will be such as has never before been recorded in the annals of Indian history.

AMEER ALI.

CALCUTTA: *January* 1893.

ALFRED DE MUSSET¹

THERE are not a few artists, poets, musicians, &c., the story of whose life is almost as interesting as their works, and France is especially rich in such. We have only to think of George Sand, of Chopin, of Poe, and Alfred de Musset. As regards the last, there is the additional circumstance that his writings have an elective affinity with his life. His life was desolate and forlorn, a concatenation of anguish and despair; for this reason he is, as Honegger has somewhere remarked, 'the genius of despair,' or, as Gottschall calls him, 'the poet of lost and abandoned souls.' That the tones which he found for the expression of such states of feelings are wonderful must be admitted even by those who condemn them altogether as a literary phenomenon. He is for the French what Byron was for the English, Heine for the Germans, Poe for the Americans, and Leopardi for the Italians. He resembles all these; but with all this, he possesses many qualities which distinguish him, or we may rather say his poetical genius, from that of his prototypes. Alfred de Musset was the brother of the well-known Paul de Musset, and the son of a well-to-do official, also endowed with literary tastes. Paul, who from his childhood evinced the most ardent devotion and love for his younger brother, was his senior by about six years. Alfred proved to be a very precocious child, and early exhibited all the faults which usually accompany premature mental development. Nervous irritability and a desire to distinguish himself were plainly visible at the age of three years. Once he got a pair of new red shoes, and he went into raptures about them; he was so impatient to show himself in his new shoes that he could scarcely wait to be dressed. Whilst his mother was dressing his hair he was trembling with impatience, and at last he exclaimed in an angry tone, 'Make haste, mamma, or else my new shoes will get old!' The precocious boy was pampered and spoiled, and allowed to become a despot in the house. A highly comical story—which to our knowledge was first related by Paul de Musset in his book on his brother—relates an event which happened when

¹ 1. Paul de Musset: *Biographie d'Alfred de Musset*. Paris, 1877.

2. Paul Lindau: *Alfred de Musset*. Zweite Auflage. Berlin, 1878.

3. Rudolf v. Gottschall: *Alfred de Musset*. Leipzig, 1879.

4. *Elle et Lui*. Par George Sand. Paris, 1859.

5. *Lui et Elle*. Par Paul de Musset. Paris, 1859.

Alfred was only four years old. He fell in love with one of his cousins and actually sued for her hand. She was only allowed to go away after he had exacted a promise, or rather a solemn vow, that she would be his as soon as he arrived at the requisite age. He looked upon himself as her affianced husband; and when the cousin got married some time after, every pains were taken at home to conceal the circumstance from her 'betrothed.' He found it out, however, a relative having mentioned the circumstance in a moment of forgetfulness, when instantly the jilted lover sprang up and demanded an explanation: He was so spoiled, that all sorts of subterfuges and contradictions were resorted to in order to pacify him, and it was not before several years had passed that they ventured to tell him how matters really stood. When he learnt the truth, he raved and stormed at the perfidy and faithlessness of his cousin, and was only pacified when he was told that 'she loved him like a sister.' Then he remarked condescendingly, 'Very well, then; in that case I shall be satisfied.' A number of anecdotes which are related both by Lindau and Paul de Musset in their respective biographies of Alfred de Musset, only one of which we shall refer to here, show how badly the boy was brought up. After a summer's residence in the country the two brothers returned to Paris. In consequence of want of air and exercise, Alfred was sometimes affected with delirium. One day he broke a mirror, cut some new curtains, and pasted a map of Europe all over with wafers, without ever being punished; he made no promise that he would behave better in the future, but 'seemed astounded at the accidents.' This was quite sufficient to insure him immunity from all chastisement. He would scarcely allow any one to speak to him, and his brother was obliged to have recourse to a little banter in order to teach him a lesson. He would say, for instance: 'The mirror is broken, let us think no more about it; but try at least not to cut the curtains into ribands, and don't paste the Mediterranean over with wafers.'

The handsome, blond boy attended the college of Henry the Fourth, which he left when he was seventeen years of age, after having successfully passed his examination. He had now developed into a young man, and even then his horizon seemed to be clouded. That he was exceedingly precocious will be seen from the following extract from a letter which he wrote at this time—that is to say, at the age of seventeen—to his schoolfellow Paul Foucher, the subsequent brother-in-law of Victor Hugo:—

I am sad, and oppressed with weariness. . . . I have not even the heart to work. What shall I do? I don't want to write, unless I could be a Shakespeare or a Schiller. For this reason I do nothing. I feel that for impassioned men it must be the greatest misery to be without passions. I would barter my life for two centuries, if one only were not obliged to die to get rid of life. If I were at present in Paris I would drown in punch and beer every serious and respectable

emotion there is left within me. That would indeed be a relief. They give opium to a dying man in order to lull him to sleep, although it is known that sleep will kill him. I would fain do the same with my soul.

At first these fearful words were words and nothing else, but later on the writer of them transformed them into a reality, with this difference, that he was not satisfied with beer and punch, but strove to drown his cares in absinthe.

After returning to Paris, he made the acquaintance of Victor Hugo through Foucher, and was thus brought into connection with the 'romanticists,' and became a member of their society, which was known as *Le cénacle*. The stimulus he received there awoke in him likewise the determination to become an author. Anyhow, a very short experience in mercantile affairs had convinced him that he had neither the taste nor the ability to make a man of business. Still, he did not conform to the doctrines of the romanticists by any means in every respect. A philippic which he published against *la rime riche* led to a breach between him and Victor Hugo. Applying himself to his new career, he wrote first of all a small volume of poems, which he published in 1829, under the title of *Contes d'Espagne et d'Italie*. Lindau calls these poems 'the production of a terrible but exquisite child.' In this collection is contained the celebrated *Ballade à la lune*, which more than any other poem of Musset's has contributed to render his name famous. The whole *quartier Latin* got the poems off by heart. The four largest *contes* in verse bear the titles *Chestnuts out of the Fire*, *Mardocche*, *Don Paez*, and *Portia*, and treat of love-adventures and adultery. The subjects are handled poetically, no doubt, but for all that dangerously. The imagination of the youthful poet, who was then only nineteen, revels in voluptuous and fearfully tragical pictures, destitute of any ethical background, which produce a feeling of sadness when we think of his youth. *Portia* is generally regarded as the finest of these four tales.

The second collection of poems, which he published two years later, were not received by the public with the same favour as the first. These *Poésies diverses* were more matured and tasteful as to form, and less exuberantly treated; nevertheless, on the whole, they were much in the same spirit as the previous ones. Some of the smaller poems utter the plain unvarnished and attractive language of ardent feeling, others give the most charming expression to the frivolity of an inconstant love; in others, and especially in *Les Vœux Stériles*, the hopeless *blasé* state of mind predominant in the poet is strongly marked.

In 1832 Musset lost his father. This event operated powerfully on the mind of the poet, and gave him a taste for work, of which he had hitherto done very little. In fact, at this time he was more industrious and prolific than in the subsequent years of his life, so that

in the following year there appeared a larger number of his works than before. *Between the Cup and the Lip* is a sort of fantasia which reminds us strongly of Byron's *Manfred*, although Musset was careful not to lay himself open to the reproach of intentional imitation. Gottschall points repeatedly, and not without justification, to the similitude which this ghastly drama bears to the German romances of the previous century, which, however, were probably altogether unknown to the French poet. The comedy entitled *What Young Girls Dream about*, is exceedingly pretty, and shows that the author is a man of sufficiently varied acquirements to produce tit-bits for the stage, in which, without calling in the aid of any particular action, he is able to charm simply by rhythm and frolic. The Oriental story of *Namouna*, in three cantos, is also treated after Byron's manner, and in fact reminds us strongly of *Don Juan*. With the very best will, we are unable to credit Musset here with any originality. The humorous episodes are numerous, but little importance is attached to the action, for in reality there is none except in the last canto. Nevertheless, *Namouna* abounds in poetical beauties and spirited passages, not at all inferior to Byron.

Again, in 1833 there appeared in the *Revue des Deux Mondes* the most fearful and most impassioned poem that Musset ever wrote. In *Rolla* he reaches the pinnacle of his boisterous being, of his wild romanticism, of his disgust with the world. This extreme point was never reached by him in any of his subsequent works, although he approached near to it in his *Confessions*, written in prose, of which more anon. *Rolla* is neither more nor less than a concatenation of wild, fantastic pictures, illuminated by shooting reflexes, and occasionally warmed by the beams of a genuine feeling. It falls under the same category as George Sand's *Lélia*; but whilst this fearfully sublime work is by no means characteristic of George Sand, we are obliged to recognise in *Rolla* the characteristic emanation of the actual mind of Musset. Rolla's life is one continual suicide. For three years he lives upon his means, and then resolves to shoot himself. His eventual reconciliation to life is poetically worked out. Before his death Rolla is vouchsafed a glance of pure, genuine love, which casts a transfiguring light on the moral decay by which he is consumed.

In the same year Musset wrote three more large theatrical pieces. *Fantasio* is a comedy in the style of the English dramatists of the Elizabethan period. The hero, a decayed genius who condescends to become court fool and go-between in intrigues, reminds us strongly of Victor Hugo's *Le Roi s'amuse*. The piece is brimful of trouble and disgust of the world, with a very meagre plot. *Andrea del Sarto* is an art tragedy, in which enthusiasm for art plays but a very subordinate part; a melodrama, full of unnatural occurrences, it is not at all unpoetic, but in consequence of imperfect dramatic

handling it elicited only the withering scorn of the romanticists. The whimpering, weak-brained titular hero is by no means calculated to excite the sympathy of the reader. *Les Caprices de Marianne* also reminds us of the varied humour of the English Elizabethan age, more so even than any other of Musset's pieces. The fundamental trait of this comedy with a tragical ending is mischievous bullying. Virtue appears therein as a capricious idea, and the female characters generally are altogether repulsive. It is difficult to conceive a taste for this piece. It was about fifteen years before any of these three plays came on the stage, for this reason, that Musset on his first appearance on the boards was unfortunate. His first piece especially, *A Night in Venice*, fell through because it was almost destitute of action, and the *dénouement* was thoroughly undramatic. At the Odéon Theatre in 1830 hisses which were pretty audible left no room for doubt that the fiasco was unmistakable. The same thing happened on the second representation, on which occasion the author is said to have remarked: 'I should not have thought that in Paris such a silly audience could have got together as this.' And when Prosper Chélas asked him on the following day if he intended to make his appearance again amongst the wild animals in the evening, he replied: 'No; I bid adieu to the menagerie for a long time to come.' This was the reason why the theatrical managers had no more pieces of his offered them for representation.

We are not yet done with the year 1833. We have still to speak of an occurrence that took place at this time, which is not only the strangest of all in the life of Musset, but also in that of George Sand, an event in fact which exceeds in strangeness anything which the annals of modern French literature can boast of—that is, the Italian tour which these two made together. François Buloz, the publisher and founder of the *Revue des Deux Mondes*, who died in 1877, and to whose periodical George Sand and Alfred de Musset were frequent contributors, gave a grand dinner to the whole of his staff at the beginning of 1833, at which Musset and Madame Dudevant were present. They cultivated their newly formed acquaintance. The young poet visited the handsome lady almost daily. After a few months they probably both felt the necessity of recruiting their strength, after the exertions occasioned by the production of *Rolla* and *Lélia*, by a short journey. A few days were spent in the forest of Fontainebleau, and it was then agreed that they were to go where every artist is fond of going—to Italy. They went there together. What their course of life was during their sojourn in the sunny south still remains a mystery; and although a great deal has been said and written on the subject, and probably a great deal more will still be said and written, it is doubtful whether the exact truth will ever become known. Paul de Musset must be regarded as a partial witness, for, in the first place, he was the brother of the party most

concerned; and, second, he appears to have hated George Sand as much after her death as he is known to have hated her whilst she was living. On the other hand, we must give Paul Lindau credit for impartiality. In his work on De Musset he devotes a long chapter to the discussion of this subject, and by the aid of hitherto unpublished letters of George Sand he does much towards clearing away the fog in which the matter is enveloped. For our part also, we have endeavoured to investigate impartially the relation between her and Musset, without being able to come to any other conclusion but this, viz. that they were *both* very much to blame.

In the whole history of literature we should be puzzled to find another episode so disgusting as the publication of George Sand's *Elle et Lui* (1859) and Paul de Musset's reply, *Lui et Elle*. We scarcely know what to think when we compare these books, as well as George Sand's *Lettres d'un Voyageur*, with her autobiography. In the latter she relates the incidents of her Italian tour, but she omits to state that it was made with Alfred de Musset. Her words are: 'After a few days' stay in the forest of Fontainebleau, I had a desire to see Italy.' Here she shows her want of veracity by *not* saying that Musset had been with her in Fontainebleau. She goes on to state that she made Stendhal's acquaintance on board ship; and having arrived in Italy, she continues: 'I was soon tired of looking at pictures and statues; the cold gave me fever, and the heat oppressed me; and I was sick of the beautiful sky.' Still not a word about Musset! It is only in a subsequent chapter, where she speaks of Venice, that he suddenly drops down, as it were, from the clouds; and then, without a line of introduction, she coolly observes: 'Musset fell very ill of typhus. It was not alone the respect we owe to a sublime genius which induced me to care for him, and gave me, ill as I was, unexpected strength to go through it. I was touched, likewise, by the charming points in his character, and the moral suffering he had to contend against, arising from struggles between his heart and his imagination. I spent seventeen days by the side of his couch, and only slept *one* hour each day. He then took his departure.' This is all she has to say about it, and if it had not been for the opportunity it afforded her of recounting her own self-sacrifice we question if she would have mentioned the name at all. When questioned on the subject, she pretended that certain friends—an evident allusion to Musset—instead of relying on her good sense and discretion, had 'requested her not to write about them in a certain way'; for this reason she had preferred to pass them over in silence, though in doing this she meant no offence. Strange tergiversation, and as disingenuous as it is strange.

Nevertheless, everything would have passed off quietly if it had not occurred to George Sand, less than four years after the conclusion of the *Histoire de ma Vie*, to publish the romance *Elle et Lui* in the

Revue des Deux Mondes. Looking at it with an unprejudiced eye, and as a work of imagination, like any other romance, we should say that *Elle et Lui* is a partly scandalous and partly sublime book, but at all events morbid, unhealthy, and even disagreeable. The principal persons are a pair of lovers of totally different disposition. The tender, quiet-loving, patient, and virtuous painter, Thérèse Jacques, suffers endless mental tortures from the passionateness, eccentricity, sensuality, and egoism of the painter, Laurent de Fauvel, who loves her furiously; formerly he had led a dissolute life, but afterwards he subjected himself to the attempts Thérèse made to improve him. Later on, the platonic relation between the two becomes more intimate, and they go to Italy together. There they quarrel; in a certain moment he was even about to shoot her. Afterwards a typhoid fever attacks him, and by her careful nursing she saves his life. But before this incident takes place they have separated, and Thérèse has become engaged to Palmer, a generous American. Laurent, who has given his consent to this arrangement, returns to Paris after his recovery. The same is done by Thérèse, who wants to settle her affairs before her marriage, after she had been detained for a long time in Venice owing to want of money. Laurent, forgetting his stipulations with her, pays her a visit in order once more to claim her love. She weeps, Palmer arrives and becomes jealous, Thérèse feels hurt, and the marriage comes to nothing; whereupon Fauvel tortures her again for some time with an ardent, but disagreeably violent love. True, a good deal of the contents of the book is pure invention, and the whole sounds highly improbable; nevertheless, it is not in the least surprising that it was regarded in Paris as an episode in her own life, and an arrow-shot at Alfred, who had gone to a premature grave. It was not quite self-evident that the incidents recorded in its pages related to George Sand and her dead friend, but the initiated knew what they were about. Alfred's brother Paul was furious at what he thought a bare-faced distortion of the facts, and in the same year (1859) he gave to the world *Lui et Elle*, an extremely interesting book, both as regards style and contents, and far healthier than George Sand's. Without mentioning the real names, it was intended as a reply to *Elle et Lui*. The outlines of the story are pretty much the same, only the details are differently stated, and the principal characters reversed and sharpened. The refined and spirited musician, Edouard de Falconey, a very young man, at a banquet which a music-publisher gives to his collaborators, makes the acquaintance of William Caze, which is only the *nom de plume* of the lady composer of the *Creolian Songs* (a very transparent allusion to *Indiana*). They fall in love with each other, pass a few days in the forest of Fontainebleau, and go to Italy. There they quarrel because the lady continually lies, and gives him cause for jealousy. They separate, but when Falconey falls ill, she returns to him and nurses him. They

become reconciled; but she enters into a *liaison* with Palmeriello (you see that even the name is nearly the same as in George Sand's book), the handsome surgeon, with whose aid she wants to have Falconey shut up in a lunatic asylum. Later on she is on the point of shooting him. Each of them returns home separately, Caze accompanied by Palmeriello. One day Caze is informed of Falconey's intention of writing the history of his Italian tour. Fear befalls her; she dismisses Palmeriello, and writes hypocritical and love-glowing letters to Edouard, as though she had never quitted or grieved him. At last she cuts her own beautiful hair in desperation and sends it to him, whereupon he feels induced to renew his intercourse with her; but renewed lies and hypocrisies on her part soon cause him to break with her entirely and for ever. Shortly before his death he sent for his friend Pierre (*i.e.* brother Paul), and handed him some letters of William Caze, wherein the latter had openly and repentingly confessed the offences she had committed against him. Falconey requested his friend to make use of those letters in case she should, after his death, attempt to calumniate him—an eventuality he foresaw, considering the character of William Caze. Pierre promised eventually to avenge such a treason, and to rehabilitate Edouard's memory. Paul de Musset concludes his book with the ironical words, 'Since then I have heard that Pierre has kept his promise.' It is impossible to describe the powerful effect these few simple but hateful and triumphant words have on the reader. In the beginning of the book, before Caze makes Falconey's acquaintance, she is charged with having sent young Jean Cazeau (Caze, J. Cazeau = Sand, J. Sandeau) to Italy in order to get rid of him, and of having broken open his writing-desk and stolen all the letters she had addressed to him; she was enabled to do this by having elicited the keys from him under false pretences. In fine, Paul's pen, which would seem to have been dipped in gall, made George Sand the basest, most egotistical, and depraved woman on the face of God's earth, a creature the like of whom had probably never been seen. Never was a woman, during her lifetime, portrayed in such horrible colours, and arraigned in such a manner, as George Sand in *Lui et Elle*. In some points Paul's version is in such direct contradiction to George Sand's that we may read between the lines 'She has shamefully lied,' and we are unable to discover who is right. One can scarcely help inclining to Paul's side; his description is not only able, original, brilliant, bold, and artistic; the subject, disgusting as it is, is not only treated with great ease and delicacy; but with all its malignity the story is told in a tone that bears the stamp of truth, and the particulars bear a striking similarity to those which have been made public respecting the connection between George Sand and A. de Musset. That is more than can be said of *Elle et Lui*. We believe that P. de Musset had strong reasons for writing his book, and the fact that the lady never replied to it is extremely suspicious,

for she must have known that the world was aware of the relation in which her novel stood to the other. We cannot but draw the conclusion that she had relied upon Alfred having returned her all her letters, whereas he had retained some of them, probably owing to his disorderliness.

Whether this really be as we assume, and whether these horrible letters are genuine or not, we cannot tell. At all events, Paul's book was a severe but well-merited punishment for George Sand, whose book was a serious transgression against all the laws of good taste, of feeling, morality, and art. It is, however, still possible that Paul de Musset, whose brother, no doubt, before his death *bonâ fide* furnished him with all the materials necessary for his defence, may have *unconsciously* exaggerated in consequence of his irritation against George Sand, or have treated deceptive febrile visions as gospel truths. It is inconceivable that George Sand could have been guilty of the utter meanness that is imputed to her in *Lui et Elle*. We are by no means apologists of the early private life of the celebrated authoress; we believe even that she is likelier to have lied than Paul de Musset, seeing that she had such strong motives for lying; nay, we are even convinced that, both as regards this and other matters, she has unscrupulously and intentionally lied and dissembled; we are disposed to treat very lightly the assertion that she bestowed so much care on Musset only out of compassion and in order to nurse him in a dangerous lung disease, as if she had travelled with him only as his medical attendant. But although we believe her to have been capable of a great deal, we think that everything has its limits. George Sand was neither so noble as she makes herself out to be in *Elle et Lui*, nor so abandoned as Paul de Musset represents her. She certainly deserved to be severely punished for the imprudence which prompted her to publish it; but the chastisement administered by Alfred de Musset's brother was perhaps too exaggeratedly cruel.

This affair involves two main questions:—

1. Who is more to blame for the breach, Alfred or Aurore?
2. Was Alfred really blighted by this connection or not?

As to 1, George Sand's want of veracity, apparent in her autobiography, speaks against her credibility. In the second place, it is true that Alfred had many more and greater faults and vices than she; but then she was six years older than he, and he was so *very* young! Hers was the riper, stronger, more reasonable nature of the two. She had drawn him away from his mother, taken him in charge, assumed a responsibility. Alfred's mother had offered so vehement an opposition to the Italian tour that he had given up the project and countermanded the preparations. One evening Madame de Musset was informed that a lady was waiting at the door in a hired carriage, who begged urgently to speak with her. She went down; the unknown lady named herself; she besought the grieved mother to

confide her son to her, saying that she would have for him a maternal affection and care. As promises did not avail, she went so far as sworn vows; and she had to use all her great eloquence before eliciting Madame de Musset's consent. Furthermore, it is easy to believe that Alfred may have tried the patience of even the most tranquil associate, but Aurore probably irritated him in a high degree by talking too much about loving him as a mother and a sister. And if it be really true that she felt the same concern for the young man that a mother feels for her child, not only ought she to have nursed him devotedly during his illness, but in consideration of his irritable, peevish disposition, she ought during the whole journey to have conducted herself more as a mother and less as a mistress. She was the more bound to do this, seeing that she had persuaded the reluctant mother to allow her son to enter upon the Italian journey under the pretence that she would take care of him like a mother. Moreover, Madame Dudevant never attempted any reply to *Lui et Elle*, although it contains letters of her own which reflect an exceedingly unfavourable light upon her character. Did her silence proceed from her inability to answer? Were these letters really genuine? Lastly, we are privately told by competent persons that a Paris lady is in possession of original letters written by George Sand and directed to Alfred de Musset, which contain the most atrocious things—things, in fact, which go to prove that George Sand was excessively low, at least at the period of which we now speak. However, we must mention that Charles Bigot, one of the most eminent 'Sand scholars,' is of opinion that 'the admirers of the great authoress look forward with easy minds to the day' when an 'illustrious lady,' who, according to him, is possessed of some correspondence bearing on the affair, 'will publish these letters.' He is confident that the believers in George Sand's integrity will have nothing to fear. Bigot, however, is such an enthusiastic admirer that what he says must be received with caution."

With regard to 2, we plead *pro* George Sand: For a 'blighted' life, that of A. de Musset after his return from Italy exhibited a certain germinal vivacity. True, on his return to Paris he spent four months shut up in his room in incessant tears; but then his was an excessively morbid nature. If he had been 'blighted,' had he been able a few years afterwards to 'embark upon two years of love without a cloud'? But the strongest argument is that the five years which followed his return were those of his most active and brilliant productiveness.

It is only known that Alfred returned home alone, that the quarrel was never made up, and that in the winter of 1835 he broke with her for ever. His connection with Rachel Felix and Pauline Viardot Garcia has a less gloomy history. His intimacy with Madame Joubert—who behaved like a mother both to him and Heinrich Heine—exercised a wholesome influence upon him, as did

also that of Malibran. He made the acquaintance of the latter in 1836. It seemed as if this great artist, whom he afterwards celebrated in such beautiful verses, *Strophes à la Malibran*, was destined to succeed in transforming him, but she died before she had accomplished her task. In any case, it would have been too late. Alfred de Musset was not to be 'reformed.'

After this digression, we return to the literary labours of our author. Shortly after his return he published *Lorenzaccio* (1834), a drama with a Hamlet incident, a noble murder. In spite of his good qualities, the hero inspires no interest, because the poet spoils the dramatic effect in his endeavours to 'out-Hamlet.' Hamlet—that is, he makes him immoderately *blasé*. The action in the following piece, '*On ne badine pas avec l'amour*,' is, as Gottschall very properly expresses it, 'dramatically absolutely untenable'; nevertheless Lindau places this piece at the head of all Musset's theatrical pieces. In fact, the prevailing tone in it is grave and symmetrical. For all that, it is not wanting in comic parts; besides, eavesdropping scenes, so common in comedy, are frequently employed, and even connected with a tragical conclusion, which has a perplexing effect. From 1835 to 1837 the poet was once more very industrious. Amongst other things he published three comedies. *Barberina* has a moral feature; it praises the fidelity of woman, but it is not of much importance in other respects. Musset never appears to have been fortunate with moral subjects. *Le Candelabre* is a free piece, almost overstepping the limits of decency, but withal charming. '*Il ne faut jurer de rien*' is made up entirely of comic characters, and is considered by many to be his best theatrical piece. Besides, Musset wrote at that time for the *Revue des Deux Mondes* a series of so-called one-act *proverbes*, of which *Un Caprice* and *Il faut qu'une porte soit ouverte ou fermée* were most liked, whilst *On ne peut pas penser à tout* was not much thought of.

Under the chestnut-trees of the garden of the Tuileries, Alfred composed in 1835 the commencement of the *Nuit de Mai*, and finished it in his room by the light of twelve candles and the fragrance of a great number of flowers. Under similar circumstances he partly composed the remaining three nights, viz.: *Nuit de Décembre* (1835), *Nuit de Août* (1836), and *Nuit d'Octobre* (1837). These elegies, as Sainte-Beuve has remarked, are as much the reflection of Musset's nature and the acme of his poetry as *Rolla*, but the construction which the critics put upon them is not always the same. Lindau is of opinion that the whole of the four nights refer to George Sand. On the other hand, Paul de Musset asserts that the *Nuit de Mai* and the *Nuit d'Octobre* only refer to her, and the other two elegies to another lady—to Emmeline, the heroine of Musset's novel of that name. Bigot regards Emmeline herself as George Sand. Gottschall in this question takes the side of the French biographer of Musset,

because as the representative of his brother he must have been acquainted with his intentions. We should be inclined to adopt the same view, which is probably not without a certain foundation, but we must recollect that *Mai* and *Octobre* are the first and last nights, and it seems to us improbable that the poet, after he had occupied himself with her in the May-night shortly after their rupture, should suddenly turn to her again two years later in the *Nuit d'Octobre*. We refrain, of course, from offering any decided opinion.

Musset's principal romance, *Les Confessions d'un Enfant du Siècle*, belongs likewise to this period. It is very much in the same style as *Rolla*, and no wonder, for in this romance the author is thinking only of himself. The child of the century, Octave, is none other than himself. The widow Bridget Pierson is generally understood to mean George Sand. In reality, she only resembles her in some characteristics, and her relation to Octave is only in a certain degree similar to that of Lélia to Rolla, but sufficiently so to give the book the appearance of a sort of self-confession à la Robert Greene. At the same time, it is a sort of anatomy of grief. It can scarcely be regarded as a romance, seeing that it is destitute of every attribute which is essential to constitute one. Nevertheless, as it is called a romance, we may say that it is the only large romance ever published by Musset. His brother speaks of one which, although it was announced in the *Revue des Deux Mondes* as going to appear, was never published or even finished—*Le poète déchu*. The manuscript was burnt, partly by himself, partly by his brother at Alfred's desire, with the exception of some passages which Paul quotes in his biography. The friends to whom Alfred read his manuscript were enchanted with it. Tattet was of opinion that nothing equal to it in point of overpowering eloquence had appeared since the time of Rousseau. It is a great pity that the work, although never completed, should have been lost to the world, and it is also a pity that our space does not admit of our reproducing some of the fragments that remain. *Le poète déchu* evidently promised to become a sort of higher and gentler *Confessions of a Child of the Century*.

From 1837 to 1839 our author produced a whole series of novels, of most of which he is himself the hero, and in which he partly incorporated the events of his own life. In *Emmeline* he relates the history of one of his amours. *Titian's Son* he regarded as his best story, whilst the public gave the preference to *Frédéric et Bernerette*, in which he gave more exquisite descriptions of Parisian *grisette* life than had ever been given by any other writer. Of his numerous imitators, Henri Murger, the author of the celebrated ethical romance, *La Vie de Bohême*, is the most important. *Frédéric et Bernerette* caused a great sensation, and was especially popular in the *quartier Latin*. In 1840 Musset gained immense popularity by his poetical answer to Becker's *Rheinlied*, which caused such a sensation

that it was set to music about fifty times, and sung in all the barracks of the country. In the same year, he published a third collection of poems, *Poésies nouvelles*, many of which had appeared before in various periodicals. Amongst others there were *Strophes à la Malibran* and *Épître à Mathurin Régnier*. Régnier was one of the few authors whose works he retained in his library when, in a fit of disgust with the world, as he himself tells us, he committed the greater portion of his books to the flames.

From 1841 to the time of his death Musset wrote very little, and what little he did write was vastly inferior to the works he had produced in former years. This is especially the case as regards the volume of *Contes* and the *Lettres sur la littérature* (both in 1854). His last *proverbes* were coolly received, as were also the three large pieces, *Carmoisine*, *Bettine*, and *Louison*. The form is choicer and more correct, but there is no longer the former warmth of tone. Alfred himself considered *Carmoisine* (1850) as the best of all his works, whilst his brother gives the preference to *Bettine*, although this drama only took indifferently with the public. However, the greater part of his previous theatrical pieces were placed upon the stage during the last ten years of his life, and had a marked success. This circumstance is attributable to a peculiar accident. A French actress who had long been absent from her native country was engaged in the metropolis of Russia as *dame de salon*. Her attention was directed to a little Russian piece which was being played at one of the theatres of St. Petersburg, in Russian. She went to see it, and was so charmed with the Rolla of Madame de Lievy that she determined to appear in the character herself, and made inquiries for a translator. *Un Caprice* was on the point of being translated back into French, when Madame Allan learnt from a learned friend that the pretended Russian piece was nothing but an adaptation of Musset's work. She was so much applauded in the character that she appeared in it in Paris, when soon after (in 1847) she was engaged for the Théâtre Français. Her success was brilliant, and considerably increased the popularity of the author. From this time he was indemnified for his want of success in previous years, and his pieces were regularly played at the Théâtre Français. Our author had so much the less need to be industrious as his pecuniary means now began to be ample. His publisher issued a cheap edition of his entire works, which proved a source of wealth for both. After this time, through the recommendation of an intimate friend, the Duke of Orleans, he obtained the post of librarian in the Ministry of the Interior. The circumstance of his losing this post in consequence of the revolution of February prepossessed him against the ideas which had come victorious out of the revolution; but even without that, those ideas were repugnant to his aristocratic mind, to his extravagant mode of life, to his incurable scepticism, to his

contempt for humanity, and his egotistical nature. However, he was reinstated in the office later on. The Duke of Orleans had been Alfred's schoolfellow at the college of Henry the Fourth, and their friendship lasted till the duke died, an event which the poet beautifully celebrated in *Le treize Juillet*. The following exquisite anecdote respecting the friendship of his brother and the prince is vouched for by Paul de Musset. As is well known, the author of *Rolla*, on the occasion of the *attentat* of Meunier on Louis Philippe, addressed a sonnet to the king. First of all he sent it to his son, his friend, who, when Alfred visited him a few days afterwards, received him with enthusiasm, and took the poem away in order to show it to the king previous to a personal introduction. He soon returned in confusion, and, after resorting first to all kinds of subterfuges, he was at last obliged to confess that the poem did not please, because the monarch was addressed therein in the second person singular, 'Thou.' What Louis the Fourteenth had put up with from Boileau aroused the displeasure of the good-natured *roi bourgeois*. The prince omitted, of course, to mention the name of the poet, and the introduction did not take place. But as Musset was invited to the court balls he was introduced to the king at one of them as *Monsieur de Musset*. The king kindly observed, 'Ah! you come from Joinville? I am glad to see you.' He evidently was not aware that there was a celebrated poet of the name of Musset, and was thinking of a Joinville forest official, a cousin of the poet. He was a good manager of his property was the good-natured monarch, but he gave himself little concern about literature. As Musset did not contradict him, he was addressed at every court ball for eleven years as the Joinville forest official, and in the most friendly manner.

The French Academy in 1848 behaved ridiculously in awarding to Musset a money prize, founded 'for the encouragement of *rising talent*.' Naturally he regarded the supposed distinction as an insult—it of course was not meant as such—and handed over the amount to some charity. Four years later the same institution elected him a member in the place of Duputy, who had died, and on whom he delivered a genuine academic, and consequently correct, dull address *in memoriam*. Although he showed by that that he would not make a bad academician, he usually absented himself from the sittings, and only went when his presence was thought necessary to ensure the election of a friend. A colleague observed: 'Monsieur de Musset s'absente trop souvent,' and received from another the answer: 'Oui; c'est bien vrai, il s'absinthe beaucoup trop souvent'—alluding, of course, to Musset's pernicious habit of imbibing absinthe. He did, indeed, 'absinthe' himself too much. The enlarged edition of 1856 of his *Poésies nouvelles* proved that the poetical genius in him was not extinct; but in reality he was thoroughly exhausted, and his irregular mode of life

had diminished his creative power. His affectionate brother was no doubt fain to maintain that his being misunderstood by the critics and the public made him turn his back upon literature, but the unprejudiced can only regard this as a palliation. The truth is, his evil habits led him from bad to worse. During the last years of his life he spent the greater part of his time in houses of ill fame, or else in drinking absinthe and playing chess in *cafés*. He was a very good chess-player. 'His muse fell asleep,' as Gottschall properly remarks, 'stupefied by such a Castalian spring.' He recovered from a severe illness, but in spite of the warnings of his physicians he recommenced his nocturnal revels, and died on the 1st of May 1857, of heart-disease.

Louis Charles Alfred de Musset was essentially a lyric poet. His personal experiences exercised such an immense power over him that he could never rid himself of his subjectivity—an exceedingly favourable circumstance for the development of lyric genius. The fact that immense editions of his works are now being sold annually in France proves that he is still a great favourite with the French people. Undoubtedly he possessed all the originality and thoroughness of a genuine poetical talent, but for the reason here mentioned he was entirely wanting in ability to produce great works where objectivity was required. In his poems, as also in his dramas and stories, his own person is always the central figure, and this should never be the case. He is no proper dramatist for this reason, because he allows his mind to wander away too far from the subject, goes too much astray into undramatical details, and is unable to concentrate his attention on the elements necessary for the production of a drama.

Musset is one of the most renowned of pessimistic poets; but whilst with others pessimism is more or less only a certain way of viewing things, it appears in him to be the result of an abandoned life. He has no sooner satiated himself with love adventures than he gives himself up to drunkenness. 'The gospel of a licentious enjoyment of life ruled the course out of which these complaints of the universality of human wretchedness found utterance.' Musset the poet was more the product of his period than most others, and it is no wonder that he was so often spoken of as an imitator of Byron. He used to say: 'My glass is not large, but I am drinking out of my glass'; and his brother speaks of the similitude as being only 'casual.' It nevertheless remains a fact that Alfred took his great English prototype as his model; but in doing this he apparently surrendered so little of what was peculiar to his own nature, that he may at least be credited with a certain originality, always excepting *Namouna* and *Between the Cup and the Lip*, in which two works the English pattern is too plainly visible to be mistaken.

Paul de Musset, in his biography, regrets that a marriage project which his brother had in view unfortunately came to nothing. We

should rather think that no man was ever so little adapted for matrimonial life as Alfred, with his unceasing irascibility, his continually excited nerves, his seething blood, and his over-irritated, hypersensitive judgment and imagination. His restless mind was incompatible with enduring happiness. With him, everything must be associated with storm and tempest. Marriage would not have given him the peace of mind of which he stood in need. Repose was contrary to his nature, and his wife—if she sincerely loved him—would most likely soon have died of a broken heart.

We have now only to speak of the personal appearance of our unhappy poet. Madame Victor Hugo gives an unfavourable, Lamartine a favourable sketch of him, but the most interesting and the best filled up sketch of all is that by Louise Colet:—

He was slim, and of middle size; he dressed with unusual care, and, in fact, with a certain refinement. He wore (on the evening of the ball at which the lady saw him) a bronze-green dress coat with metal buttons. On his brown silk vest there hung a gold chain. His cambric shirt-front was fastened with two onyx buttons. His light satin cravat set off the pale tint of his countenance; his white gloves showed the faultless chiselling and the delicate form of his hands. Special care seemed to have been devoted to the dressing of his beautiful blond hair. Like Lord Byron, he knew how to impart aristocratic grace to this natural crown of an animated forehead. Profuse locks curled round his temples and hung down to his neck. The front hair was of a golden hue; what grew above it had more the colour of amber; and near to the crown, where it was most luxuriant, the shade varied between brown and blond. His beard was chestnut-brown, and his eyes almost black, which gave a powerful, fiery expression to his physiognomy. His nose was Grecian, and his mouth fresh, with handsome rows of white teeth, which became visible when he smiled. On the whole, his face had an aristocratic look.

More loving still, but probably more partial, is Paul de Musset's description:—

He was of middle size (5 ft. 11 in.), of slim and neat build. At twenty he looked like a page of the *ancien régime*, and at mask balls he often wore the costume of one. His countenance was impressive, because of the blending of two sources of beauty—regularity of features and animation. His blue eyes emitted sparks of fire. His fine aquiline nose recalled that of Van Dyck, and his friends often referred to this similarity. His rather large mouth and his round lips were endowed with the greatest mobility for the expressions of every emotion, and betrayed a feeling heart. . . . Such a mouth must be eloquent in passion, slightly ironical and sarcastic in conversation. But the finest feature in his countenance was his brow, in which the shadows marked all the protuberances which phrenology points to as the seat of the noblest qualities. . . .

LEOPOLD KATSCHER.

ENLARGEMENT OF THE HOUSE OF COMMONS

[THE following article by Mr. Charles Barry (eldest son of Sir Charles Barry, the designer of the Houses of Parliament) has been written in reply to the inquiry whether a structural alteration of the House of Commons is not easily practicable, which, without interfering with its traditional arrangements, would provide every member with a convenient seat in it, and thus obviate the unseemly struggles and manœuvres to obtain places which now too frequently occur.]

The existing state of things is almost incredibly absurd, and so long as nearly 250 members—considerably more than one-third of the whole assembly—are deliberately deprived of the accommodation in their own Chamber to which they are entitled, disorderly scenes must and will arise.

It is satisfactory to learn, on such authority as Mr. Barry's, that a prompt and efficacious remedy can be applied whenever the House chooses to rectify its original mistake of building a Chamber too small to hold all its members.

[*Ed. Nineteenth Century.*]

In reply to your inquiry whether I have given the subject of the necessary enlargement of the present House of Commons any attention, I beg to say I have done so more or less for many years past; and I now send a plan and design for meeting the requirements you mention, in case you may think it worthy of being brought before Members and the Public.

You are doubtless aware that in 1867–68 a special Committee was appointed by the House to consider and report on the subject of its deficient accommodation for the members. They did so, and seem to have exhaustively considered the question as it then appeared.

The result of their deliberation was their Report of the 12th of May, 1868, which contains three resolutions then passed by the Committee, viz. :—(1) 'That no increase of accommodation which can

be obtained within the existing four walls of the present House of Commons will be sufficient to meet the requirements.'

(2) 'That, in the opinion of this Committee, any plan for lateral extension of the present House is tantamount to a reconstruction of the House, and *cannot be undertaken without the provision of a temporary House.*'

(3) 'That, in the opinion of this Committee, it is not desirable to lengthen the present House of Commons.'

As a result, they approved of a suggestion then made by my late brother, Mr. E. M. Barry, R.A., that, in order to preserve the continuity of public business, it would be desirable to construct an entirely new House, to occupy the whole area of the Commons Court, so that business might proceed in the present House during its erection, and be transferred to it when completed.

It is, of course, obvious, as the Committee say, that it would not be possible by any internal alterations or rearrangement only to accommodate the number of members (then put at 541, but now amounting to 670) within the four walls of the present House. The Committee condemned (and I think rightly) any scheme for lengthening the House; but they dismissed (I think too hastily) the possibility of so increasing it laterally as to meet the requirements.

The plan I now send you is for so doing, and I think it perfectly feasible, and indeed the best solution of the problem.

By this plan none of the traditions of the House as regards its internal arrangements and usages would be interfered with, while the symmetrical arrangements of the entire building, as planned by my late father, Sir Charles Barry, R.A. (whose assistant I was for many years), would be preserved—a matter which I, at least, think of some importance.

The communications with other departments which now exist would be preserved; and last, but not least, the cost would be less than that of any other plan which has been suggested.

It will be seen that by my plan the natural desire that every member should have his own seat, and that all seats should be practically on the floor of the House, would be complied with, as I propose to do away with all galleries intended for the use of members.

Nearly double the present accommodation for the reporters would be provided; and by arranging an additional Ladies' Gallery over the present one, the accommodation in that respect would also be doubled, while the corridors on each side of the House available for divisions would be very largely increased.

(I may here remark, that these new division lobbies would be nearly double as wide as appears in this plan, additional width for them being obtained under the rising seats of the House.)

The shape of the new ceiling would be similar to that of the present House, only extended over the additional space to be taken in,

and thus may be expected to have the same acoustical advantages that the present one is found to have.

• The mode of ventilation and lighting would remain unaltered.

There would be no constructional difficulty in carrying out the scheme, for by means of two lattice iron girders, such as are familiarly in use at the present time, the existing external roof could be easily maintained in its present position and unaltered in form.

The new division lobbies would be constructed respectively in the Commons Court and the Star Chamber Court, slightly diminishing their present area, it is true, but not to such extent as to materially interfere with the light and air they afford to rooms opening upon them.

The House can thus be altered and enlarged without any interference with Sessional business, and *without any necessity for a temporary House*, such as was apprehended by the Committee of 1868. Facilities for rapid construction have largely increased in the twenty-five years which have elapsed since then, and there would be no such difficulty now as was then impressed upon the Committee.

• The mode of proceeding with the work would be as follows, and would not be attended with any real difficulty.

During one Parliamentary recess the new buildings in the Commons Court and Star Chamber Court would be erected up to the level of the existing House, and during that time, and during the following Session, the masonry, roofing, girders, and other works would be prepared *elsewhere*, ready to be put in their places. No work whatever would be done in or near the House during the Session, but in the next Parliamentary recess the prepared works would all be placed in their positions, and the enlarged House entirely completed in time for the Session of the second year after the order was given to begin it.

It will, I think, be admitted, on inspection of the plans, that a House altered as I propose would well enable all members to hear and take part in debate, and it must be remembered that in the English House of Commons each member addresses the House from the seat he occupies.

It will also be noticed that the distance between members and the Chair and table of the House—which would not be altered in position—is less than it would be by nearly any other form of arrangement.

• The advantages of my plan, as compared with the present House, will be seen by the following items of comparison, based upon the reprinted Blue-Book of 1886 :—

| Members' Seats | Present House | Proposed House |
|------------------------|---------------|----------------|
| On the floor | 306 | 670 |
| In galleries | 124 | (none) |
| | 430 | 670 |

| Reporters' Accommodation | Present House | Proposed House |
|---------------------------|-----------------|----------------|
| In front row | 19 | 37 |
| On seats behind | 19 | 28 |
| | 38 ¹ | 65 |

The Ladies' Gallery is now on one floor only ; but in the enlarged House there would be a second gallery over the present one, thus doubling the accommodation for ladies.

The cubical contents of the present House are 127,000 cubic feet, affording for 430 members who now have seats a cube of 296 feet each member.

In the altered House the cubical contents would be 230,000 cubic feet, affording for 670 members a cube of 343 feet each member.

The floor area in the present House per seat is 9 feet 9 inches ; in the altered House it would be (per seat for 670 members) 9 feet 10 inches ; the width of each seat would be as now 20 inches ; but the width from back to back of each seat would be increased from 3 feet 8 inches to 4 feet, thus materially adding to the comfort of the members.

The accommodation in the Speaker's Gallery and Strangers' Gallery would remain unaltered.

With the plan I am sending you, I also send a perspective view of the interior of the House as proposed to be altered and enlarged, which will sufficiently explain the scheme.

CHARLES BARRY.

¹ This has, I think, been temporarily increased since 1868



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*A BILL FOR THE WEAKENING OF
GREAT BRITAIN*

IN the belief of every Unionist, the Home Rule Bill would be absolutely disastrous to Ireland as well as injurious to the interests of Great Britain. The first of these propositions may, however, be left to be demonstrated by Irishmen; and an Englishman may be pardoned if he concerns himself mainly with the question, how far the interests or the honour of Great Britain will be affected by the measure.

So far as our material interests are concerned, it is possible that, if Ireland were situated in the middle of the Atlantic Ocean we might contemplate political separation with cynical indifference, and even with satisfaction. It is most unlikely that the result of such an experiment would be to encourage particularist ideas in other parts of the United Kingdom. But the relentless logic of geographical position prevents the possibility of any such disinterested detachment from the fortunes of the sister island. Whether we like it or not, nature has determined for us that our fate shall be closely connected, and we cannot, without the most serious risk, consider the government of Ireland apart from its relation to our own security, and even to our continued existence as a nation of the first rank.

The measure which Mr. Gladstone has just introduced is an attempt for the second time to give to Ireland the status and rank of a separate nation. Although, as a matter of historical fact, the Irish never have been a nation in the sense in which the Scotch and Welsh may claim that position, it is not important to deny their nationality; but it is

of vital importance to Great Britain to repudiate any claim on their part to the full rights of a separate nation. This is a distinction which is admitted by every Gladstonian, for when they indignantly deny that they are Separatists, and declare that they would resist to the death any proposal for separation, they concede that the national rights of Ireland are limited by the interests of Great Britain, and cannot be granted in any case where they would seriously endanger the welfare of the greater country. This admission is apparent in the restrictions imposed on the Irish Legislative Assembly by the Home Rule Bill, by which the representatives of Ireland are expressly denied the right to regulate their Customs, to endow the Church of the majority, to enter into any foreign relations, or to maintain any naval or military force. When, therefore, the English Home Rulers speak of giving to Ireland the management of its own affairs, it is clear that they repeat the phrase by rote without the slightest intention of giving to it its natural interpretation. They ought to say that they propose to give to Ireland the management of such of its affairs as can be handed over to an Irish Assembly without any risk or danger to this country, and I hope that I may add, without the loss of honour that would be involved if the property and the liberties of all her Majesty's subjects were not fully safeguarded. With an intention so expressed every Liberal Unionist will readily agree, and it is our earnest desire that the Home Rule Bill should be carefully examined in order to see how far these cardinal conditions have been observed.

Dealing first with the question of interest, it is evident that the vital concern of Great Britain in any change is :

First, that in case of war the Imperial Parliament shall continue, as at present, to have absolute control over the forces and the resources of the United Kingdom ; and

Second, that the fair contribution of Ireland at all times to Imperial expenditure shall be secured beyond the possibility of doubt.

Neither of these conditions is provided for in the Home Rule Bill, and it is to be feared that their importance has never been recognised by the statesmen principally concerned in its introduction. Mr. Gladstone and Mr. Morley are cosmopolitan in sentiment ; and their patriotism, sincere as we suppose it to be, takes the form of reluctance to assume the burdens and the obligations of empire, and of a desire to reduce the functions of government to the bare necessities of a decentralised local administration. The feeling which leads these eminent men to deprecate every increase of territory, to desire the evacuation of Egypt, and to resist the acceptance of responsibility in Uganda, would, if it had been influential years ago, have altered the whole course of our history, and would have made a blank of the pages which tell of the greatest and most successful work of civilisation that has illustrated the annals of any nation since the

world began. It is not, then, to the authors of the Bill that we can, with any confidence, appeal, but to those only of their followers who retain the spirit of our old traditions, and who are determined, as far as in them lies, to preserve the influence and authority which have been exercised by this country for so long a time, and, as we believe, to so much advantage. To them may be submitted in all seriousness, and with a deep conviction of the tremendous responsibility which lies upon them, the following considerations.

No one is entitled to say that the millennium has already arrived, and that there is no probability that this country will again have to make a gigantic effort to maintain its existence. The conditions of warfare, and especially of naval warfare, have so changed that it is no longer certain that even the streak of silver sea will be for ever inviolate. All Europe is armed to the teeth, and the causes of dispute are very near to the surface. Meanwhile, our interests are universal—our honour is involved in almost every land under the sun. Under such conditions the weak invite attack, and it is necessary for Britain to be strong. The question is, shall we be as strong under the Home Rule Bill as we are now?

It is the custom of confirmed Home Rulers to assert that Ireland is at the present time a source of weakness, and that the change proposed in her government will secure her loyalty to a greater extent than could be possible under existing conditions. Let us examine both these statements.

If the United Kingdom were engaged in war with a first-class European Power, all military experts agree that it would be possible to employ the larger part of the forces now in barracks in Ireland for foreign service. The peace of the country would be sufficiently provided for by the constabulary, which is a semi-military force, and the danger of any insurrection on the part of an unarmed peasantry, even supposing they were inclined to such a course, would be so slight as to be inappreciable. The whole machinery of government would be in our hands, and there would be no possibility of organised opposition to the will of the Imperial Parliament. The fair contribution of Ireland to the increased expenditure caused by the war would be assured, as the Imperial Parliament would impose all taxes, and would also control the executive which collected them. The presence of Irish members in Parliament would give them full opportunity of discussion, criticism, and opposition, but in view of a great national emergency deliberate obstruction would not be tolerated; and whatever annoyance and delay may be caused in times of peace by an independent party in the House of Commons, it is certain that in time of war they would not be suffered to imperil the safety of the commonwealth. It may, therefore, be asserted that in the case under consideration the United Kingdom and the Imperial Parliament could safely draw on the whole resources of the three kingdoms.

What would be the case after the establishment of a separate Parliament in Dublin? One thing at least is clear—that the amount and character of the assistance rendered to Great Britain in her time of trial would be very much at the discretion of the Irish Parliament. Two hypotheses have to be considered, viz. either the Irish Parliament and people would heartily approve of the war, or they would be hostile to it. In the former case the only difficulty which could arise would be as to the amount of contribution, and this would certainly be serious. At present Ireland pays about one-twelfth of the total expenditure; but it obtains, in the shape of Imperial expenditure in Ireland, so large a return that the net contribution to purely Imperial objects in time of peace is only one-twenty-fifth. The reasons which justify this large expenditure for local purposes in Ireland would not apply to extra war expenditure, to which Ireland ought in fairness to make the full contribution of one-twelfth. Under the Bill the Imperial Parliament has only control over Customs and Excise, which must always be regulated by the British Budget. But the funds for a war would be largely supplied in Great Britain by income-tax, stamps, and other direct contributions, which could not be extended to Ireland without her consent. Is it likely that the Irish Parliament, filled with the men who have declared that even one-twenty-fifth is a proportion extortionate in its amount and wrung from Ireland by the tyranny of Saxon rule, would, even with the most friendly disposition to the policy of the Imperial Parliament, consent to find the one-twelfth which Ireland would certainly pay under present arrangements? The best that can be hoped for is that under the most favourable circumstances the Irish Parliament would consent to make some small but, in the opinion of Englishmen, most inadequate contribution to the expenses of a great war.

Unfortunately, by far the most reasonable and probable hypothesis is that an Irish Parliament would be bitterly hostile to any war in which this country could by possibility be engaged. We must not lightly put aside the declarations of hatred to England which a few years ago formed the staple of Nationalist oratory. They were not the momentary outburst of anger and disappointment, but they represented the traditional antagonism to the Anglo-Saxon race which has been a feature of Irish politics for centuries. Such feelings cannot be reformed in a moment by concessions which even now are regarded as rights to be extorted by force and menace, rather than as the free-will offering of national goodwill.

But setting altogether aside the influence of long-standing animosities, what ground is there for supposing that the sympathies of Nationalist Irishmen would be with Great Britain in a war? There are only three countries that could seriously menace our Imperial existence.* As regards two of them, at any rate, the sympathies of the Irish majority are assured to them beforehand—in the case of

France by identity of religion and gratitude for past aid, and in the case of the United States by the intimate relations which subsist between our Ireland and the numerically greater Ireland established in America.

As regards Russia, there is no special reason why the Irish Parliament should espouse her interests for her own sake; but it may be remarked that in a war with Russia we might seek, and perhaps secure, the alliance of Italy, which has been for many years the one fast and loyal friend that Great Britain has had on the continent of Europe. Any alliance with Italy, however—‘the gaoler of the Pope,’ as Roman Catholics describe her—would be most unpopular with the Irish priesthood, and would probably determine their sympathies in favour of any country with which Italy, either as a member of the Triple Alliance or on her own account, came into conflict.

It must also be borne in mind that in all these cases, and without reference to any sentimental considerations, the Irish Legislature would have the strongest possible temptation to use such an opportunity in order to secure further concessions, especially if, as is now certain to be the case, the representatives of Ireland only accept the Home Rule Bill as an instalment, and under strong protest against its restrictions and conditions.

If then, as seems most likely, in the time of our dire distress and utmost strain, the Irish Parliament, representing the majority of the Irish people, declares itself hostile to the policy of the Imperial Parliament, and hostile to the war which this policy has provoked, what will be our situation?

We shall be unable to remove a single man from the garrison of Ireland, and shall probably be compelled to reinforce it.

We shall be unable to prevent the arming and the drilling of the people, which may take place with the connivance of the authorities under circumstances which will render interference impossible.

We cannot prevent the formation of Gaelic or athletic clubs, which, under various pretexts, will serve to enrol a disciplined force in every district.

Even without resorting to such methods, the Irish Parliament will have constitutionally at its disposal a large force of armed men, numbering many thousands, in the shape of the police.

Meanwhile, the collection of the increased taxation will encounter the most serious difficulties. Smuggling will be largely pursued, and will meet with the active sympathy of the population. The Excise will be collected in a perfunctory manner by the officials of the Irish Parliament, which may also, if it chooses to proceed to extremities, interfere illegally to prevent the payments from the Irish to the British Exchequer. The only remedy for these proceedings will be the forcible suppression of the Irish Legislature and the resumption of the government of Ireland by the Imperial Parliament.

A revolution of the greatest importance would have to be effected by violence in face of organised opposition, which would at least make constitutional government of any kind an impossibility, and in face of possible intervention on behalf of the Irish majority by some one or other of the great Powers which may sympathise with Irish independence, or which may desire to take advantage of Britain's weakness to strike a deadly blow at her power and influence.

It will be seen then that, in the event of opposition or hostility on the part of the Irish Parliament, the military position of this country would be infinitely weaker under the Home Rule Bill than it is at present.

What is the answer made by the Gladstonians to these arguments? It is in the nature of the legal rejoinder, 'confession and avoidance.' The *Daily Chronicle* admits that if the Irish Legislature acts up to the full measure of its delegated authority it can do certain fearsome things. But then it says, 'In delicate international arrangements it is always easy for one party, or for both parties, to goad each other to madness if they do not mean to act together in a spirit of reasonableness and of mutual trust and forbearance.'

In the same sense the *Daily News* says that an ordinary amount of decency and common-sense is always assumed in providing for the conduct of human affairs. Mr. Bryce tells us that he admits and foresees difficulties in the working of the new Constitution, but believes that the scheme will succeed 'because there are good forces as well as bad forces in human nature, and that on the whole the good forces are strongest.' The answer of Mr. Morley was so singularly inept that it had better be given in his own words. Referring to the point raised in the course of the debate, that in case of war we should find ourselves at an immense disadvantage, and that that moment would be seized upon by gentlemen from Ireland to wring and extort concessions from us, he said :

The right hon. gentleman seemed to have forgotten that 1782, when Grattan's Parliament was granted, was the year when Britain's power stood at its very lowest. But in all their arguments as to the effect of an Irish Legislature on the power of this country, hon. gentlemen seem to forget that there is no reason why the safety and greatness of the Empire are incompatible with the happiness of all those who live in it.

We may readily accept the statement contained in the last sentence, which is little more than a platitude ; but it is difficult to see the slightest connection between this truism and the argument that Irish Nationalists, not being fully satisfied by the Home Rule Bill, will use the first opportunity to secure the extension of their privileges. As regards the first sentence, it is only necessary to say that Grattan's Parliament was granted precisely because Britain was weak, and that it worked so badly that after eighteen years it had to be abolished.

Through all these pretended answers there runs the same strain

of thought. England, they say, will never again be in serious difficulties—at least, we hope not; Ireland will never abuse her privileges—at least, we think not. We must have faith, and trust to the working of the good forces in human nature. We will not allow ourselves to believe in the existence of evil. That is a very optimistic philosophy, creditable to the soft-heartedness of the Gladstonian leaders; but is it statesmanlike, is it wise, is it allowable, to risk the existence and security of the United Kingdom on these vague expectations of human perfection?

We are plainly told by the representatives of the Irish majority that they will not accept this Bill as final, or as satisfying their just expectations. We are told by the same authorities that if we ever attempt to use the power of control which the Bill gives us, they will do their best to thwart us. We are told that they cannot, and will not, pay the contribution which Mr. Gladstone thinks that they ought to pay in time of peace, and of course still less will they pay increased contributions in time of war. We know from historical records that the existence of a separate Parliament between 1782 and 1800 was a source of danger to this country, and on more than one occasion nearly brought about an actual collision. We know that the colonial Parliaments created by us have shown the greatest restiveness under any attempt at interference, although, in their case, there is no idea of making them contribute a single sixpence to the resources of the United Kingdom. Finally, we have seen, even in the last few years, the traditional hostility of the Irish Nationalists breaking out on every occasion when this country has been in difficulty—sympathising with the Mahdi, calling for the success of Russia, applauding Arabi Pasha, and encouraging the Ameer of Afghanistan.

And yet, in spite of our own experience, in spite of the teachings of history, in spite of the necessary tendency of the Bill to stimulate the feelings of independence and to encourage separate interests, we are deliberately invited to place the safety of the Empire at the mercy of the authors of the Plan of Campaign, and to trust entirely to their sweet reasonableness to prevent the evils which, if they should ever abuse the powers entrusted to them, would inevitably threaten the very highest interests of Great Britain.

Turning now to the second of the two points in which the interests of Great Britain are involved, let us consider the financial arrangements by which Mr. Gladstone proposes to secure an equitable contribution from the Irish Legislature towards the Imperial expenditure. Let us start with Mr. Gladstone's own admissions and with the figures which he himself presents to us.

In introducing the Bill of 1886, he stated that the actual contribution of Ireland to Imperial expenditure at that time was about 1 to 11½. He showed that the returns for income-tax were as 1 to 17, but that the proportion was reduced by the larger exemptions

in Ireland. The valuation was 1 to 12, and the death duties, which Mr. Gladstone then regarded as the best test of taxable capacity, were as 1 to 13. Under these circumstances, he settled on 1 to 14 as being 'an equitable and even generous' rate at which to fix the proper proportion of Irish contributions. In 1886 he also estimated the amount of Imperial expenditure at about 62,000,000*l.* For some unexplained reason he has reduced it now to 59,000,000*l.* Taking, however, his own figures and his own proportion, the proper payment for Ireland would be one-fifteenth of 59,000,000*l.*, or 3,933,333*l.*

But the provisions of the Bill only contemplate the payment of Customs calculated at 2,370,000*l.* in discharge of this obligation. There is, therefore, a difference of 1,563,333*l.* to the disadvantage of Great Britain, to which has to be added one-third of the cost of the constabulary, which is reckoned by Mr. Gladstone to amount at the present time to 500,000*l.* Therefore the operation of the Bill will be that at the commencement, and assuming the justice and accuracy of all Mr. Gladstone's figures, the Irish Legislature will contribute one and a half millions less than its due proportion to Imperial expenditure, and will receive in addition half a million a year towards its own local expenditure.

And still the Irish are not satisfied, but ask for more! Never before in the history of struggles for independence were patriots so keen at a bargain, and with so fixed an eye to the main chance. We have been assured that English misgovernment was the cause of the poverty of Ireland, that our expenditure—large as it has been—was wasteful and directed to wrong objects. Now at last the Irish are offered the opportunity of showing how much more economical they can be, and what splendid results such financiers as Mr. Sexton and Mr. Healy can achieve. One would suppose that they would hail the occasion with joy. Not a bit of it. They scornfully reject the idea that they can manage Irish affairs with an Irish Parliament unless they have much larger sums at their free disposal for this purpose than have ever been possessed by the Saxon tyrants. They insist on being relieved from the obligation to contribute their fair proportion to the Imperial expenditure. If we will release them from all claims on account of the debt for which they are jointly responsible—if we will take upon our broad shoulders the whole or an altogether undue proportion of the cost of the common defence of joint interests—then, and then only, they think that they can make both ends meet. Without a subsidy they will not give a brass button for Irish independence. They are not mercenary, but they think, perhaps with reason, that Mr. Gladstone has given them the right to treat Great Britain as a conquered country, and the price of peace is Home Rule plus an indemnity the amount of which has yet to be settled, but which, in the opinion of the victors, must be something greatly exceeding two millions a year.

This is the situation as it is presented to us on Mr. Gladstone's own showing; but the real facts are much worse. There is absolutely no security that the present amount of Customs duties will be collected after Home Rule has been established. It is certain, on the contrary, that some of the largest contributors will remove their business to countries not governed by the authors of the Plan of Campaign, and where the principles of rapine are not likely to form the foundation of the law of the land. In addition to this, it must be remembered that in the future Customs duties will be the tribute paid to an alien Parliament and taxation in a foreign garb. Smuggling will be a patriotic duty, and the sympathies of a population alive to the advantages of cheap tobacco will be strongly enlisted on the side of all 'soldiers in the war,' who make it their business to flout British tyranny and, if necessary, to defy British law. If, in consequence of these natural results of the new arrangement, the Customs revenue declines, there is no method available to the Imperial Parliament to obtain from Ireland even the reduced quota of one-twenty-fifth or one-twenty-sixth that Mr. Gladstone promises. There is, however, an endless vista of recrimination, irritation, and possible conflict which is opened up by the financial part of what is recommended to us as a permanent and continuing settlement. To sum up, then, on this branch of the subject, we may say that the interests of Great Britain are entirely sacrificed and ignored by this Bill, which would seriously weaken the country in time of war, and which would in addition impose a heavy fine on the British taxpayer for the privilege of handing over Ireland to anarchy, and endangering the existence of the British Empire.

There is, however, another question to be considered—not less important to all who are imbued with the traditions of British policy and who recognise the obligation sanctioned by past history, and never repudiated without loss of influence and without loss of honour—and that is the duty which devolves upon us to protect the interests of all who have trusted to our word and whose loyalty is their only crime in the eyes of our enemies.

The minority in Ireland, numbering at least one-third of the entire population, are in this position. It is not conceivable that Englishmen have so degenerated from their ancient character that they will be willing to throw their loyal fellow-subjects and their fellow-Protestants in Ireland to the wolves because they are weary of the task of government which has been cast upon them. Any settlement which may be extorted from us, however injurious and humiliating to ourselves, must at least contain an absolute guarantee for the lives and property, the civil and religious liberties of the men who in good report and evil report have stood by the British con-

nection, and whose faithful allegiance has brought down upon them the hostility and threatened revenge of the triumphant faction which has 'marched through rapine to the dismemberment of the Empire.'

If there were no other objections to the Home Rule Bill, this alone ought to be fatal to it, that it contains no provisions at all which can by any possibility secure the minority in Ireland from tyranny and injustice. The debate on the first reading showed clearly that the pretended supremacy of the Imperial Parliament is an empty phrase, that the Imperial veto is a weapon which is to be forged only on condition that it is never used, and that the long list of safeguards and conditions are merely theatrical properties and tinsel trimmings without real value or practical use. There is nothing in the Bill to prevent the men who have denounced the Ulster linen industry from ruining that industry by export duties or by taxation on profits. The Irish Legislature can offer bounties to any particular trade to the disadvantage of others. It can drive the 'English garrison' from Ireland by refusing protection to all unpopular persons, or by encouraging all tenants to resist the payment of rent; it can endow the Roman Catholic Church in the person of its priests and subsidise the convents under many pretences; it can make (as Mr. Dillon promised that it would) the life of any man who displeases it a burden to him, and it will be entirely a matter of its own generosity if it leaves him life at all. The condition of Clare, of Kerry, and of Limerick at this moment is only a foretaste of what the condition of the whole of Ireland will be under the rule of the National League and the tender mercies of those who 'continued to incite to intimidation after they knew that intimidation led to outrage and to murder.'

But we are told Ulster is strong enough to take care of itself. Let us examine this statement. I believe it to be true in a sense to which the Gladstonians deliberately choose to blind themselves, but it is not statesmanship to force a country into civil war in the hope that God will defend the right and that the better side will ultimately win the victory. Granting, however, that the Ulster Protestants will protect themselves, what is to become of the minorities scattered through the south and west of Ireland, always in such small proportions to the surrounding Celtic and Catholic population that they can never hope to return a representative of their own, although their total numbers are by no means insignificant? Travellers in Ireland, who know the country well, agree that these small communities are everywhere centres of industry, loyalty, and respect for the law. Under the protection of the Imperial Parliament they have held their own and thriven, but under a Parliament elected by the priests their position will soon be intolerable. It is not necessary to assume the probability of actual persecution.* The rack, the thumb-screw, and the stake are out of date and are not likely to be revived,

but there are a hundred ways by which an unpopular minority may be elbowed out of existence. It must be borne in mind that the old intolerance of religious differences is as much a matter of faith with ecclesiastics of the type of Bishop Nulty as it was in the days of Torquemada, though the methods of enforcing uniformity have changed. Some time ago the *Freeman's Journal* frankly declared that the differences between a Christian country like Ireland and a non-Christian country like England could not be bridged over; and no one who has studied the most recent utterances of the Irish priesthood will doubt that this correctly represents their conscientious convictions. When they have the power in their hands they are bound, by all they hold most dear, to give effect to their opinions; and the result may be seen in what has already happened in the Canadian province of Quebec, where the Catholic party have practically obtained supreme control, and where the Protestants have been gradually edged out and discouraged, until now almost the whole of the land is reserved strictly for Catholic tenants. In this case no violence has been used, and none was necessary; but it is to be feared that in Ireland patience would be wanting to carry out the slow process of painless extinction, and the mere withdrawal of the police protection now afforded would be sufficient to drive from their homes all who, either by their greater prosperity, their political opinions, or their religious beliefs, have become unpopular with the majority, who would, under the Home Rule Bill, be the dominant authority in Irish legislation and administration.

It may be worth while to recall for a moment the views expressed in regard to the situation of minorities under a Dublin Parliament by a prominent Home Ruler, now a member of Her Majesty's Government. In February 1886, Mr. Bryce, in this Review, writes:—

The power of dealing with the land is the very power which the Irish most desire. What object is there in a grant from which this power is reserved? But everybody knows how such a power would be used. Most Nationalists own that they would give a merely nominal compensation to the landlords, whom they regard as robbers. Some talk of five years' purchase, some of prairie value. . . . With the police under the orders of an elective board the landlord might whistle for his rent. He would be lucky if he kept a whole skin. His property would be gone without any need for confiscatory legislation.

Then Mr. Bryce goes on to ask if the Imperial Parliament can honourably leave the landlords to the mercy of an Irish authority; and he says:—

The honour of England is pledged to their rights. At no cost can we abandon them. We could not look other nations in the face were we to throw over men whose property we confirmed as lately as by the Act of 1881.

Quantum mutatus ab illo! What Professor Bryce could not do without dishonour and shame, the Chancellor of the Duchy contemplates with cheerful self-satisfaction.

As to the Protestants out of Ulster, Mr. Bryce wrote in 1886 :—

They might suffer in the loss of educational endowments, and perhaps see the schools still more completely controlled by the Catholic priesthood than is now the case. But they are so mixed up with the rest of the population, and form, except in Dublin and the North, so small a part of it, that they would not be conspicuous. It would not be in the interest of the priests to harass them, nor are the priests strong enough to influence legislation for that purpose.

After the lesson of the Meath elections it is difficult to accept this easy view of the inclinations or the power of the priests ; but in any case it is certain that, if the desire to harass existed, the Protestant minority ' would be lucky if they kept a whole skin ' after the police had been placed under the control of an Irish authority.

Lastly, let us return to the case of Ulster—of that portion of Ulster which is mainly British by race, Protestant in religion, and intensely Unionist and loyalist in politics. In the debate on the introduction of the Home Rule Bill the Chancellor of the Duchy insolently spoke of ' the blustering and noisy vehemence of those who profess to speak on her behalf.' But what said Mr. Bryce before he became a Cabinet Minister ? In the article from which quotations have already been made, he wrote :—

' Those who know the people of Ulster best will be the first to agree that the passionate protests which come thick and fast from them against being left to the mercies of an Irish Parliament are well entitled to respect.

Yes ! Those who know Ulster best, and who have not been induced by the temptation of office to deny her claims, will agree that they are entitled to respect, and that this great, industrious, law-abiding, and loyal population which clings to the British connection, which rejoices in its glorious share in the history of the United Kingdom, whose ancestors fought for their faith and liberties and saved Ireland to the British Crown, and which now contributes by far the larger part to the welfare and prosperity of the country, cannot, without a shameful dereliction of duty and a dishonourable evasion of the first obligation of a nation towards its citizens, be thrust out of its allegiance and forced against its will to submit to the yoke of a Parliament wholly under the control of its hereditary enemies. Those who know Ulster best warn us in all solemnity that Ulster will resist such a fate even to the death. Merchants, bankers, manufacturers, clergymen, and ministers of all denominations only express the unanimous sentiment of the whole population when they say that sooner than yield to the leaders of the National League, and to the delegates of the Irish priests, they will take up arms to defend those civil and religious rights and liberties which their forefathers maintained against heavy odds. Their determination has not been weakened by the taunts and jeers by which their protests and their warnings have been met. The spirit of the Gladstonians is the same

as that which animated the king's friends when the colonists of Massachusetts and New England threatened resistance to what they considered an intolerable oppression. Then also there were Cabinet Ministers to talk of 'blustering vehemence' and to ridicule the possibilities of serious opposition. Then also there were men so ignorant of the characteristics of the Anglo-Saxon race as to confuse the sullen murmur of resolute men, swelling higher and higher as the danger increased, with the hysterical outbursts of more excitable temperaments which die away when confronted with steady decision. The mistake is a fatal one, and it may lead to civil war. Ulster, even if she is betrayed and deserted by those who are bound to her by the most sacred obligations, will still take care of herself, but it will be at such a cost as will bring disgrace and infamy on any British Government which forces her to this dread extremity.

This, then, is the Bill for creating a Little England—an England weakened in face of its enemies and dishonoured in the opinion of its best friends—which we owe to the statesmanship of Mr. Gladstone's old age and to the philosophic meditations of Mr. John Morley's maturity. And whom have they to back them? Mr. Gladstone can depend on the support of such Irishmen—fortunately a diminishing number in Ireland—as earnestly seek the humiliation of Great Britain. He can count on the votes of all those Irish tenants whom he has encouraged to repudiate their obligations, and who believe that under an Irish Parliament what remains of the property of the landlords would at once fall into their hands. He may also rely on the suffrages of one-fifth of the Irish electorate, who, under the dictation and suggestion of the priests, declare themselves illiterate and unable even to put a cross on a ballot paper. In fact, the Government are assured in Ireland of the support of every man who has nothing to lose by corruption, misgovernment, and anarchy, and who hopes that a general scramble will somehow or another enure to his advantage. In Great Britain, however, they are in a minority, in spite of the care they have taken to keep their Irish policy in the background and to fill the public mind with ideas of a Radical millennium. Such support as they have secured in Wales and Scotland and in the agricultural districts of England is wholly independent of Home Rule, and due entirely to the hopes they have excited in regard to other legislation. As a result, the Gladstonian party in the House of Commons is much more eager for Suspensory Bills, Payment of Members, Local Veto, and a host of other domestic and social reforms, than they are for the Repeal of the Union and the destruction of the British Constitution. In 1886 Mr. Bright publicly declared that there were not twenty members of the House of Commons outside the Irish rebel party who in their hearts approved of Mr. Gladstone's proposals. Are there more now? A leading Gladstonian is alleged to have said recently that if the second reading division could be taken by ballot it would

be lost by a large majority, and there is good reason to believe that his statement is fully justified.

But if the support of the Bill is questionable in character and half-hearted in spirit, the opposition to it is of a very different kind. In Ireland itself, where the demand for the Bill is supposed to have arisen, all the wealth, almost all the education, the vast majority of the enterprise and industry, are arrayed against its provisions. Hardly a single banker, merchant, manufacturer, railway manager, or leading shopkeeper—either Catholic or Protestant—can be found to say a good word for them. The whole Protestant population is practically unanimous against them, while the leading Roman Catholic laymen are equally strenuous in their condemnation.

Even if we look to the bare question of numbers, it is certain that more than one-third, and probably two-fifths of the whole population are agreed in the belief that the Bill would be a curse and not a blessing to Ireland. No wonder that Mr. Gladstone refuses to receive deputations from the first citizens of Belfast and Dublin and shuts his eyes and his ears to all representations from the men who have done most for the prosperity and industry of Ireland. No wonder that he prefers to obtain information exclusively from the delegates of Archbishop Walsh—from the men whom a few years ago he put in gaol without trial, and whose public dishonesty and disloyalty he has himself stigmatised in terms of glowing indignation. But now he is safe to hear from them nothing but fulsome adulation of his greatness and goodness—nothing but profound admiration for the genius which would place Great Britain at the feet of her enemies and would hand over her loyal allies in Ireland to the tender mercies of a Dublin Parliament. They do not stand alone in their estimate of his self-denying patriotism. While there is no statesman of the first rank in the whole civilised world who does not hold up his hands in amazement at the action of a British Prime Minister who thus plays into the hands of the enemies of his country, every foreign writer or politician who is actuated by jealousy or hatred of the greatness, the influence, and the power of the United Kingdom rejoices in the prospect of our approaching downfall, and willingly applauds the hero of this supreme act of self-destruction and self-humiliation.

Against these testimonies from abroad, what have we to set? We have to set the fixed determination of the men of Ulster that they will save themselves and the country to which they belong from the shame which would follow upon this great betrayal—and the resolution of the vast majority of the English people that, spite of attacks from without and of treachery within, they will hold the fortress of the Union against all its foes, and will not suffer Great Britain to be weakened nor the United Kingdom to be dismembered.

SECOND THOUGHTS ON THE HOME RULE BILL

THE postponement of the second reading of the Home Rule Bill until after Easter, disappointing though it be to its more ardent advocates, will not be without its advantages if the interval be utilised to make the people of Great Britain thoroughly familiar with its provisions. I have always held the view that the more the whole subject is understood and debated the better would be the chance of Ireland obtaining a satisfactory settlement. From this point of view I regretted the policy of withholding information as to the main lines of Mr. Gladstone's scheme from the electors before the dissolution, and I deeply deplored the success which attended the efforts made in Ireland to prevent the Irish people discussing during the past two years the constitution under which they would have to live under Home Rule. We are now paying the penalty of the policy of silence and mystery in the violent and unthinking criticism to which the Government measure is being subjected, and later on we shall have to pay a still heavier penalty when the House of Lords refuses to pass a measure even the main features of which were disguised from the electors. The Bill of the Government is, in my judgment, sound in principle, and has nothing to fear from discussion. The Opposition have succeeded in postponing its second reading until after the Easter recess, but they have done so at a heavy cost. They have openly and avowedly had recourse to sheer obstruction. In my opinion, they have committed a grave tactical blunder. They have obtained a further period for discussion, it is true, but I believe discussion will help the Bill. Instead of reserving their obstructive tactics for the Committee stage, they have shown their cards at the very beginning of the game, with the result that, when the Committee stage does arrive, public opinion, both inside and outside of the House, will justify the Government in putting down obstruction with a strong hand and carrying the measure rapidly through. That Ministers will succeed in this I have no doubt whatever; but this belief is founded upon the certainty which I feel that they will act with common sense and boldly amend the measure in the direction indicated by Irish public opinion.

The attitude of Irish Nationalists to the Bill proves how moderate

their views upon this question of Home Rule really are. As I pointed out in a previous number of this Review, the Irish national demand has, in point of fact, undergone a fundamental change since the Repeal agitation of O'Connell. The national movement of that day was founded upon the supposed invalidity of the Act of Union. Irishmen denied the supremacy of the Imperial Parliament over Ireland, and demanded the restoration to their country of the sovereign, independent and co-ordinate legislature which existed before 1800. The Home Rule movement initiated by Mr. Butt differed in essential principle from that of O'Connell. It did not ask for repeal of the Union; it only asked for its modification. It admitted the supremacy of the Imperial Parliament, and confined its demand to the establishment by the statutory authority of that Parliament of an Irish legislature, to manage Irish affairs upon somewhat the same basis as other legislatures which already exist in various parts of the Empire. From the point of view of men who have thus moderated their demand, the Home Rule Bill of Mr. Gladstone must necessarily be acceptable in principle. It proposes to establish by statute of the Imperial Parliament a free legislature in Ireland for the management of Irish affairs with an executive responsible to it. This is the essential principle of the measure. It is a principle acceptable to the vast majority of Irish Nationalists, and which can only be consistently opposed in England by the party which invariably opposed in the past every extension of representative institutions to every portion of the Empire where they are in existence to-day.

Under these circumstances, the second reading of Mr. Gladstone's Bill is assured. But what of the Committee stage? Without bold and generous amendment the Bill can never pass through the fiery ordeal of discussion clause by clause. Irish Nationalists are, it is true, divided into two hostile camps, but, unless I am much mistaken, they will be found voting together in favour of a number of vital and far-reaching amendments in Committee. It is possible that one section may propose some amendments of a more extreme character than will be considered absolutely necessary by the other section. But even in this case, public opinion in Ireland will be strong enough to compel a united vote, just as it was strong enough on the question of Amnesty to compel Mr. McCarthy and his friends to vote in favour of an amendment upon the Address the necessity or wisdom of which they disputed. It may therefore be taken for granted that Irish Nationalists in the House of Commons will be found voting in a solid body in favour of certain important amendments in the Bill. Unless these amendments, therefore, are dealt with in a conciliatory and generous spirit by the Government, the Bill is doomed. Not, of course, that Mr. Gladstone would meet with defeat in the division lobby; but the spectacle of the entire

body of Irish Nationalists of both sections voting against the Government upon some matter of vital importance to the scheme would have such a damning moral effect that it would be impossible for the Bill; or, I might almost say, for the Government itself, to survive. English Liberals need not, however, be alarmed at this prospect. Irish Nationalists are shrewd enough to realise what the defeat of the present Bill and the present Government would necessarily mean for their country. Were they inclined to be unreasonable, the violence of the Orange crusade of itself would be sufficient to give them pause. They are well aware that it is in Committee that the forces of obstruction will be let loose in good earnest by the opponents of Home Rule, and they may be trusted not to play into the hands of their country's enemies by proposing a multiplicity of amendments upon trivial points. Their efforts to improve the measure and to make it a genuine and workable one will be concentrated upon what they consider to be its really serious defects. Under these circumstances, it may be well to briefly explain the amendments which are considered vital, and which must be pressed upon the Government with all the force at our command.

The two conventions of Nationalists recently held in Dublin to consider the Bill, by their attitude and their proceedings, explain clearly enough the difference between the two sections. Both gatherings were equally large and representative, with this notable difference, that many hundreds of priests attended the convention of the Anti-Parnellites, and only one solitary priest was present at that of the Parnellites. Both assemblies declared in favour of the principle of the Bill, and approved of supporting its second reading. Both had misgivings upon certain vital provisions, and it is here that the difference between the two sections became apparent. The Anti-Parnellite convention did not venture to discuss the Bill. The old policy of 'least said soonest mended' seemed to be adopted without question. As a deliberative assembly it was little short of a sham. Its time was occupied by speeches from two or three members of Parliament; two or three priests, and one solitary layman. Of criticism, or examination of the clauses of the Bill, there was absolutely none. The one thing apparently most dreaded by it was anything like a free expression of opinion or free discussion. The convention held the following day was in these respects in strong contrast. The Parnellites discussed with perfect freedom for six hours and a half all the leading provisions of the measure. Differences of opinion were not suppressed, but after full debate the assembled delegates came unanimously to a series of resolutions, firm and decided in tone, but perfectly moderate and reasonable in substance. These resolutions may be safely accepted as a guide to what the action of Irish Nationalists will be when the Committee stage arrives.

The first resolution was as follows:—

That no measure of Home Rule will be regarded as final and satisfactory by the Irish people which does not fulfil the conditions laid down by Mr. Parnell in the great National Convention of July 1891, viz. 'That the Parliament of Ireland shall have full powers over all the affairs of Ireland, including the laws relating to the occupation and ownership of land, and the laws enacted by it shall be subject only to the veto of the Crown or the representative of the Crown in Ireland. The Irish Executive shall be dependent upon this Parliament, and shall have control over the constabulary, as well as the appointment of all judges and magistrates. The statutory power of the Lord Lieutenant to raise, equip, maintain, and control the constabulary shall be repealed.'

This definition of a 'final and satisfactory' settlement is not, it is quite true, absolutely satisfied by Mr. Gladstone's Bill, but it may, with truth, be said to be substantially satisfied. Under the Bill, the Irish Parliament is not, it is true, given 'full powers over all the affairs of Ireland.' Certain matters affecting trade and commerce are reserved from it, but as this enters into the financial question I pass it by for the moment. Power to deal in a certain way with questions of religion and education is also denied to the Irish Parliament, but I know of no one who objects to these restrictions save upon the ground that they are unnecessary. The land question is withheld for three years, but Mr. Parnell himself specifically agreed to an arrangement whereby the Imperial Parliament would retain power to deal with Irish land for a definite number of years, on the understanding that meantime Irish members would be retained at Westminster in their full numbers. The same remark applies to the reservation of control of police and the judges for six years. As to the much-vexed question of the Veto, the present Bill is, from our point of view, a distinct improvement on the Bill of 1886.

The clause in the latter Bill dealing with the matter was in these terms: 'Subject to any instructions which may, from time to time, be given by her Majesty, the Lord Lieutenant shall give or withhold the assent of her Majesty to Bills passed by the Irish Legislative Body.' The meaning of this clause was interpreted by competent authorities to be that the Veto of the Crown upon all Acts of the Irish Parliament would have been exercised in accordance with the advice of the Sovereign's British Ministers—a provision which, in the words of Sir Charles Gavan Duffy, 'would render legislation a farce.' This was the view of the clause which was taken last year by Mr. Oscar Browning, and when Mr. Gladstone was challenged upon the point he replied, in May 1892: 'Mr. Browning's account of the Veto, if I understand it correctly, is right.' It is no exaggeration to say there was grave uneasiness upon this matter in Ireland. To enact that all Irish Bills should be 'passed upon,' to use an Americanism, by the English Cabinet would be to create an impossible situation for an Irish Legislature. Our view upon this matter was never unreasonable.

Writing in these pages last October, I said:—

All we want to have made clear and unmistakable is that in the daily life of our Irish Parliament the veto of the Crown will be exercised constitutionally in accordance with the advice of Irish ministers, and will not be made a pretext for interference by the Imperial Parliament and the English Cabinet in those purely Irish affairs which are committed to the charge of the new Irish Legislature.

The existence of an over-riding veto we, of course, always recognised, but we believe the occasion for its exercise would never arise, and that its exercise 'would mean a dead lock and could only occur in some case which would be sufficiently grave to justify England in exercising her power to destroy the Irish Legislature altogether.'

It is eminently satisfactory that this somewhat speculative discussion is set at rest by the clause in the present Bill which provides :—

The Lord Lieutenant shall, on the advice of the said Executive Committee (of the Privy Council, i.e. the Irish Cabinet), give or withhold the assent of her Majesty to Bills passed by the two Houses of the Irish Legislature, subject, nevertheless, to any instructions given by her Majesty in respect of any such Bill.

On the question of the supremacy of the Imperial Parliament we are not wholly satisfied by the Bill. That supremacy we recognise as unquestionable and inalienable. At any time after the establishment of the Irish Legislature the Imperial Parliament will be competent, as it is now, to legislate for Ireland. But the establishment of that Irish Legislature would of course mean that, in relation to the purely Irish affairs committed to its charge, the Imperial Parliament should leave its powers dormant. That this is the intention there is no room for doubt. The Irish Parliament is, in Mr. Gladstone's words, to exercise 'a really separate and independent control of Irish affairs.' The Bill of 1886 in clause 37 would have enacted indirectly at least what would have amounted to a parliamentary compact that this power of legislating on Irish subjects over the head of the Irish Parliament would not be used. It provided :—

Save as herein expressly provided, *all matters in relation to which it is not competent for the Irish Legislative Body to make or repeal laws* shall remain and be within the exclusive authority of the Imperial Parliament, whose power and authority in relation thereto shall in no wise be diminished or restrained by anything herein contained.

No such clause is to be found in the present Bill. Under the Bill of 1886 Irish members were excluded from Westminster, and with them would have disappeared the chief temptation to intermeddle in Irish affairs. In this Bill Irish members are retained, and we feel, in the words of another resolution adopted at the Rotunda convention, that it is our duty under these circumstances to ask for an amendment 'to prevent by express enactment the interference of the Imperial Parliament in the legislative sphere of the Parliament of Ireland.'

Subject to these qualifications Mr. Gladstone's Bill in our judgment substantially fulfils the conditions laid down in Mr. Parnell's definition.

I pass now to what is really the crux of the whole matter, namely, the financial arrangements proposed.

The resolution adopted at the Rotunda convention upon this matter was as follows:—

That the financial arrangements between Ireland and Great Britain proposed in the Home Rule Bill are entirely unsatisfactory, and that no financial settlement can be acceptable which extorts from Ireland towards Imperial expenses more than a quota ascertained by a comparison of the relative taxable capacities of the two countries. That we object to the future Irish Government being burdened with liabilities arising from a system of misgovernment which Mr. Gladstone in 1886 described as being attended by 'a demoralising waste of public money,' and that amongst such liabilities we should regard (1) any payments in respect of more than one-third of the present annual cost of the police, the sum which Mr. Gladstone in 1886 estimated to be sufficient for the maintenance of an Irish police force under ordinary circumstances; (2) any payments in respect of either gratuities or pensions for the retiring members of the force; and (3) any payments in respect of more than one half of the charge for salaries and pensions for the existing Civil Service of Ireland, which Mr. Gladstone in 1886 estimated to be relatively double that for salaries and pensions for the Civil Service of Great Britain. That the provision enabling the Imperial Parliament to increase the excise duties, and to take all such increase from Ireland is most inequitable, and cannot be accepted. That, generally, in reference to the financial arrangements to be made between Great Britain and Ireland, special regard should be paid to the financial treatment of Ireland since the Union, which Mr. Gladstone, in his speech on the introduction of the present Bill, described as 'most shabby, most unjust and despicable;' and we particularly direct attention to the fact that when in 1886 Mr. Gladstone, by a calculation he now admits to be erroneous, fixed the Irish contribution at one-fifteenth, he agreed to hand over to Ireland, in compensation for its surrender of the collection of customs and excise, an additional sum of about 1,400,000*l.*, whereas in the present Bill, when Ireland's contribution is based on a more accurate basis, this sum is withheld from Ireland.

The broad ground we take is twofold. We are quite ready to meet our just liabilities and to pay towards Imperial charges our fair quota, ascertained by a comparison of the relative taxable capacities of the two countries; and we object to any financial arrangements not strictly based upon that principle. In addition to this we say that special regard should be paid to the financial treatment of Ireland since the Union, which we believe we can prove to have been flagrantly and shamelessly unjust.

In the Bill of 1886 Mr. Gladstone proceeded upon 'the method of quota,' and basing his calculation upon the Death Duties and the valuation, he declared Ireland's fair quota to be about one-fifteenth, that is, 3,242,000*l.*, being one-fifteenth of a total for Imperial charges of 16,300,000*l.* This quota was at once challenged by Mr. Parnell as manifestly unjust. Mr. Giffen, in the March number of this *Review* for 1886, had estimated the entire taxable income of Ireland

at 15,000,000*l.*, or about one fifty-third that of Great Britain, which he estimated at 800,000,000*l.* In the present Bill Mr. Gladstone discards the 'method of quota' and adopts the method of 'appropriating a particular fund,' and saying, 'This fund shall be taken by us to meet the obligations of Ireland for Imperial service. His chief argument is that this fund, namely, the customs, stands at present at a figure which he considers accurately represents Ireland's fair quota now. He now calculates Imperial charges at 59,000,000*l.*, and he calculates Ireland's fair quota as about one twenty-third, or in figures 2,370,000*l.*, the net amount of the Irish Customs Fund. We object to this plan root and branch. We believe, as Mr. Gladstone admittedly was wrong in 1886 in fixing Ireland's quota at one-fifteenth, so he is wrong to-day in fixing it at one twenty-third: Mr. Giffen, as I have said, fixed it at one fifty-third. In a recent calculation made by Mr. J. J. Clancy, M.P., and based upon nine important tests—namely, a comparison in Great Britain and Ireland of (1) Income tax assessments, (2) Income tax receipts, (3) assessment of death duties, (4) amounts in Government and India stocks, (5) amounts in stocks of all registered companies, (6) amounts for which money and postal orders were issued, (7) gross railway receipts, (8) deposits in Post Office and Trustees Savings Banks, and (9) the tonnage entered and cleared at the chief ports—it appeared that Ireland's proportion was about one thirty-fifth. We invite a searching investigation into this matter. Whatever is our fair proportion we are willing to pay, but we strenuously object to this plan for 'laying hands upon' the Irish Customs Fund. It may be said Imperial charges may rise and the amount of our quota may rise too, while, under the present Bill, Great Britain would be accepting the Irish Customs Fund for better or worse. Yes, but the Irish Customs are an increasing revenue. Within the last nine years they have risen 150,000*l.*, and with a rise in the general prosperity of Ireland they ought to swell by leaps and bounds, and the entire benefit under this scheme would go to our richer partner.

The proposal to saddle Ireland with two-thirds of the cost of the police, while they exist, and of their gratuities and pensions when they are disbanded, is inequitable and intolerable: The Royal Irish Constabulary is distinctly an Imperial force. It is neither more nor less than a standing army of occupation. Its existence has been necessitated by the system of government forced upon the Irish people against their will as part of an Imperial policy. The cost of this police is a million and a half annually. In his speech on the first reading of the Bill of 1886, Mr. Gladstone said: 'If the police of Ireland were organised upon the same principles and on the same terms as the police in England, instead of costing 1,500,000*l.*, it would cost 600,000*l.* a year.' As a matter of fact, this is I think, if anything, an over-estimate.

I understand the cost of the police of Scotland—a country where, if the population is smaller, the necessity for police is greater, owing to the greater number of large towns—is under 500,000*l.* a year. Under this Bill, Ireland is to provide the entire cost of a new civil police force, and in addition is to pay two-thirds of the cost of the present police for an indefinite time. It is true that the present police may be entirely disbanded in six years, but they are to be disbanded upon generous terms, and it is clear to my mind that Ireland would for a generation to come be burdened with a payment of at least a million a year for this purely Imperial liability, besides paying the entire cost of a new force. Similarly as to the Civil Service, Mr. Gladstone in 1886 denounced with righteous indignation the system of waste necessitated in Ireland by British misgovernment. He said:—

The House would like to know what an amount has been going on of what I must call not only a waste of public money, but a demoralising waste of public money, demoralising in its influence upon both countries. The civil charges *per capita* at this moment are in Great Britain 8*s.* 2*d.* and in Ireland 16*s.* They have increased in Ireland in the last fifteen years by 63 per cent., and my belief is that, if the present legislative and administrative systems be maintained, you must make up your minds to a continued, never-ending, and never-to-be-limited augmentation.

Yet in his present Bill Mr. Gladstone throws upon us the *entire* burden created by this 'wasteful and demoralising' Imperial system, and, by providing that Ireland shall pay the *whole* of the gratuities and pensions for the present excessive and extravagant Civil Service, makes economy in the government of the country an impossibility for at least a generation.

As a sample of the ungenerous method adopted towards Ireland, let me instance what is proposed as to the postal service. This point was dwelt upon at the Rotunda convention by Sir Joseph Neale McKenna. The postal service is a distinctly Imperial one. As an Imperial service, it makes a profit of over three millions a year. But the Irish portion of this Imperial service shows a loss of 50,000*l.* a year. Accordingly, with touching generosity, it is proposed that it shall not be treated under Home Rule as an Imperial service at all, and in Mr. Gladstone's Irish Budget this sum of 50,000*l.* a year figures upon the debit side of the account! At present Ireland and Great Britain are in a partnership in a business which shows a profit of three millions, and Mr. Gladstone proposes a dissolution of partnership upon the terms that Ireland is to pay 50,000*l.* a year on retirement from a profitable business! As to these points—that is, the pay and pensions of the present police, the pensions of the present Civil Service, and the cost of postal service—we say they are Imperial charges, and we protest against being called upon to pay one penny more than our fair quota.

The 'laying hands upon' our Customs raises another consideration

of importance to which attention has more than once been directed by Mr. Pierce Mahony. Before the Home Rule Bill of 1886, Mr. Parnell repeatedly demanded for Ireland a Parliament with power to levy and collect Customs. Upon being twitted by Mr. Chamberlain in 1886 with having abandoned this claim, Mr. Parnell replied:—

I have said frequently that I should claim that right for the Irish people, but the Prime Minister has certainly in his speech yesterday been enabled to show us that we are getting a very good *quid pro quo* in exchange for giving up this right of collecting the customs, in the shape of 1,400,000*l.* a year.

This sum of money represented the excess of duty collected in Ireland and paid into the Irish receipts upon goods exported to and consumed in Great Britain over the duty collected in England on goods consumed in Ireland, and, under the financial proposals in the Bill of 1886, Ireland was to retain that sum. That is to say, under that Bill she was to pay her fair quota to Imperial charges (in the exact amount of which Mr. Gladstone made a miscalculation), and in addition she was to receive, as a *quid pro quo* for giving up her right to collect her Customs, a sum of 1,400,000*l.* a year. Under the present Bill this *quid pro quo* entirely disappears. We are still to pay towards Imperial charges a sum which Mr. Gladstone says represents our fair quota, but for the giving up of our right to collect our Customs we are to get nothing at all.

Under the present scheme it is said we will have a surplus to start upon of half a million. This is a purely imaginary amount. In Mr. Gladstone's 'First Irish Balance-sheet' the civil charges and police charges are under-estimated, remembering that we may for a generation be forced to pay for the pensions of the present staffs and forces and the entire cost of the new staffs and forces. No provision is made for the cost of the new executive offices which must be created, and the supposed surplus depends entirely, over and above these considerations, upon Irish excise duties realising in the future as much as they did in 1890–91, when they amounted to more than ever they did in the history of the country. Temperance legislation would under this scheme mean bankruptcy, and a widespread increase of habits of sobriety amongst the people would mean financial ruin to the Irish Exchequer!

It is provided by the Bill that all excise duties paid in Ireland upon goods consumed in Great Britain shall be paid into the Exchequer of Great Britain, but with an extraordinary lack of fairness there is no provision for the converse case, that is, to enable Ireland to obtain the benefit of the excise duties, be they large or small, collected in Great Britain upon goods consumed in Ireland. The excise duties are to be fixed by the Imperial Parliament, and it is provided that in case of any increase in these duties the entire net proceeds of such increase shall go to the Exchequer of Great Britain;

so that Irish excise duties could be increased at any moment and the proceeds devoted to any British or other object which commended itself to the Parliament at Westminster!

More important, perhaps, than any matters of detail is the consideration of the past financial treatment of Ireland. At the time of the Union the British Debt stood at 450,504,984*l.*, with an annual charge of 17,718,851*l.* The Irish Debt stood at 28,545,134*l.*, with an annual charge of 1,244,464*l.* In the year 1817, under the blessings of the Union, the figures had thus changed: the Irish Debt had risen to 112,764,773*l.*, and the Irish annual charge to 4,104,514*l.*, while the British debt had only risen to 734,522,104*l.* and the British annual charge to 28,238,416*l.*

In 1864 Mr. Senior, in his evidence before General Dunne's Committee, stated that 'England is the most lightly taxed and Ireland the most heavily taxed country in Europe, although both are *nominally* liable to equal taxation.' The explanation of this fact is plain enough. Mr. Gladstone's increase of the spirit duty, though uniform for the United Kingdom, pressed upon Ireland, where spirits are the popular beverage, as beer is the popular beverage of England. The Imperial taxation in Ireland in 1851 was 4,006,000*l.* In 1861 it was 6,420,000*l.*, and in 1871 it was 7,086,000*l.*, while all this time taxation, so far as Great Britain was concerned, was being reduced. Mr. Giffen, as the result of an exhaustive investigation of the figures, states it as his clear opinion that for a long series of years 'Ireland has been taxed over 3,000,000*l.* more than it ought to have been taxed.'

But it may be objected that it is a profitless undertaking to go back to the past. I reply that in making the bargain between England and Ireland for their future financial relations a consideration of past injustice ought at least to induce the richer and more powerful nation to deal with the poorer and weaker one with some show of generosity. The entire future of the Irish Parliament will depend upon how this question is settled. If we start with our credit bad, and our financial outlook hopeless, how can Englishmen expect this great experiment to be successful?

The Rotunda convention made a most sensible and practical suggestion upon this matter. On the motion of Mr. Pierce Mahony, it was resolved:—

That, having regard to the complexity of the financial question and the impossibility of dealing properly with such a subject in Committee of the House of Commons, we ask the independent members to press for the immediate appointment of a small representative commission to forthwith inquire into and report on the subject before the financial clauses reach the Committee stage.

Manifestly it will be impossible in Committee of the House of Commons to discuss these matters satisfactorily. No one, indeed,

can be competent to do so who is not in possession of full and accurate information; and who, outside official circles, is in that position? It is quite possible, before the financial clauses come up for discussion, for members of both sections of Irish Nationalists, and for that matter for Irish Unionists also, to thrash the whole subject out in a committee, and come to some common understanding as to what Ireland's rights really are. All that is perfectly clear at the present moment is, that the financial arrangement as it now stands in the Bill is unjust and impossible of acceptance.

There are just two other matters upon which I desire to say a word. The provision for the retention of Irish members is intensely objectionable, firstly because it proposes to diminish their number, and secondly because it proposes to curtail their powers. It cannot be too often repeated that, upon this question of Irish representation in the Imperial Parliament, Ireland is perfectly satisfied to accept either exclusion or retention. If we are excluded, we recognise that such an arrangement must of necessity be of a temporary character, and that when the system of federation is adopted, as we believe it will be in the future, we can then resume our place in the Council of the Empire. But if we are to be temporarily excluded, no Irish subjects must be withheld from the Irish Parliament. So long as the Imperial Parliament retains control of Land and Police and Judges, manifestly it must retain us also. And if we are retained, we must be retained in our full numbers and with our full powers. The proposal to create two orders of members with different powers so fundamentally alters the entire constitution of the House of Commons that I feel convinced it can never pass into law, and I regret that the prospects of the Bill have been jeopardised by its proposal. The sooner it is abandoned the better.

Upon the constitution of the new Irish Parliament considerable difference of opinion exists in Ireland. In order to provide a safeguard against rash, violent, or unjust legislation, we do not object to the Second Chamber, even with its high franchise and its power of delay. But there is a general feeling that the numbers in both Houses are too small. It is felt that, in the words of another of the Rotunda resolutions, it is necessary to amend the Bill in order 'to secure a better representation of interests by an increase in the number of seats and a more equitable distribution of seats in both of the proposed Houses.'

Other matters of lesser importance need careful amendment, but the chief points to which serious objection is taken by Irish Nationalists are those which I have mentioned. No one now talks of 'finality.' It is 'a discredited word;' but for my part, after carefully studying the whole Bill, I am prepared to repeat what I said in the House of Commons on its first reading,—that it is the duty of Irish Nationalists to endeavour so to amend it in Committee that it may form

'a basis of settlement which, if not final in its shape or in the powers it confers, will, at any rate, hold out the hope that the more acute phases of Irish misgovernment will immediately disappear and that the future of Ireland will depend upon the steadiness, constancy, and courage of the Irish people themselves.' No section of Irish Nationalists approaches the discussion of this Bill in a hostile or unfriendly spirit. All we desire is that it shall be so amended that we can accept it as an honest, honourable, and workable compromise, and if we are met by ministers in Committee in a spirit similar to our own, the Bill will pass triumphantly through the House of Commons in spite of Orange bluster or Tory obstruction.

J. E. REDMOND.

LORD CROMER AND THE KHEDIVE

LORD CROMER enjoys so well-deserved a reputation as an honourable, straightforward Englishman, no less than as a successful public officer of the kind we in England most admire, that I know my task of telling the truth about his quarrel with the Khedive from the Khedive's side will be considered ungracious, and by some unpatriotic. I have, however, Lord Cromer's own expressed assent to the course I am taking, for he is sufficiently large-minded to understand that in a question of such immense public importance as the ultimate fate of Egypt it is well that both sides of it should be heard, and that, as the Egyptians are unable to plead their own cause in England, my pleading for them is an act of common fairness, which should not be resented.

Up to the present, every organ of public opinion has been impressed into the service of Anglo-Egyptian diplomacy—Blue-books, the London Press, the monthly periodicals, published interviews with officials, the platform, public dinners, and the thousand and one unavowed private channels through which the kind of information diplomatists desire to spread abroad finds its way to English ears. How many scalps of Radical M.P.'s who have wintered in Egypt, and who have dined and danced at the Residency, do not adorn Lord Cromer's belt? How many scalps of Special Correspondents? And on the other, the Egyptian side, what have we heard? Absolutely nothing! The puny voice of the Vernacular Press does not reach the ears, I do not say of Englishmen in England, but even of English tourists on the Nile. It sends up its daily tale of national aspiration and indignation against England; but not a single word of it is ever reported in any English newspaper, unless it may happen to be something very foolish or 'fanatical,' when it will, perhaps, be quoted secondhand from a Blue-book, to the native disadvantage. Down to the other day Englishmen at Cairo were so ignorant of what was going on in the Egyptian mind that it was commonly believed that all real native opinion was on the side of English intervention, and that the Khedivial throne was only rendered safe from his subjects by the presence of English bayonets! And so it is still. I doubt whether Lord Cromer himself, even with his experience of the last six weeks, is aware how entirely without native support English diplomacy stands in the country.

Let me, then, tell my tale of the recent events at Cairo as it is known to the Egyptians. It will serve as a useful last chapter to Mr. Milner's book, *England in Egypt*, and I venture to say will not be un instructive even to Mr. Milner. Alas for the transience of human things! Already his pleasant romance of the *Veiled Protectorate* has lost half its value as a picture of actual things, and the book itself, with its rose-coloured optimism, reads strangely out of date. Mr. Milner, were he to return to Abdin to-day, would hardly, I fancy, find his way about behind the familiar official scenes, or recognise some of the old actors of his amusing drama, in their new characters, so curiously has the Khedive's revolt changed the face of Egyptian things.

To begin at the beginning, with the late Khedive Tewfik's death: it is quite untrue to suppose, as has been constantly represented, that Tewfik was the attached and grateful servant of England. On the contrary, he hated those into whose bondage he had sold himself, as a man hates the usurer who has lent him money in a moment of need, and who has established himself on his estates. He deeply resented the chains he was obliged to wear. But, being a timid man and indolent by nature, with much power of dissimulation, he could never muster up courage enough quite to cast them off. Several times he dallied with revolt, but always at the last moment hung back, betrayed his accomplices, and with a smiling face accepted a renewal of his servitude. Lord Cromer never failed to scare him with one or other of the bogeys at his service—the Sultan, his father, Ismail, the Mahdi, or a return of Arabi. Thus he went down to his grave honoured in England and lamented by our officials at Cairo. His death was wholly unexpected by them. It was the one unforeseen and unlikely thing which of course happened, and which happening, ruined the edifice of English personal influence and of Lord Cromer's Veiled Protectorate.

I was in Egypt when Abbas Pasha, a boy of eighteen, was called upon to succeed his father. At the time of his accession, January 1892, Abbas was in Europe and nothing certain was known of his political ideas. He had been brought up in Switzerland and Austria, and was almost a stranger at Cairo. Native rumour, however, at once assigned to him anti-English views, probably on the general reasoning that all the young generation in Egypt was anti-English, and, though they dissembled it, all the Khedivial family. Lord Cromer, however, paid little attention to this, and trusted to his good fortune to steer him through all difficulties.

A few days after the new Khedive's arrival at his capital I had the honour of being presented to his Highness by Lord Cromer. I had expected in the young Prince a certain timidity such as I remembered to have seen in the bearing of native Indian Princes when in the presence of their English official guardians. But in Abbas I found

nothing of the sort, only a polite, good-humoured, open-faced young man who might have belonged to almost any European nationality. He received us with cordiality, an exceedingly pleasant smile, and just that little touch of amiable condescension towards Lord Cromer, as towards myself, which Princes put on with diplomatists, to remind them of their respective ranks. There was no special deference to the *de facto* ruler of Egypt, and not a trace of embarrassment or fear. In conversation the young Khedive was gay and frank. His remarks on such subjects as touched on politics were sensible and wonderfully well expressed for so young a man. He was not without wit, and some of his sentences—we were talking in French—reminded me a little of his grandfather Ismail's, *mais en mieux*. One could not help remarking that of the two—Lord Cromer and the Khedive—the Khedive was not the less at his ease and self-possessed. Coming away from the Palace I felt certain that if Abbas escaped the pitfalls of pleasure which are laid for young Eastern Princes even more openly than for our own, he would make a stir in the world and, as the official phrase was, 'give Lord Cromer trouble.' I did not, however, anticipate quite so speedy a realisation of my thought. At first the Khedive's self-assertion confined itself to such small matters as Court etiquette. He disapproved of being 'dropped upon' by Foreign Ministers in his country palace at Koubba, and he insisted on their coming to him at Abdin no longer in shooting-jackets, as the English way had been with his father, but in black frock-coats. The first few months of his reign seemed to justify Lord Cromer's confidence that the new Khedive would present no case for him of special difficulty.

Lord Cromer's earliest attempt at manipulating his pupil was a decided success. Mr. Milner has told us the story of the 'Firman incident' in a spirit of burlesque which has insured its repetition in all our English newspapers. But its jocosity reads rather gloomily now that the Sultan has had his revenge, and I fancy the hero of the tale, if not its narrator, must feel regret that it was written. Stripped of comicalities, the dispute about the Firman was a bold attempt on Lord Cromer's part to sow dissension between Abdin and Yildiz. As to the matter in dispute, the territory east of the Suez Canal, the Sultan was well within his right, and its loss to Egypt would have been infinitesimally small—a few poor Bedouin tribes, which Egypt had kept for years in quarantine, cut off from her and their natural intercourse with the Cairo market by the Canal. But Lord Cromer, who with a gay heart had abandoned the whole Soudan to the Madhi, and made a present of Masowa to Italy, found it to his interest to persuade the young Khedive that Egypt's territorial rights were being threatened by this new delimitation of frontier. The young Prince, fresh from Europe and new to diplomatic ways, took fire at the supposed insult, and the desired breach with the Sultan was effected. It was

a very pretty piece of diplomatic manœuvring, but has already cost Lord Cromer dear.

It has been a fixed part of Lord Cromer's policy from the very beginning of his work in Egypt to exclude, as far as was possible, the Sultan's influence at Cairo. This is the part of his policy which commends itself most to Radicals, and for that reason it will be necessary for me to say a few words to them as to the exact position the Sultan holds in the popular Egyptian mind. Fifteen years ago the Sultan's name as a source of moral authority was almost dead in Egypt. The Ottoman Empire was in popular estimation on the point of dissolution, there was revolt in the Arabic-speaking provinces; the administration was abominably corrupt, and the finances were ruined. Mohammedans looked elsewhere than to Constantinople for a champion of their cause. The Sultan's personality was unknown, and what little was suspected of it was not in Abdul Hamid's favour. In Egypt the Porte's authority was principally connected in men's minds with Ismail's intrigues to alter the succession and the millions spent by him in bribing the Stambouli officials. The Ottoman Caliphate was altogether discredited as a power for good in the world. At the present day, however, the whole position of things in regard to Constantinople has been altered. To begin with, the Ottoman Empire, by one of the strangest turns of modern history, has so far recovered itself as to be no longer in a moribund state. Its finances are now on a sound footing of solvency, its administration has been sensibly improved, its population is increasing, its material resources are being slowly developed, and there is absolutely no Mohammedan and very little Christian disaffection in the provinces. If not attacked by its great European neighbours for another fifteen years, there is every chance of the empire's complete convalescence and recovery. Next, the personal position of the Sultan has been re-established as a great moral and religious power, worthy of honest men's regard. This is an enormous factor in the modern Egyptian case. The Sultan, Abdul Hamid, whom Radicals in England, with the recollections of the Bulgarian atrocity agitation and Mr. Gladstone's Midlothian campaign, regard as a kind of melodramatic anti-human despot, has proved himself, at least to the Oriental mind, to be a high-minded, unselfish, and singularly able ruler. His influence in Egypt has enormously increased, and not, as Englishmen suppose, with the corrupt and arbitrary Pasha class only, but with all that is best and most intellectual and most modern in native Egypt. At the present day, though there is no desire on the part of Egyptian Nationalists to abandon their long-acquired privilege of a separate local administration—call it of Home Rule—there is equally no desire to cut the political bond with Constantinople. It is felt that good relations with the Sultan are essential to the realisation of their political hopes, and that as long as Abdul Hamid lives liberty has nothing to fear from

him in the way of a hostile invasion of its rights." I believe this opinion to be held by the educated Copts hardly less than by the Mohammedan Egyptians.

Lord Cromer's triumph, therefore, in the matter of the Firman was a triumph for English diplomacy only. It was not shared by native Egypt; and the young Khedive, who had been entrapped into taking Lord Cromer's side, suffered awhile in popularity. Lord Cromer, nevertheless, when on his summer holiday last year, was able to boast in Downing Street that he had Abbas in his pocket, and with him Egypt and the Egyptian Government. All he now required was to capture English Radical opinion at home. With this object it was decided that Mr. Milner should publish his book before the opening of Parliament. It was a bold experiment, for though as literature Mr. Milner's, it was in substance a revelation of Lord Cromer's own secret official self. Indeed, one might almost affirm that the textual authorship of *England in Egypt* belonged to one and the same person with that of Lord Cromer's official reports, so closely do they agree both in substance and verbal form and sequence of argument. It was a bold experiment, for it revealed the truth that in Lord Cromer's mind there was no longer any thought of evacuation either now or in ten or twenty years. Indeed, the time assumed in it as necessary for his work of reconstruction would seem to belong rather to what scientific men call a 'geological period' than to anything appreciable by history. He doubtless thought, however, that he need be under no apprehension as to its effect in Egypt, since he was laying bare the machinery of his nets in the sight of an already captured bird.

Already, however, before *England in Egypt* was out of the printer's hands, and while Lord Cromer was still away in Europe, a change had come over the face of things at Cairo. The Khedive Abbas had escaped from the diplomatic cage and was no longer a prisoner to English influence. The news of it was sent to Downing Street, I believe, in the early autumn by Mr. Hardinge, but was hardly credited, at least not at its full value, as a serious political event.

The history of Abbas's enfranchisement has been variously told. M. de Reverseaux, Mukhtar Pasha, the late Khedive Ismail, and the ladies of his Highness's family have all been credited with a share in his conversion; nor need we doubt that each and all did their best to persuade him in the path of revolt. But had the matter been a mere intrigue, however widely planned, among these high personages, it is certain that Abbas would not have acted with the open confidence he has shown, but that he would have been content, as they are, to wait quietly and dissemble his plans. But the truth is, viceroyalty in Egypt is not hedged in by any fence of secrecy or silence. Abbas is a clever young man, a ready talker, and fond of society. He has friends

of his own age and friends a little older, from any one and from all of whom he could learn the political views which were the universal talk of native society. He quickly found that he was becoming isolated by his English alliance and out of touch with his own people. It is not, therefore, surprising that his ideas shaped themselves on theirs, and that he adopted without any special persuasion the national and patriotic view which is now universal and is wholly anti-English. He chose his political party, in fact, just as young Englishmen choose theirs at Oxford or Cambridge, not from the Dons who govern them, but from the general opinion of their own fellow-undergraduates with whom they associate.

People in England are not, I think, at all aware of the universality of the political feeling in Egypt against us. They imagine that because we have occupied the country for eleven years, and have introduced certain valuable material reforms connected with the revenue, and because we have professed a great interest in the welfare of the 'fellahin,' and especially because we have raised the value of Egyptian bonds to par, therefore the people love us. It is the old argument which used to be brought forward in defence of the Austrian occupation of Venice and Lombardy. But Radicals at least must know that in Italy in 1848 it was absurdly untrue. And quite as absurdly is it now untrue in Egypt. We are not indeed *hated*, as the French were hated in the time of Kleber. Our soldiers have been fairly well-behaved. There has been little tampering with the wives and daughters of the land, and our civil officials have been generally upright in their personal dealings. But all but a very few of these are intensely *disliked*, on account of their race arrogance and their little sympathy with those they govern, and I am quite certain that if it could be put to the vote in any form, whether by a resolution of the Legislative Council or of the General Assembly, or by plébiscite, there would be but one voice, and that would be a heartfelt desire for their speediest departure. Moreover, it is quite necessary that I should say that the benefits of administration conferred by our intervention have been enormously exaggerated. For the last six years, and especially for the last three, in view of the coming General Election at home, and the possibility of a change of foreign policy, a great spurt has been put on by our Anglo-Egyptian officials to get certain reforms in hand, as their best argument for being allowed to remain in their present posts. (English official work in Egypt is light and pleasant, patriotic, and exceedingly well paid.) There has been at the same time an organised system of self-advertisement in the Press, of which Mr. Milner's book is the crowning example, and no stone of publicity has been left unturned to influence English opinion in favour of the belief that England is no longer acting merely as bailiff to the bondholders, but as the tutelary genius in a noble work of national reconstruction and reform. This, however, is not

at all the view taken of it by the Egyptians themselves. I, who live in Egypt half the year, and not in English society at Cairo, but in the country among the fellahin, and in close sympathy with the native mind of all classes, do not hesitate to affirm that, considering we have been now eleven years in the country, our budget of real valuable work, even in material things, is exceedingly meagre, while the harm we have done and are still doing, intellectually and morally, is incalculably greater. The only branch of the administration which our officials have made quite successful has been that of irrigation. Nobody in Egypt quarrels with the English engineers, or doubts the value of their services; nor does any one, however patriotic, dream of economising their well-earned pay.

The army reorganisation stands next. There is no doubt that this has been well done, but not to the extent of official boasting. Although the fellahin have been taught to drill and taught to fight, it is not true that they have been taught to love their trade or to love their English officers. The black regiments alone could be at all depended upon in this way, and they are not Egyptian. With regard to finance, it is true that Egyptian bonds now stand at par; but I venture to think that this is mainly due to the belief of investors that England intends to stay in Egypt, and that as long as she does so Egyptian credit is covered by English credit. The revenue has increased because the land of Egypt is wonderfully rich, the Nile seasons have been unusually good, and the people are wonderfully patient and industrious. But it is quite untrue, as people seem to fancy in England, that the charges on the land have been sensibly diminished. The land-tax stands exactly where it did in 1879, that is to say at about 1*l.* an acre. The corvée-abolition is no doubt a benefit to the villagers, but it is ludicrous of our officials to claim it as their special work. The agitation against it is as old in Egypt as Senior's time, while only last summer a corvée of 100,000 men was called out with many of the old abuses still unreformed. It is just one of those showy achievements which were left untouched by our officials until the thought of the General Election spurred them on. Lastly, in spite of 'conversions' and 'conventions,' the capital sum of Egypt's public debt has not only not been diminished, but has been increased under our sole management by some ten millions sterling. Egypt is not a day nearer her freedom from the bondholders than when our soldiers landed.

On the other side of the slate what have we? Nothing but a record of mistakes and neglects and culpable discouragements. The whole London Press and Parliament seems to have swallowed the astonishing fable of our having reformed Egyptian Justice. We have reformed it only in the sense of having turned it topsy-turvy. In 1884 we abrogated the old law, which was a good law and only wanted better administering, and which the people understood and

respected, and we introduced a hybrid monstrosity bred by I know not what male parent out of the Code Napoléon. This has upset the whole idea of legal right and wrong in the native mind, and has caused a general demoralisation among them which is noticeable in increased crime and an absolute distrust of law as having any connection with justice or fair dealing. The native courts have become a paradise of swindling rogues, lawyers, touts, and false witnesses. The judges do not understand the law themselves, nor are they any longer kept in check, as has always been the case even in the worst governed Eastern countries, by public opinion, which understood the right and the wrong of their decisions. No poor man—such at least is my experience—seems to have the smallest practical chance of getting justice from the courts, and to think any longer of the law as a possible remedy for wrong. Into this Augean stable, created by our own folly, Mr. Justice Scott was turned two years ago. He is an able and honest man and is doing his best. But to say that he has succeeded is premature, and it is at least a monstrous imposture to talk of our having ‘gifted Egypt with equal justice between a man and a man,’ which I think was Mr. Chamberlain’s fine phrase the other day. These reforms are almost all false money. Beyond them of positive ill, we have native education not only neglected but positively discouraged. The village schools are nearly all deserted, the mosques are falling to ruin, the Azhar University of Cairo, with its revenue of some 50,000*l.* a year, and which I remember twelve years ago full of life and healthy progressive thought, at least in part, has been thrown back wholly on the old scholastic lines of the middle ages. Mr. Milner jibes at it as a home of ignorant fanaticism. It has been our care to keep it such since Tel-el-Kebir. Everywhere in the villages, drink, re-established by our arms in 1882 and protected by our obstinate refusal to make terms with France and the other Powers for the independence of Egypt, advances like a sore. Lord Cromer issues edicts against it, but he has accomplished nothing. England’s moral position in Egypt is too unsound for her to find fault effectively with her neighbours. Every year adds to the sum of native degradation. Is it to be wondered at then if honest and good citizens are all on the side opposed to us? Is it to be wondered at if our boasted ‘blessings’ are not a little scoffed at?

This being, to the best of my knowledge, the true state of things, or, at any rate, the view universally taken of it by native opinion, we need not go to any very recondite cause to find a reason for Abbās’s mental enfranchisement from Lord Cromer’s authority. The history, however, of his open revolt is a little more complicated. It came about in this way: As soon as it became known in the inner circles of native political society that the Khedive had come over to the popular view, and that, unlike his father, he was a young man of strong character, who could be relied upon in a moment of difficulty

not to betray his country's cause through constitutional timidity or lack of purpose, a powerful combination was formed of all the elements most opposed to the British occupation, with the object of giving him the necessary support and advice in the battle which he was resolved on. The most powerful personages in this combination were Mukhtar Pasha, the Sultan's Commissioner, and Riaz Pasha, the leader of the new National Party. Mukhtar's position in Egypt is a far more important and influential one than our officials have ever been willing to admit. The Sultan's name, as I have already explained, has become one of wide moral authority in the country, and it would be impossible now for any political leader to leave out of account His Majesty's Commissioner in forming a National Party, while Mukhtar is individually a man of high dignity, liberal views, and much benevolence, with considerable experience of affairs European and Eastern. Riaz, on the other hand, is the representative of the old Egypto-Turkish party, whose tradition used to be one of opposition to Constantinople. On this ground he was, in former times, the chosen Minister of the Anglo-French Control, and till the other day he was looked upon with a favourable eye by Lord Cromer. He has a certain strength and independence of character which has won him respect even from those most opposed to him, as, for instance, the former adherents of Arabi; and his quarrel nearly two years ago with the British authorities has made him very popular. The new National Party have for some time past grouped themselves round him as their leader. He is certainly the statesman whose name is most widely known and commands the most influence of any now before the public. The combination, therefore, of these two made a position of considerable popular strength. A third important personage was Tigrane Pasha, a very able Armenian, once Lord Cromer's confidential native official, and well known in England, but who, like the rest of the world, has left the English interest, and gone over to the opposition. Lastly, there was M. de Reverseaux, the French Minister, who, seeing trouble for Lord Cromer in the coalition of so many popular forces, put in his oar, with results not altogether creditable to French diplomacy.

The opportunity of battle came with the illness of Mustafa Pasha Fehmy. It must be explained that, ever since the failure of the Drummond-Wolff Convention in 1887 and the adoption by Lord Salisbury of a policy of permanently occupying Egypt, Lord Cromer has worked steadily with the object of getting all the administrative departments, one after the other, into English hands. The most important politically of these departments is unquestionably the Ministry of the Interior, for it includes the control of the police, and with it of the whole executive authority, and it is always held by the Prime Minister himself. Riaz had resisted, as long as he was in office, the invasion of this department, for to admit it was to hand

over the fortress of self-government to the occupying force. Lord Cromer, however, with the weak concurrence of Tewfik, a few months before he died, effected a portion of his design. Riaz was dismissed, and in his place was appointed a man altogether pliant to Lord Cromer's will. This was Mustafa Pasha, an Algerian of fairly liberal ideas but colourless character, who had had place in many Ministries, and was even retained on account of his knowledge of French as Minister of Foreign Affairs in Arabi's Cabinet of 1882, only to desert it when the stress came. Under him was placed as native Under-Secretary Ahmed Pasha Shukri, still more a cipher, while the real executive power was vested in an Englishman, Colonel Settle, head of the police. This arrangement Abbas inherited with the rest of the furniture of government at his father's death, and Mustafa had remained Prime Minister, in spite of his growing unpopularity, through Lord Cromer's support. When, therefore, Mustafa fell ill in the early winter, it was resolved by the Khedive and his advisers that a successor should be given him of a different and stronger fibre, and that the process of English administrative absorption should be vigorously combated. Lord Cromer's idea was, on the contrary, still further to increase his hold of the executive, and when the question of a successor to Mustafa was being discussed, he offered the Khedive the choice of (this does not appear in the Blue-book) three other dummy officials to take the post of Prime Minister. These were Ahmed Shukri, already mentioned, Balig Pasha, a worthy man of liberal ideas, but a Cypriote, and as such regarded as a British subject, and Effet Pasha, a man of bad antecedents, protected by the British Agency because he betrayed the Arabists in 1882. He found the Khedive, however, set upon appointing Tigrane Pasha, a man of real capacity, but specially obnoxious to Lord Cromer from his having deserted the English camp and gone over to the opposition, and who also was the candidate desired by M. de Reverseaux. Abbas's predilection for Tigrane had, I believe, for its motive his own European education and the fact that Tigrane, a Christian Armenian, in education French, represented modern European ideas more than any other, and would have consequently been better able in some ways to cope with the situation. It was for this reason that Riaz, a pure Oriental and without French tendencies, was suggested when the others were refused, as an alternative by Lord Cromer. Lord Cromer also knew that personally there had been a long jealousy between the late Khedive Tewfik and Riaz, and he doubtless counted on a continuance of this feeling on the part of Abbas.

Mustafa, however, partially recovered, and with his convalescence Lord Cromer dropped the idea of appointing any new Minister at all. The actual order of things was in fact quite to his mind. With an invalid Prime Minister, unable to go to his office, and who would be obliged to leave Egypt for Europe in the summer, he would

have had some nine months of really absolute power, an arrangement which the Khedive, who really had the strongest of strong cases on his side, was determined to prevent. He was resolved that Mustafa should resign. An untoward incident for Lord Cromer decided Abbas's action. Mustafa being no longer able to attend to work, the nominal headship of the Ministry fell to his deputy, Ahmed Shukri, as I have said a mere cipher in the office, so that Colonel Settle lorded it there supreme. His overzeal in pushing on the assertion of English authority brought about the crisis. Towards the end of the year a circular order was issued from the Ministry to the Provincial Governors, signed not by Mustafa, nor even by Ahmed Shukri, but simply and baldly by Colonel Settle's English deputy, Captain Coles. This was a defiance of every form and observance of the Veiled Protectorate, and was taken up at once by the Native Press and denounced as an open assumption of English executive authority. Lord Cromer at once saw the mistake his subordinate had made, and disowned his action, but it was too late. The Khedive sent for Ahmed Shukri and gave him a plain piece of his mind, and then, after a few days of consultation with his friends, despatched his Secretary to Mustafa requesting him to resign. Mustafa replied that he could not do so without Lord Cromer's orders. The young Khedive, justly incensed and careless now whether Lord Cromer liked it or not, dismissed Mustafa off-hand, and named a new Ministry, informing it he would have once more appointed Tigrane; but Tigrane, a cautious Armenian, in doubt of the result, hung back, and Riaz, too, preferred to remain behind the scenes. Fakri Pasha, a Turk of the old school, of no special value and less influence, was therefore put forward to bear the brunt of any trouble there might be, and he was named Prime Minister, with Boutros, the head of the Coptic community, and Mazlum, of fellah origin, for colleagues, and Tigrane at the Ministry of Foreign Affairs.

The rest may be gathered vaguely from the Blue-book. When the dismissal of Mustafa was first made known to Lord Cromer, he seems to have regarded it as a schoolboy freak of the Khedive's, encouraged by French intrigue, but without force behind it of a popular kind. There is no question that M. de Reverseaux had promised Abbas his Government's support, and that the Khedive's advisers counted on it. I do not therefore blame Lord Cromer for the energy he displayed. I have no sympathy whatever with French policy in Egypt, which is purely selfish, and has but a feeble hold on native imagination. The French are distrusted at least as much as we are, and their only strong partisans are the European colonists. If, therefore, there had been nothing behind the Khedive more than a French prompting, Lord Cromer would have had an easy victory, for when it came to serious business the French Government was not prepared for extremities, and refused to make

good its representative's words. Where Lord Cromer went wrong was in his miscalculation of the temper of the Egyptians and of Abbas's youthful courage. Though deserted by M. de Reverseaux, Abbas refused to yield the principle of his right to name his Ministers, nor would he reinstate Mustafa. He declared that he did not care to be a puppet prince, and that he had sufficient means to live on as a private citizen, and would rather abdicate than be false to the duty he owed to his position and his responsibility towards his country. Lord Cromer threatened him with 'the consequences of his act,' but in the end had to submit to a compromise. Mustafa was abandoned by Lord Cromer, and Fakri by Abbas, and after taking counsel with Nubar Pasha and Riaz, the former of whom advised him to yield, the latter to stand firm, Abbas agreed to name Riaz instead of Fakri, retaining the rest of his new Cabinet intact. It was not a complete triumph for either side, and Lord Cromer was able to save his diplomatic dignity. But in substance the gain was all for Abbas; and so the entire native public at once interpreted it. Abbas became the hero of the national movement.¹

And so the matter for the moment ended. Lord Cromer's urgent appeal for a reinforcement of the British garrison marks his sense of the extent of his diplomatic failure. It was needed to save him from a position which had become unsafe and undignified. Abbas had suddenly won unbounded popularity, and it was discovered that the rank and file of the native troops could not be counted on to obey their British officers either against him or against the people.

Such is the history of the *coup d'état* of the 16th of January. Before, however, closing this paper, unwilling as I am to use hard expressions towards those of my countrymen who, with a mistaken patriotism, have been labouring, and are still labouring, officially to

¹ It must be understood—and this is a most important point of the situation -- that the Khedive categorically denies having made a promise to *follow* English advice. Lord Cromer records such a promise in his telegram (No. 25 of the Blue-book) in the following words: 'He (the Khedive) said his earnest wish was to entertain most friendly relations with British Government, and that for the future *he would be willing to follow advice of her Majesty's Government on all important matters.*' The latter half of this phrase (I have marked it in italics) the Khedive repudiates, and it would seem that our Government must be aware of this, for in the Queen's Speech, drawn up, it is said, by Mr. Gladstone's own hand, the sense is completely altered. There it stands: 'The Khedive has declared, in terms satisfactory to me, his intention to follow henceforward the established practice of previous consultation with my Government in political affairs and his desire to act in cordial co-operation with it.' With the latter statement of his words the Khedive finds little fault, but the other, he affirms, is quite inaccurate. It would be curious to know what Lord Cromer's written despatch (not the telegram) about the interview was, and whether he gives in it the actual words. The conversation was carried on in French between them, and the phrase 'would be willing to follow' is so purely English that it can hardly be the literal translation of any French original. Is there no Member of Parliament sufficiently interested in the truth, which may one day become a matter of extreme diplomatic importance, to ask for the despatch?

bring Egypt under the British flag, it is necessary that I should add a few plain words.

First, Lord Cromer, for the last six years—that is to say, since the failure of the Wolff Convention—has had no policy in this country but that of preparing the way for annexation. He knows that, for the present, annexation, or even the assertion of an open protectorate, is impossible, but he looks to a future day when one or other shall be possible, and meanwhile he is preparing the road. A member of the late Government, Sir E. Ashmead Bartlett, stated the case tersely and cynically five years ago. Speaking to a Tory audience at the time of the last fighting at Souakim, he put it thus:—

It is easy (he said) to criticise the Government recommending this or that policy, evacuation, or annexation, but those who are angry because the Government does not all at once proclaim a permanent occupation of Egypt or Souakim forget the engagements of the Government towards Egypt, Turkey, and the Great Powers. The annexation of Egypt would give Russia an example and pretext for seizing on some other province of the Ottoman Empire. France would not easily accept it. *Our true policy is to stay on quietly in Egypt, keeping on good terms with the Porte, and improving as hitherto the administration and material prosperity of the Egyptian people. When the opportunity comes, when some great European cataclysm happens, or when the Ottoman Empire breaks up, it will be easy and just for England to change occupation into possession.*

These are Lord Cromer's thoughts if not Lord Cromer's words.

Secondly, Lord Cromer is perfectly aware that he needs a moral standing-ground to make such a disingenuous policy possible with the British public. In that view he has spared no pains to convince his countrymen that England is doing good in Egypt, and that the Egyptians wish us to remain. Neither is true, as I have shown, in fact. A certain measure of material prosperity has indeed come about through the wonderful richness of the Egyptian soil, the industry of its people, the intelligence of the engineers, mostly Englishmen, who have had the management of the water supply. But beyond this there is very little real work done to boast of, while the moral wants of the people have been wholly neglected. They have not learned to love us. They do not appreciate our benefits. They wish us gone.

Thirdly, Lord Cromer says we are in Egypt to repress fanaticism, to protect Egypt against the Mahdists, against the Sultan, against internal disorder. The Mahdists are no longer a real danger to Egypt. The Egyptian forces, whether officered or not by Englishmen, would be quite sufficient to protect the frontier against the annual raiders, and it would be easy to restore peace on it but for the irritation caused there by our presence. The Sultan has no design inimical to Egypt's liberty. The Egyptians do not fear him. Internally, Egypt is absolutely tranquil. The Egyptians are not fanatical. No Christian in Egypt would be afraid to remain should we withdraw. If Lord Cromer asserts the contrary, he must know little of the Egyptian mind.

Fourthly, French aggression need not be feared on our withdrawal as long as Egypt remains politically part of the Ottoman Empire. There is no wish in Egypt for French intervention more than for English intervention. A renewal of the Wolff Convention would amply provide against all contingent danger on that side.

Fifthly, British chauvinism, perhaps even British interest, requires a guarantee that the Canal route to India should remain in British hands. Is it necessary for this object that all Egypt should be occupied? I propose as a compromise that, in treating for an evacuation, some point should be retained, say the town of Suez, for an English garrison. Suez stands isolated in the desert at the Canal's mouth. Its occupation by England would entail no responsibility of government in Egypt proper, more than the occupation of Aden entails it in Arabia. Egypt's Red Sea port will soon be Kosseyr. It could afford to dispense with Suez.

Sixthly. The Bondholders? Since the Egyptians do not want us, and we do not need Egypt proper to protect our route to India, are we not still really in occupation there on the Bondholders' account? Doubtless we are, and doubtless, too, the bonds would fall if we evacuated. But that there would be any real disaster to Egyptian finance need not, I think, be apprehended. If Turkey has emerged from her embarrassments, how much more easily could Egypt be kept free from new ones? After all, the financial arrangements are international ones, and hold good whether we remain in Egypt or not. It is surely unwise of us to stay on there merely to keep the bonds at an unnatural par.

Lastly, let the Liberal Party in England make no mistake this time about Egypt as it did in 1882. Radicals may take my word for it, the ideas of patriotism, of nationality, of political independence are as strong with the Egyptians now as then, nay far stronger. Lord Cromer has, indeed, managed to repress all direct political progress in the country. He has the police of Cairo in his hands. There are neither indignation meetings possible nor demonstrations, nor any of the public means which we in England possess of showing the popular will. He has hitherto succeeded in making void also Lord Dufferin's promise of free institutions and constitutional enlightenment. Nevertheless he has not been able to prevent the growth of Egyptian patriotic opinion altogether. It has been saved by the Vernacular Press.² This has instructed and is instructing the

² The existence of a Native Press in Egypt, with considerable liberty, may seem in contradiction to what I have asserted as to the repressive policy of our Government here. In reality it is not so. For several years after Lord Cromer came to Egypt there was no true Native Press; indeed, three Egyptians could not have talked politics at the corner of a street without danger of arrest. But Lord Cromer found that it was impossible to prevent newspapers being printed in Arabic and edited by Syrian Christians enjoying French protection. Mr. Milner (himself once a London sub-editor) is pathetic on this point! It was fortunate, however, for Egypt

people. Newspapers are read now in every large village of the Nile, and the political situation is understood in regions where formerly all was darkness. The young Khedive is by education and ideas a European, just as much as any of us. He has the desire, since England has done nothing to help his people on the intellectual side, to help them to ways of freer government himself. There is a strong and growing desire for some form of constitutional government. Abbas sees no reason why Lord Cromer should have put Lord Dufferin's charter into the waste-paper basket; and he intends that it should be taken out and made of service to his country. All the Egyptian statesmen, even the old-fashioned ones, have come round to this idea, for they know that except through enlightened forms of government there is no way of escape from the net of foreign officialdom which is closing in upon them. The Khedive has the power, and he has, I feel sure, the will, to begin an intellectual and political reform in the country, which the English officials must not be allowed to stop. Lord Cromer's policy of eleven years has been to keep the Egyptians ignorant and dumb. We shall, I hope, soon hear them talk loud enough; and I am quite sure that their very first utterance will be in condemnation of the selfish and illiberal system we have been pursuing towards them and in desire for our hastened departure. If the Liberal Party at home backs Lord Cromer now, as they backed Sir Edward Malet in 1882, it will be to their eternal disgrace. They may boast as they will that they are giving liberty to Ireland, but history will not forget that they have betrayed this other trust, and they will justify all the scoffing of the nations jealous of English renown, which declare that England's high moral precept is only a sham, and her practice the most selfish of all the selfish nations of the civilised world.

WILFRID SCAWEN BLUNT.

Sheykh Obeyd, Cairo: March 10, 1893.

in this one instance that foreigners had this privilege. As the Arabic papers then published were violently anti-English and could not be suppressed, Lord Cromer decided that it was useless to prevent a true Native Press. Therefore it was allowed to be established. At present there are two Arabic papers written and published by Egyptians, the *Moayad* (Mohammedan) and the *Wataw* (Coptic). They are both strongly national, as are the papers edited by French-protected subjects. One vernacular paper only takes a modified English tone. It is edited by three Syrian Christians, who are subsidised indirectly by the Anglo-Egyptian War and Police Departments. Native officials who desire promotion are advised to take it in, but it is very little read by anyone else. Even the *Mokattam*, in the general chorus of opinion against English aggression, dares not at present take a quite open line.

*THE LIVES AND LOVES OF NORTH
AMERICAN BIRDS*¹

THE more intimately we become acquainted with that vast realm the animal kingdom, the more we are amazed and delighted by the wonderful variety and beauty of its countless elements; and at the same time, amidst the infinite diversity of form, structure, and modes of life which distinguish the several divisions of that kingdom, it is very difficult, if not impossible, to determine which of them offers to the student material at once the most interesting and attractive. Probably if the 'general reader' were appealed to for a decision, and the subject were put to the vote of a thousand of such, there would be a large majority in favour of that class of vertebrata consisting of birds. The present writer would certainly form one of that majority; and as the Smithsonian Institution has recently presented to the public an especially valuable and instructive volume on the *Life Histories of North American Birds*, he gladly avails himself of it to present to his readers a few of the most salient and impressive facts observable in the life and loves of these birds.

Emerson says 'all mankind loves a lover,' and probably no phase in the lives of the birds to which we are about to advert is at once so curious, so interesting, and so full of instruction concerning their nature and instincts, and especially so abounding with evidence of the large amount of human nature in them, as is that of their courtship and family life.

There are no less than thirty-eight kinds of gallinaceous birds inhabiting North America, and though the habits of the different species, including, of course, the several ways in which the males comport themselves during their courtship, present a general resemblance, they also present considerable differences. In the very early spring—the latter part of February, often in northern latitudes before the snow has disappeared—the cock birds begin to utter their

¹ *Life Histories of North American Birds, with special reference to their Breeding, Habits, and Eggs.* With twelve lithographic plates. By Charles Bendire, Captain United States Army (retired), Honorary Curator of the Department of Oölogy, United States National Museum, Member of the American Ornithologists' Union. Washington, 1892.

love calls, and their plumage becomes gradually developed into great fulness and beauty. The males are generally furnished with two very peculiar appendages called air sacs—peculiar in respect both to their appearance and function. There is one, resembling the half of an orange, on each side of the upper part of the neck. These sacs are connected with the air passages of the lungs, and can be distended with air at the will of the bird. Above these sacs on either side, just where the head joins the neck, are a few feathers which ordinarily lie backward on the neck, but which, when the bird is excited, he can turn straight forward.

The cock's love calls are soon followed by demonstrations of a more decisive and often very remarkable character.* These are chiefly of three kinds, named respectively 'strutting,' 'drumming,' and 'dancing.' Strutting may be described as a sort of promenade during which the cock birds display themselves in their fresh spring plumage to the hens in order to excite their admiration and love. Strutting begins usually in March. The attitude and conduct of the strutter during his performance are very striking. His tail becomes almost erect, his wings are slightly raised from the body and a little drooped, the head is elevated, the feathers of the head and throat are raised, and the red comb over each eye is enlarged until the two nearly meet over the top of the head. While the bird is strutting the expanded tail is moved from side to side. The two centre feathers do not move, but each side expands and contracts alternately with each step as the bird walks. This movement of the tail produces a peculiar rustling like that of silk, and his attitude gives him a very dignified and even conceited air. He tries to attract attention in every possible way—by flying from the ground upon a perch and back again, making all the noise he can in doing so. Often, seemingly to increase the noise, he thumps some hard substance with his bill. Sometimes he sits with his breast nearly touching the earth, his feathers erect; meanwhile he makes a peculiar nodding and circular motion of the head from side to side, and remains in this position two or three minutes at a time. He is a most beautiful bird, and, not unlike some human beauties, shows by some of his actions that he is perfectly well aware of the fact.

In his account of Gambell's partridge, Mr. Cobb, of Albuquerque, remarks—

It is a pleasing and interesting sight to watch the male courting his mate, uttering at the same time low cooing notes, and strutting around the coy female in the most stately manner possible, bowing his head and making his obeisance to her. While a handsome bird at all times, he certainly looks his best during this love-making period.*

The entertainment called drumming is seldom performed alone, but, associated with strutting, is commonly relied on by the cock bird to induce the hen, whose affection he is intent on gaining to accept his proposals.

The curious antics of the spruce partridge are thus described by an old backwoodsman, Mr. James Langley :—

After strutting back and forth for a few minutes, the male flew straight up, as high as the surrounding trees, about fourteen feet; there he remained stationary an instant, and while maintaining himself in the air did the drumming with the wings, and meanwhile he dropped down slowly to the spot from which he started. He repeated the performance over and over again.

The noise produced by the drumming is said to resemble that of distant thunder. Another observer, referring to the Canadian grouse, says :—

The cock performs its drumming upon the trunk of a standing tree of rather small size, preferably one that is inclined from the perpendicular, and in the following manner: commencing near the base of the tree selected, the bird flutters upwards with somewhat slow progress, but rapidly beating wings, which produce the drumming sound. Having then ascended fifteen or twenty feet, it glides quietly on wing to the ground and repeats the manoeuvre. Favourite places are resorted to habitually, and these 'drumming-trees' are well known to observant woodsmen. I have seen one that was so well worn upon the bark as to lead to the belief that it had been used for this purpose for many years.

The drumming-place is resorted to by the male from year to year. It may be a log, a rock, an old stump, or, when such are not available, a small hillock is made to answer the purpose equally well. The drumming of the ruffed grouse is described by Mr. Manly Hardy, of Brewer, Maine, as follows :—

When about to drum he erects his neck feathers, spreads his tail; and with drooping wings steps with a jerking motion along the log for some distance each way from his drumming-place, walking back and forth several times and looking sharply in every direction; then, standing crosswise, he stretches himself to his fullest height, and delivers the blows with his wings fully upon his sides, his wings being several inches clear from the log. After drumming he settles quietly down into a sitting posture, and remains listening for five or ten minutes, when, if no cause for alarm is discovered, he repeats the process.

'Drumming' cannot be considered a love note exclusively, for, as remarked by Captain Bendire, it may be heard in almost every month of the year, and sometimes in the night as well as in the day time; yet it must undoubtedly have some attraction for the hen. It may be performed as a sign of bodily vigour and to notify her of his whereabouts. Occasionally it causes a jealous rival to put in an appearance also; when a rough and tumble fight ensues. The hen is seldom seen near the drumming-place.

The drumming of the ruffed grouse has often been described, and many different theories have been advanced as to how the sound is produced. It is generally conceded now by most naturalists, including such well-known ornithologists as Brewster, Merriam, and Henshaw, that the sound is produced by the outspread wings of the birds being brought suddenly downward against the air without striking anything.

Adverting to the willow ptarmigan, whose courting performance

resembles somewhat that of drumming, Mr. M. L. Turner, in his paper on the birds of Labrador and Ungava, says—

Early in April a male selects a favourite tract of territory for the location of the nest, and endeavours to induce a female to resort to that place. He usually selects the highest portion of the tract, whence he launches into the air, uttering a barking sound of nearly a dozen separate notes; thence sails or flutters in a circle to alight at the place whence he started, or to alight on another high place, from whence he repeats the act while flying to his former place. Immediately on alighting, he utters several times a sound like the Indian word 'chu-xwan' (what is it?), and in the course of a few minutes again launches into the air. This performance continues until nearly eleven o'clock, and, after remaining quiet until about three o'clock, he resumes it, though with less vigour than in the morning. In the course of a few days a female may be found in the vicinity. The actions of the male are then redoubled, and woe be to any bird of his kind which attempts even to cross his chosen locality.

As human beings, by meeting at balls and parties, very often take the preliminary step in the direction of courtship, so many of the birds in question hold their meetings seemingly for the same reason and with like results. The quail, generally known as the 'prairie chicken,' is especially remarkable in this respect. In the early part of each year a number of these birds hold what may be called their spring assemblies, at which are combined dancing promenades, 'strutting,' and that peculiar kind of music called 'drumming,' already mentioned.

After the disappearance of the snow, and the coming of the warmer weather, the prairie chickens (sharp-tailed grouse) meet every morning at grey dawn in companies of from six to twenty, on some selected hillock or knoll, and indulge in what is called 'the dance.' This performance is a very amusing spectacle. At first the birds stand about in ordinary attitudes, resembling people at a ball before the music begins, when suddenly one of the cocks lowers his head, spreads out his wings nearly horizontally and his tail perpendicularly, distends his air sacs and erects his feathers, then rushes across the 'floor,' taking the shortest of steps, but stamping his feet so hard and so rapidly that the sound is like that of the kettle-drum; at the same time he utters a sort of bubbling crow, which seems to come from his air sacs, beats the air with his wings, and vibrates his tail, so that he produces a loud, rustling noise, and thus becomes a really astonishing spectacle. Soon after one commences all the cocks join in rattling, stamping, drumming, crowing, and dancing together furiously; louder and louder the noise, faster and faster the dance becomes, until at last they madly whirl about, leaping over each other in excitement. After a brief spell the energy of the dancers begins to abate, and shortly afterwards they cease, and stand or move about very quietly, until they are again started by one of their number leading off, as human dancers are observed to do during the intervals of rest between their performances.

The whole operation reminds the looker-on so strongly of a Cree dance as to suggest the possibility of its being the prototype of the Indian exercise. The space occupied by the dancers is from fifty to a hundred feet across, and as it is returned to year after year the grass is usually worn off, and the ground trampled down hard and smooth. 'Dancing' is indulged in at any time of the morning or evening in May, but it is usually at its height before sunrise.

The meetings of the sage grouse begin early in March, and sometimes in the latter part of February—in fact, long before the snow has disappeared. While not at any time what might be called a graceful bird when on the ground, the sage cock during this season, when actively engaged in his courtship, is unquestionably a most peculiar-looking creature. At one of the March meetings of sage grouse the performance of a single cock while paying court to several hens near him was carefully observed, and is thus described:—

His large pale yellow air sacs were fully inflated, and not only expanded forward, but apparently upward as well, rising at least an inch above his head, which consequently, being scarcely noticeable, gives the bird an exceedingly comical appearance. He looks decidedly top-heavy and ready to topple over at the slightest provocation. The few long spiny feathers along the edges of the air sacs stand straight out, and the greyish white of the upper parts show in strong contrast with the black of the breast. His tail is spread out fan-like, at right angles from the body, and is moved from side to side with a slow quivering movement. The wings are trailed on the ground. While in this position he moves around with short, stately, and hesitating steps, slowly and daintily, evidently highly satisfied with his performance, uttering at the same time low, grunting, guttural sounds, somewhat similar to the purring of a cat when pleased, only louder. This performance is kept up for some ten minutes at a time.

The cocks of the pinnated grouse, which have similar morning assemblies, carry on their courting in a fashion very like to that generally adopted by the males of most other grouse, and, therefore, make great use of their ornaments, the air sacs, which they display to the best advantage before the hens at these love meetings.

Then it is that the proud cocks, in order to complete their triumph, rush forward at their best speed for two or three rods through the midst of the hens, pouring out as they go a booming noise, almost a hoarse roar, only more subdued, which may be heard for at least two miles in the still morning air. This heavy booming sound is by no means harsh or unpleasant; on the contrary, it is soft and even, harmonious. When standing in the open prairie at early dawn, listening to hundreds of different voices pitched in different keys, coming from every direction and from various distances, the listener is rather soothed than excited. If this sound is heavier than the deep key-notes of a large organ, it is much softer, though vastly more powerful, and may be heard at a much greater distance. One who has ever heard such a concert can never after mistake or forget it.

Every few minutes this display is repeated. Not only one, but often more than twenty cocks may be seen going through this remarkable and comical performance at one and the same time, when, however, they seem careful not to run against each other, for their passionate excitement has not yet reached the fighting point. After a little while the hen birds begin to show an interest in the proceedings by moving about quickly a few yards at a time, and then standing still a short time. When these actions are continued by a large number of birds simultaneously, their performance is very striking, and the spectator may easily imagine that the birds are moving to the measure of music.

The party breaks up when the sun is half an hour high, to be repeated the next morning, and every morning for a week, before all make satisfactory matches.

Towards the latter part, more especially, of the love season, fighting takes place among the cocks. Two may have fallen in love with the same hen, whose modesty prevents her from choosing between them, and hence she leaves them to fight it out. But, in fact, throughout the mating season the males fight each other more or less persistently, and the victor valiantly defends his chosen home against intrusion. The males of the ptarmigan, or rock grouse, the breeding range of which includes both shores of Baffin Bay, Davis Strait, and Hudson Strait, 'engage in most desperate battles; the engagement lasts for hours or until one is utterly exhausted, the feathers of the head, neck, and breast strewing the ground.' Referring to the white-tailed ptarmigan, Mr. Evans Lewis, who found a nest of this bird in the vicinity of the Chicago lakes, Colorado, at an altitude of over 12,000 feet, says, 'Should two males meet they immediately commence fighting, and continue the contest till one finally drives the other away.'

Sometimes a pursued bird has recourse to the ruse of leading its pursuer off a great distance and then suddenly flying back to the female, which sits or feeds as unconcerned as it is possible for a bird to be. She acts thoroughly as a heartless coquette while he is a passionately devoted lover. In short, during nearly the whole pairing time there is fighting for the favour of the coveted females by the males until they are suitably matched and the nesting season arrives.

During the nesting season even the *females* of the Canada grouse, at all events, are very quarrelsome, and at this time, if they are confined in an enclosure, more than two or three cannot be kept in the same pen; in July they may be all turned together again, and they will agree very well until the following March.

Successful courtship is quickly followed by serious engagements, and, these being effected, the interval between them and marriage is very brief, and the paired birds go off into the seclusion of the woods.

or prairies. They soon, however, reappear, evincing a consciousness of new responsibilities, and intent on discharging the new duties the presentiment of which nature is rapidly awakening. As the wedded pairs of the highest form of mammalia prepare for the family life which they anticipate by the establishment of a home, so their winged prototypes, exemplifying the truth that 'coming events cast their shadows before,' prepare suitable dwelling-places for the reception and development of expected, but as yet unseen, strangers, the advent of which is prophesied by mysterious intuitions, the nature and source of which we may never know.

The vast family of gallinaceous birds give, as a general rule, but scant attention to the construction of their nests, which usually are placed on the ground; but referring to the Californian partridge, Mr. W. E. Bryant, while recognising that it is essentially a ground-building species, states that several cases have come under his notice of its nesting in trees, upon the upright end of a broken or decayed limb, or at the intersection of two large branches. A few years ago a brood was hatched in, and safely conducted away from, a vine-covered trellis at the front door of a popular seminary! How the parents managed to get the tender young down to the ground is not known.

Ordinarily the nest consists of a saucer-shaped cavity, more or less deep, but generally shallow. It is lined with grasses or with bits of grain stubble, to which, not unfrequently, are superadded a few feathers, plucked, probably, by the birds from themselves. The nest is well hidden, arched over naturally by overhanging vines, bushes, or weeds, and usually open on one side. Occasionally a nest is arched over artificially, but in most cases where there is no natural cover existing no dome is attempted. Sometimes the male bird constitutes himself the builder; in 1887 Judge John Clark, of Saybrook, Connecticut, wrote to Captain Bendire—

I found a male Bob White building a nest in a little patch of dewberry vines. He was busy carrying in the grass and weaving a roof, as well as whistling at his work. The dome was very expertly fashioned, and fitted into its place without changing the surroundings, so that I believe I should never have observed it had he kept quiet.

The cock mourning dove seems to give no assistance in nest-building, but leaves his mate to do all the work; he merely looks on and coos during its performance.

Quickly after the nest is completed the hen begins to deposit her eggs; usually she increases their number by adding one every other day until from ten to fifteen occupy the nest. Then succeeds her duty of incubation, which lasts about three weeks. During this trying period the attentions and devotion of her mate are in many cases very remarkable; as are those of the cock ptarmigan (Reinhardt's), for example, which will rather die than forsake his mate's side, and

often places himself between the hunter and her, uttering notes of warning for her to escape while attention is drawn to him, who is more conspicuous.

The appearance of the plumage of the sitting hens of the quail family generally harmonises so wonderfully with the appearance of the surrounding vegetation that any one passing quite near them is unlikely to see them. In many cases travellers approach them so closely as to be in danger of stepping upon them before they are discovered. Mr. A. W. Anthony, when writing to Captain Bendire, observes, 'Although devoid of protection from bush or shrub, so nearly does the sitting bird resemble the grey boulders which surround her on every side that the discovery of the nest is due largely to accident.' When the bird is incubating it is nearly impossible to flush her, or so to frighten her as to make her fly from her nest. 'Twice have I escaped stepping upon a sitting ptarmigan by only an inch or so,' writes one observer, 'and once I reined in my horse at a time when another step would have crushed out the life of a brood of nine chicks but an hour or so from the egg.'

When the young are with the parents they rely upon their colour to hide themselves among the nearly similar vegetation from which they procure their food. They seem to know at once whether or not they are seen: if not, they sit absolutely still and thus aid in escaping detection. Captain W. L. Carpenter, United States Army, reports as follows:—

I was standing alongside a sage bush, watching butterflies, several times looking down carelessly without seeing anything unusual, when, happening again to glance at the foot of the bush in the very place before observed, I saw the winking of an eye. Looking more intently, I discovered a greyish mass, blending perfectly with the colour of the bush, which outlined itself into the form of a sage-hen not two feet from my foot. She certainly would have been overlooked, had not the movement of her eyelids attracted my attention.

Maternal solicitude is strikingly evinced by the grouse. A traveller with his dog Rock suddenly came on a nest of the sooty grouse within three feet of him, containing two chicks and seven eggs on the point of hatching.

It was as touching a sight (he wrote) as I have ever seen; the poor bird, although scared nearly to death, with every feather pressed close to her body, and fairly within reach of the dog, still persisted in trying to hide her treasures, and her tender brown eyes looked entreatingly on us rude intruders; and if eyes can speak hers certainly pleaded most eloquently for mercy. She let me almost touch her before she fluttered off her nest, feigning lameness, and disappeared in the undergrowth. . . . I vacated the vicinity and took up a position some fifty yards in an opposite direction from that the bird had taken, to watch further proceedings. The grass was so short that it did not hide the bird, which, after waiting perhaps ten minutes, came slowly creeping and crouching towards the nest, and covered the eggs again. I did not disturb her further.

Several examples of co-operative incubation have been recorded—

two hens making use of the same nest; and the way the Canada grouse will steal eggs from one another would do credit to a London pickpocket. Two hens had their nest near together—perhaps two feet apart—and as each had laid every other day one nest would be vacant while the other would be occupied. The hen that laid last would not go away until she had stolen the nest egg from the other nest and placed it in her own. A hen was once seen to attempt to steal an egg from another nest that was twenty feet away. She worked persistently at it for half an hour or more, but did not succeed in moving the coveted egg more than about eight feet—the way being uphill. The egg so frequently got away from her and rolled back a foot or more each time that at last she got disgusted and gave up the task.

On going to the pen one evening (says the writer who mentions the fact just cited) I found one of the hens on the nest, and I knew she was beginning to sit, as all the others had gone to roost. Slipping my hand under her, I found three eggs—the nest egg, the one just laid, and the one stolen from the other nest. I picked two of them up and held them before her, when she all at once placed her bill over the one I held between my thumb and forefinger and tried to pull it out of my hand. I did not let her have it, however, and she immediately stepped upon the side of the nest, and placing her bill over the remaining egg, drew it out of the nest and pushed it back out of sight, as much as to say, ‘You have two, and that is all you can have.’ I must confess that it was with great reluctance that I took these eggs from her, she pleaded so hard for them.

The young are able to run about almost as soon as hatched, and sometimes one of them may be seen out of the nest with a part of its shell adherent to its back. The instinctive impulse of the young chicks when in presence of danger to hide themselves instantly is very remarkable. No lesson in this subject by the mother to her children is needed; when emerging from the egg they already know how to protect themselves from danger by hiding under leaves or tufts of grass, beneath which they lie close to the ground until the danger is past. They are wonderfully wary, and, what is especially astonishing, they understand at once the mother’s note of warning when danger threatens and quickly render themselves invisible; they understand equally well the significance of the sounds uttered by the mother when she calls them together again. When alarmed by a hawk sailing overhead they prudently avoid trusting themselves to the concealment afforded by leaves or grass, but rush for protection beneath their mother’s wings. Their knowledge how to save themselves from threatening dangers is undoubtedly intuitive, or inherited from preceding generations; but when we ask, How did that knowledge primarily originate? we get no response; reason cannot tell us, and we are left in the vast region of mystery without even the smallest clue to the solution of the problem. We are easily tempted to ask questions of this kind respecting animals the lives and habits of which we may happen to study with special interest; but, indeed, the instinctive actions of animals, generally, are so marvellous and

so inexplicable that their causative agency is in each case so shrouded in impenetrable mystery as to baffle our utmost efforts to discover its real nature and genesis.

The male Bob White is especially attentive to his partner, and sometimes even 'takes the whole duty of incubation upon himself should some accident befall the female, which unfortunately happens only too often.' This fact is attested by Dr. William C. Avery, of Greensborough, Alabama, who wrote to Captain Bendire as follows:—

In June 1886, while on a visit to Dr. J. M. Pickett, of Cedarville, Alabama, this gentleman informed me of having seen a male Bob White incubating; he had visited the nest at various times during the day, and on different days, and always found the male on the nest. Wishing to be an eye-witness of so interesting a phenomenon, I rode several miles with the Doctor to see this male Bob White on his nest. There we found him faithfully warming his treasures, but not into life; the eggs were never hatched. Dr. Pickett went frequently to the place, until long after the period of incubation had elapsed; and finding that the eggs would not hatch, he destroyed them, to prevent the useless occupation of the nest by the male. The female had probably been dead some hours, and the eggs were cold before the male took the nest; hence they did not hatch.

Referring to this interesting statement, Captain Bendire remarks—

The fact that the male Bob White takes occasionally the entire duties of incubation on himself, should the female be killed, appears not to be an unusual occurrence with this species, at least two similar instances having come under the observation of other parties.

The solicitude of the male Bob White is exemplified by his proceedings described in the following letter by Mr. W. M. Wolfe, of Kearney, Nebraska, addressed to Captain Bendire:—

Here the male takes the young to the wheat fields and stubble early in July; at first they return to the bush for the night, but as soon as harvesting fairly commences they spend all their time in the fields, huddling together at night in the open. Here they form a circle with their heads out, and crowd close together. The male remains outside the ring and close at hand.

The male of the scaled partridge evinces an especially delicate attention to his spouse during the hatching time. The mating season begins sometimes as early as March, and after the female commences laying, generally about six weeks later, the male at about sundown every fine evening mounts a convenient bush or rock and calls his mate, who approaches noiselessly, and they disappear together. The conduct of the Californian partridge is essentially the same. According to Mr. W. Otto Emerson, of Haywards, California, the male makes his appearance 'twice a day near the nesting site, first at break of day, when he gives his call note, "kuck-ku, kuck-ku;" the female then comes off an hour, and the same is repeated at dusk. And Mr. C. A. Allen, of Nicasia, Maria County, California, says—

While the female is incubating the male usually mounts some old stump, a dead limb, or fence post in the vicinity of the nest, and every few seconds utters a long-drawn note not unlike 'whaa-whaa.' . . . During incubation the male of the valley partridge is very attentive, usually taking an elevated position near the

nest, where, with crest erect and tail spread, he bids defiance to all intruders, uttering an oft-repeated 'whew-whew-whew.' When the brooding hen leaves her nest to be fed, should he be absent from the post of duty, her cry of 'tobacco, tobacco,' very plainly given, brings him up at once.

When occasionally the plumed partridge has two broods during the season, the male cares for the first one while the female is busy hatching the second.

In 1883 (says Mr. Allen) I met with a brood of young birds in Oregon. The male who had charge of them performed the usual tactics of feigning lameness, and tried his very best to draw my attention away from the young; and, seeing I paid no attention to him, showed a great deal of distress. The young scattered promptly in all directions, and the majority were most effectually hidden in an instant.

The male passenger pigeon as well as the band-tailed and red-billed pigeon co-operate in the duty of incubation, and do so in respect to time with remarkable regularity and punctuality. The hen occupies the nest from about two o'clock in the afternoon until nine or ten the following morning; the cock undertakes the duty during the intervening period.

The change is made with great regularity as to time, all the males being on the nest by 10 A.M. . . . The sitting bird does not leave the nest until the bill of the incoming mate nearly touches its tail, the former slipping off as the latter takes its place. The old birds never feed in or near the nesting-place, but leave all the beech-nuts, acorns, &c., there for their young. Many of them go a hundred miles each day for food.

In an account of the breeding of the wild pigeon in confinement Mr. F. J. Thompson, having charge of the Zoological Gardens at Cincinnati, mentions the co-operation of the cock in preparing the nest.

During the spring of 1887 the Society purchased three pairs of trapped birds, which were placed in one of the outer aviaries. Early in March 1878 I noticed that they were mating, and procuring some twigs I wove three rough platforms and fastened them up in convenient places, at the same time throwing a further supply of building material on the floor. Within twenty-four hours two of the platforms were selected, the male carrying the material, whilst the female busied herself in placing it.

The cock mourning dove pays devoted court to his mate at all times, and there are grounds for the belief that many couples remain paired throughout the year, as single pairs may be seen in winter as well as summer; indeed, it is not improbable that they remain paired for life, as, in the opinion of competent observers, the Mexican ground doves do.

The young of the passenger pigeon are forced out of their nests by their parents as soon as they are strong enough to bear the expulsion. The cock generally undertakes this, presumably painful, duty. He pushes the young off the nest. 'The latter struggles and squeals precisely like a tame squab, but is finally crowded out along the branch, and after further feeble resistance flutters down to the ground.'

I am sorry to mention, to the disgrace of the male Mexican turkeys, that they not only leave their mates to attend exclusively to the duties of incubation, giving no assistance whatever, but that, according to trustworthy observations, 'they often destroy the eggs and tender young.' This eccentric and unnatural conduct is, perhaps, explicable on the charitable supposition that the Mexican turkeys of both sexes suffer from an hereditarily transmissible mental disorder, specially manifested in the male by the criminal act just mentioned; for evidently the brains of both sexes are easily turned. 'I have been told,' writes Mr. Herbert Brown to Captain Bendire, 'that coyotes [prairie wolves] catch these turkeys by running in circles under their roosting-trees, till the birds get dizzy with watching them and fall down. I never saw it done, but have been assured that it is a fact.'

One of the most remarkable and astonishing practices of the members of the grouse family is that of feigning lameness in order to lure the attention of an enemy or intruder from the nest or young brood when in danger. Mention has already been made of a cock bird which had charge of a brood of chickens, and which, being disturbed by the approach of a gentleman, feigned lameness, and 'tried his very best' to draw the intruder's attention away from the young. Such a proceeding by the male parent is, we believe, comparatively rare; but the female adopts it on all, or almost all, occasions of apparent danger. If, when she is on the nest, a supposed enemy approaches, she starts away, and by her surprising tactics generally succeeds in baffling him completely. Mr. Ernest E. Thompson, of Toronto, Canada, in his description of the Canadian ruffed grouse, observes:—

Every field man must be acquainted with the simulation of lameness, by which many birds decoy, or try to decoy, intruders from their nests. This is an invariable device of the partridge, and I have no doubt that it is quite successful with the natural foes of the bird; indeed, it is often so with man. A dog, as I have often seen, is certain to be misled and duped, and there is little doubt that a minx, skunk, racoon, fox, coyote, or wolf would fare no better. Imagine the effect of a bird's tactics on a prowling fox; he has scented her as she sits, he is almost upon her, but she has been watching him, and suddenly, with a loud 'whirr,' she springs up and tumbles a few yards before him. The suddenness and noise with which the bird appears causes the fox to be totally carried away; he forgets all his former experience, he never thinks of the eggs, his mind is filled with the thoughts of the wounded bird almost within his reach; a few more bounds and his meal will be secured. So he springs and springs, and very nearly catches her, and in his excitement he is led on and away till finally the bird flies off, leaving him a quarter of a mile or more from the nest. If, instead of eggs, the partridge has chicks, she does not await the coming of the enemy, but runs to meet and mislead him ere yet he is in the neighbourhood of the brood; she then leads him far away, and, returning by a circuitous route, gathers her young together again by her clucking.

Mr. Manly Hardy states that if the young are disturbed when only a few days old,

the hen immediately flies at the intruder, making a loud noise, often striking him in the face or breast. . . . She throws herself on her breast and kicks herself along with her feet, aided by her spread wings, making a loud squealing noise. She goes just fast enough so that the pursuer cannot get his hand on her, recovering, in a rod or two, to seem only broken-winged, and a distance further on suddenly darting off. If one keeps quiet, in a short time she returns to the vicinity, and calls her chicks, who come out of their hiding-places and rejoin her.

If the female willow ptarmigan be approached,

she crouches to the ground amongst her brood, and if she sees it impossible to escape notice she rolls and tumbles away as though mortally injured, and thus tries to lead one from her chicks.

In feigning lameness or other bodily injury when apprehensive of danger the American pigeons resemble the grouse. Referring to the red-billed pigeon, an observer of it writes—

It was not until I had approached within arm's length of her nest that the bird arose, and, tumbling heavily into the bushes, fluttered away over the ground in capital feint of injury, in order to attract attention away from her nest,

Concerning the mourning dove, it is stated that

if the sitting bird be flushed she will tumble from the nest with piteous cries and in a very dilapidated condition.

The ground dove displays an essentially similar characteristic. Dr. W. L. Ralph writes—

When one is driven from a nest containing eggs it will drop to the ground as if shot, and will then flutter around as if wounded, to try to draw the person disturbing it away from the nest, but, whether it succeeds or not, it will soon fly off. When a nest contains young, however, the bird will become almost frantic with anxiety, and will tumble around until it appears to be nearly exhausted. I have often refrained from taking nests that I have wanted on account of the evident distress of the parent birds.

All life—indeed, all nature—is a mystery; but some facts of life impress the observer as being especially mysterious and wonderful, and the facts just described seem to be pre-eminently of that class. A bird that will pretend to be lame, that will pretend that it is otherwise suffering some grave bodily injury, that being scented as she sits by a fox which is almost upon her will suddenly spring up and tumble a few yards before him, will then spring and tumble again repeatedly, keeping herself so short a distance in advance of him as to make him sure of catching her, and finally, having lured him away a long distance from her treasures, will suddenly fly off, leaving him baulked and confounded while she regains her nest, is a bird seemingly endowed with reasoning and executive power far beyond that which we are wont to ascribe to even the most intelligent member of the class *Aves*. We ask, in astonishment, whence did the quail derive this marvellous intuition? All we know is that it is inherited from a preceding generation; but if we go back for any number of generations we get no nearer to a conception of how an idea of the remarkable device in question first originated in the bird's

brain, and can only exclaim with Tennyson, 'Behold, we know not anything.'

The courage with which the mothers protect their young broods and attack intruders is alike remarkable and interesting. 'Mr. Hardy reports—

I saw a ruffed grouse with a brood of young attack an Indian dog and drive him off. The dog suddenly ran on the bird with her brood. She certainly looked the very incarnation of fury; every feather in her body was standing on end, as, perfectly reckless of consequences, she fairly flew at the dog; but she was so quick and nimble in her movements that she escaped all harm, and actually compelled the dog, by various peckings on the legs and head, to turn tail and run.

Mr. Evans Lewis mentions that when running after a young white-tailed ptarmigan, near a fortnight old, he was attacked by its mother, which flew round his head and approached close enough to knock his hat off. Referring to the Columbian sharp-tailed grouse, an observer of it mentions that the female is exceedingly devoted to her young brood, and that he saw one boldly attack his dog, which happened to run into a covey about a week old. Mr. W. G. Smith, writing to Captain Bendire, remarks concerning the sage grouse, 'The female is devoted to her young, and will protect them at the risk of her life.' He caught six young chickens, probably about four days old. Their mother flew at his legs, and followed him two hundred yards to where his wagon was standing, making continuous hostile demonstrations.

The food of the grouse, and generally of the pigeons and doves of North America, consists mainly of three kinds—(1) fruits of various kinds, including blackberries, blueberries, raspberries, and elderberries early in the season, and later in the year various other berries, as well as wild grapes; (2) beech-nuts, chestnuts, acorns, wheat, and other seeds of various kinds; (3) the buds of various trees, and the foliage of plants—that of clover, strawberry, buttercup, wintergreen, peppermint, and partridge-berry predominating.

The Canadian ruffed grouse feed not only on the buds of the poplar, but also on the old hard leaves of it; these they eat continuously until the last of them have fallen, late in October even, when other food is abundant. During the winter these birds, as well as the sage grouse, live almost entirely on the leaves of the sage bush (*Artemisia*), which usually grows to the height of two or three feet in some of the richer valley lands. (4) The whole, or nearly the whole, of the grouse family are decidedly carnivorous; they devour an immense number of grasshoppers and crickets; they also eat beetles and ants (especially the winged females of the latter, of which the Texan Bob White is very fond), various other insects, caterpillars, earthworms, and small snails.

As birds have no teeth they do not masticate their food before swallowing it. It needs, therefore, to be subjected to a grinding

process by the gizzard. The absence of teeth in this organ is compensated for by the presence in it of small hard pebbly substances which the birds pick up, and by means of which they triturate the hard parts of the food, and thus facilitate their assimilation. Where gravel abounds birds keep the gizzard supplied with the needful little pebbles, but on the 'Big Plain' of North America stones of any kind are unknown, and in nearly all parts of Manitoba gravel is unattainable during the winter. Fortunately for the birds, nature supplies a substitute for gravel by means of the wild prairie rose (*Rosa blanda*), 'which is abundant everywhere; and the ruddy hips, unlike most fruits, do not fall when ripe. Besides being sweet and nutritious, they contain a number of small angular hard seeds which answer perfectly the purpose of gravel.' Mr. Ernest E. Thompson, who has given special attention to the prairie sharp-tailed grouse of Manitoba, has examined its gizzard during every month of the year, and found it to be always provided with rose hips.

Twenty years ago the enormous number of the birds in North America excited extreme astonishment, and has been adverted to by many writers. The vast breeding colonies of the wild pigeon frequently covered the forest for miles together. Mr. S. B. Stevens, of Cadillac, a veteran pigeon-netter of large experience and a man of high reputation for veracity and carefulness of statement, gave in 1888 the following testimony to Mr. William Brewster, who published it in his article 'On the Present Status of the Wild Pigeon, &c.' :—

The largest nesting he ever visited was in 1878 or 1877. It began near Petosky, and extended north-east past Crooked Lake for twenty-eight miles, averaging three or four miles wide. The birds arrived in two separate bodies, one directly from the south by land, the other following the east coast of Wisconsin and crossing at Manitou Island. He saw the latter body come in from the lake at about three o'clock in the afternoon. It was a compact mass of pigeons, at least five miles long by one mile wide. The birds began building when the snow was twelve inches deep in the woods, although the fields were bare at the time. So rapidly did the colony extend its boundaries that it soon passed literally over and around the place where he was netting, although when he began this point was several miles from the nearest nest. Nestings usually start in deciduous woods, but during their progress the pigeons do not skip any kind of trees they encounter. The Petosky nesting extended eight miles through hard-wood timber, then crossed a river bottom wooded with arbor vitæ, and thence stretched through white pine woods about twenty miles. For the entire distance of twenty-eight miles every tree of any size had more or less nests, and many trees were filled with them. None were lower than about fifteen feet above the ground.

At least five hundred men were engaged in netting pigeons during the great Petosky nesting of 1881. Mr. Stevens thought that they may have captured on an average 20,000 birds apiece during the season. Sometimes two car-loads were shipped south on the railroad each day. Nevertheless he believed that not one bird in a thousand was taken. Hawks and owls often abound near the nesting. Owls can be heard hooting there all night.

On one occasion an immense flock of young birds became bewildered in a fog while crossing Crooked Lake, and, descending,

struck the water and perished by thousands. The shore for miles was covered a foot or more deep with them. The old birds rose above the fog and none were killed.

The battle of life, or the struggle for existence, in the animal kingdom results in such a check by the various species on the growth of each other as to maintain to a large extent a fair balance of the contending forces, although it happens from time to time that some species are crowded out of existence. In their primeval dwelling-places the grouse have, of course, many enemies, which prevent their numbers from becoming unduly excessive. Among such enemies may be mentioned the fox, cat, minx, weasel, and squirrel; birds of prey, comprising certain hawks and owls, which destroy either the eggs or the young; and numerous snakes, including, especially, rattlesnakes, which are terrible enemies. One of them, when killed, was found to have swallowed five Texan Bob Whites at one meal; another, contained four Bob Whites and a scaled partridge. But of all living enemies man is at once the most powerful and immeasurably the most fatal. I shall advert to his destructive work shortly. Meanwhile I must add a few words concerning the influence of wet and cold seasons, and prairie fires.

During wet springs the nests, which are generally on the ground, are often inundated, especially if they be in valleys or on low grounds. The following fact is a striking example of this truth: Mr. J. W. Preston, of Baxter, Iowa, records that several years ago he frightened a prairie hen from her nest of eggs in a marsh that was subject to overflow; the nest was entirely submerged and the bird was incubating the cold eggs! Not eight feet distant, on a tussock, a marsh hawk was waiting for her clutch of eggs. The number of eggs and of newly-hatched chickens which are destroyed during and in consequence of wet seasons must be enormous; and the effects of exceptionally cold seasons are probably not less destructive. On the high plateaux where the white-tailed ptarmigan is found the wind often blows with a tremendous sweep, and is almost strong enough to throw down a man. Suffering from the extreme cold when such a wind is blowing, the ptarmigan have learnt to dig out for themselves little nests or hollows in the snow banks; they lie with their heads towards the wind, and are thus greatly protected from it, but such snowy refuges must at best be terribly cold. In some years the spring season begins especially early, and the warm weather is often succeeded temporarily by a return of wintry cold. As the love-making of the grouse commences habitually before the snow has completely disappeared, incubation is apt to occur exceptionally early in the year, and meanwhile to be overtaken, therefore, by the return of cold northern blasts, which often prove fatal to a large number of newly hatched chicks, and sometimes to the too devoted mother, as appears from the following authentic and pathetic fact, viz. that a

hen was discovered sitting on her nest of eggs, she and her eggs being quite frozen to death. In some years the winter cold proves terribly destructive. Mr. A. C. Lowell, writing to Captain Bendire, thus refers to its effect on the valley partridge :—

In the winter of 1887-8 about two feet of snow fell, followed by three very severe nights, in which the thermometer reached 28° below zero. This killed most of these birds. In the following fall I heard of but three or four coveys of quail within a radius of sixty miles where thousands had been the year before.

The most destructive agents of the nests of the justly designated 'valuable bird' the prairie hen, as well as of various other kinds of grouse, are the prairie fires, which often occur and commit fearful ravages. Many of the stockmen do not burn their hay ground until the middle of May, and hence thousands of eggs are destroyed every year. Moreover many nests with eggs are yearly ploughed up, and thus the general loss is increased.

In spite, however, of all adverse influences, some species of grouse seem not only to maintain their position effectually, but actually to spread themselves increasingly over wide territories. The quail, known throughout the United States as the Bob White, is steadily advancing westward, southward, and northward. It is now found in Colorado, Utah, California, Northern New Mexico, and Oregon. In fact, it evidently makes itself at home in any country where the climate is not too severe in winter.

On the other hand, the evidence that a great decrease of bird life has long been going on in North America is irresistible. In former times the heath hen used to be seen in autumn in 'packs' comprising from 100 to 200 birds in each; now the number in a covey rarely exceeds six or eight. In Oregon, Washington, and Idaho, where the Columbian sharp-tailed grouse used to be exceedingly abundant a decade ago, it is every year becoming rarer, and, at the present rate of decrease, it will not be long before the bird will be numbered among the game birds of the past. Similar testimony concerning the rapidly increasing scarcity of this bird is tendered by various observers, among whom may be mentioned Mr. Denis Gale, and Mr. W. M. Wolfe, of Kearney, Nebraska; the last-named gentleman says that this bird 'has retired before civilisation, and the pinnated grouse has taken its place.' The breeding range of the wild turkey, the largest and finest of American game birds, is yearly becoming more restricted, and, at the present rate of decrease, the total extinction of this bird east of the Mississippi and north of the Ohio River is only a question of a few years. Throughout Missouri and Kansas it is already nearly exterminated. It used to be found in Nebraska; none occur there now. Dr. W. L. Ralph, of Utica, New York, writes :—

Fifteen years ago I found the wild turkey abundant in most parts of Florida . . . but they have gradually decreased in numbers since then, and, though still

common in places where the country is wild and unsettled, they are rapidly disappearing from those parts in the vicinity of villages and navigable waters.

The ground doves are constant residents of Florida, and ten or fifteen years ago they were abundant throughout the central and northern parts of the State. They are still common, though fast decreasing in numbers, owing principally to the causes that are rapidly exterminating most Florida birds, viz. plume hunters and tourists.

Evidence is thus forthcoming from every part of the United States that the most important of their winged inhabitants are rapidly disappearing. The fact is a truly saddening one. There are certain causes conducing to their extinction which are inevitable. The gradual but rapidly increasing occupation of the land by the white man, or, as intimated by Mr. Wolfe, the 'advance of civilisation,' is not only depriving the red man of his hunting-grounds, and thus ensuring his destruction, but at the same time is ousting the birds from their vast prairie homes, which they have occupied for countless centuries, and thus condemning them also to gradual extinction. This result is certainly being effected, and will, no doubt, sooner or later be accomplished. In any case it is a deplorable one, but it need not be hastened by the extraordinarily reckless and selfish conduct of the European invader. Of course, as the vast territories of the United States become occupied by white men, who will use them for the growth of cereals and other vegetable products, or for grazing purposes, the former occupants of those territories will gradually migrate from them to regions in which they may still live, and, as birds are capable of ranging over vast areas, it is reasonable to suppose that of the dispossessed occupants they will suffer least by their expulsion from their former homes. But as the time approaches when the white man will become lord of all he surveys, the wild fowl, as well as other wild animals, will betake themselves to their last available refuges, there to meet their inevitable fate—gradual extinction. Even now, as we have seen, the number of birds is already fast diminishing; but though this process cannot be arrested it is within the power of the American people to lessen, as well as to increase, its rapidity.

Now, a vast number of birds are destroyed yearly for the sake merely of gratifying that baneful and detestable love of 'sport,' in the indulgence of which thousands of men pride themselves. Many birds are also destroyed for the sake of their plumage; but the most fell and wholesale destroyers of bird life are the men who kill the passenger pigeon by thousands and thousands for the sake of enriching themselves by their slaughter. The enormous 'breeding colonies,' or 'pigeon roosts,' as they were formerly called, frequently covering the forest for miles, and so often mentioned by naturalists and hunters in former years, are, like the immense herds of the American bison which roamed over the great plains of the West in countless

thousands but a couple of decades ago, things of the past, never to be seen again. In fact, the extermination of the passenger pigeon has progressed so rapidly during the past twenty years that it looks now as if its total extermination might be accomplished within the present century. The immense destruction of this pigeon in a single year and at one roost only is thus described by Professor H. B. Roney in the *Chicago Field*:—

The nesting area, situated near Petosky, covered something like 100,000 acres of land, and included not less than 150,000 acres within its limits, being in length about forty miles by three to ten in width. The number of dead birds sent by rail (in 1878) was estimated at 12,500 daily, or 1,500,000 for the summer, besides 80,352 live birds; an equal number was sent by water. We have (says the writer), adding the thousands of dead and wounded not secured, and the myriads of squabs left dead in the nest, at the lowest possible estimate a grand total of 1,000,000,000 pigeons sacrificed to Mammon during the nesting season of 1878.

Captain Bendire is of opinion that the last-mentioned figure is far above the actual number killed during that or any other year; but even granting that only a million were killed at this roost the slaughter is appalling, and it is not strange that the number of this bird is now small compared with what it was in former years.

The question whether the American people will be content to look on with indifference while the beautiful and interesting feathered inhabitants of their country are being rapidly and wilfully destroyed is a question deserving grave consideration. And if evidence should be forthcoming that a large majority of the citizens of the great Western Republic are not consenting witnesses of the wilful destruction of these birds, two other questions arise—(1) Can this destruction be prevented? and (2), if it can, will the sovereign people insist on its prevention? It seems to me that both these questions may and ought to be answered in the affirmative. I fear that the adoption of an effective preventive measure by each of the forty-four States of the American Union separately is scarcely to be hoped for. Nevertheless three American States—viz. Wisconsin, Michigan, and Massachusetts—have done honour to themselves by taking the initiative in lessening, or attempting to lessen, the vast destruction continually going on; and even Cuba is rivalling these three American States by making a similar effort. But it is alleged that ‘the present laws of Michigan and Wisconsin are simply worse than useless; for, while they prohibit disturbing the birds within their nesting, they allow an unlimited netting only a few miles beyond its outskirts during the entire breeding season.’ The experience of the Cuban legislation on this subject is like to that recorded of Wisconsin and Michigan; in Cuba the blue-headed quail dove ‘is constantly decreasing in numbers,’ writes Dr. Juan Vilarbo, Professor of the University of Havana, and ‘it is continually persecuted, notwithstanding that it is protected at certain times by the hunting laws.’

The breeding range of the heath hen, 'the last remnant of a once more or less widely distributed race at various points in Eastern Massachusetts, Southern Connecticut, Long Island, New Jersey, and Pennsylvania,' is at present limited to the island of Martha's Vineyard, Massachusetts, where these birds are 'strictly protected by law.' Nevertheless one of the Boston market men reported 'that he has had as many as twenty from the Vineyard in a single season.' Though within the limited area of the island of Martha's Vineyard the effort to preserve the heath hen from slaughter has approached nearly to success, the protective laws of Wisconsin and Michigan have, as stated above, proved abortive; and, in my opinion, the only measure at once practicable and likely to conduce to a successful coping with the evil is an Act of Congress for the rigorous prevention of the bird slaughter going on. The proposal of such an Act would probably evoke the vigorous opposition of the advocates and defenders of the doctrine of 'State rights.' As I am not an American politician I do not venture to offer an opinion on the practicability of this proposal, but commend the whole subject to the earnest attention of American statesmen and lovers not only of their great country, but also of its winged inhabitants, whose mournful procession to extinction they may, if they resolve to do so, indefinitely retard.

JOHN WORTH.

THE BEHRING SEA QUESTION

IN order to understand the Behring Sea question, some knowledge of the natural history of the fur seal (*Callorhinus ursinus*) is requisite. The more important facts as bearing on the question may be briefly stated; and those desiring to further study the question are referred to Mr. Henry W. Elliott's book, *Our Arctic Province*, published by C. Scribner's Sons, New York, to which I am indebted for much information.

The breeding ground of the fur seal is on the Pribylov Islands, St. Paul and St. George, in the Behring Sea.¹ They are about 180 miles from the nearest land, and were discovered by Pribylov, who commanded the sloop called 'St. George' engaged in the fur business, in 1786: they were then uninhabited, but natives were brought from Oonalashka and Atkha, and the population in 1880 consisted of 298 souls on St. Paul and ninety-two on St. George. St. Paul contains thirty-three and St. George twenty-seven square miles.

The islands have been rented from the United States Government by the Alaska Commercial Company, under certain regulations, including the education and care of the natives, all of whom are employed by the Company.

The breeding season lasts from May until August, some young seals and females remaining until November; but during the rest of the year the islands are deserted by the seals, whose whereabouts is not then distinctly known; it is probably far to the South, in the North Pacific Ocean.

A few old males begin to arrive at the islands early in May, but the mass early in June; they are then excessively fat, and weigh about 500 lbs.; the females arrive about the middle of June, though a few are earlier; they are much smaller than the males and weigh 80 to 90 lbs. Each bull selects a bit of land on arrival on which he collects several females as soon as they land, and defends against all other bulls, the fights between the bulls for the possession of the females being very severe. Each bull will collect from six to perhaps in some cases, as many as forty to fifty in his harem, those who by their early arrival have secured the best bits of ground, near the water, getting the most. The females give birth to a single pup within about twenty-

¹ See chart on page 608.

four hours of landing, the period of gestation being twelve months less a few days. The males leave at the end of July and early in August, in an emaciated condition, not having fed nor entered the sea since they arrived: the females, however, constantly go to the sea to feed, and return to the land to nurse their young. The pups get down to the water's edge and begin to learn to swim when about six weeks old. By the middle of September they can all swim, and the 'Rookeries,' as the breeding grounds are called, are then broken up, and by the end of October and beginning of November all the mature seals have left: a few pups remain about the islands a little longer, but by the end of November the whole are gone, and the islands are deserted.

An important fact is that the males, up to the age of six years, take no part in breeding, but herd by themselves in a different part of the islands: they are called 'holluschickie,' or bachelor seals, and are calculated to consist of from one-half to one-third of the whole number of seals, which was put by Mr. Elliott in 1873 at about five millions. It is from these bachelor seals that the Alaska Commercial Company, who have the sole right of taking seals on the islands, select those to be killed: the number being limited by their agreement with the United States Government to 100,000 annually. The breeding seals are never disturbed or interfered with.

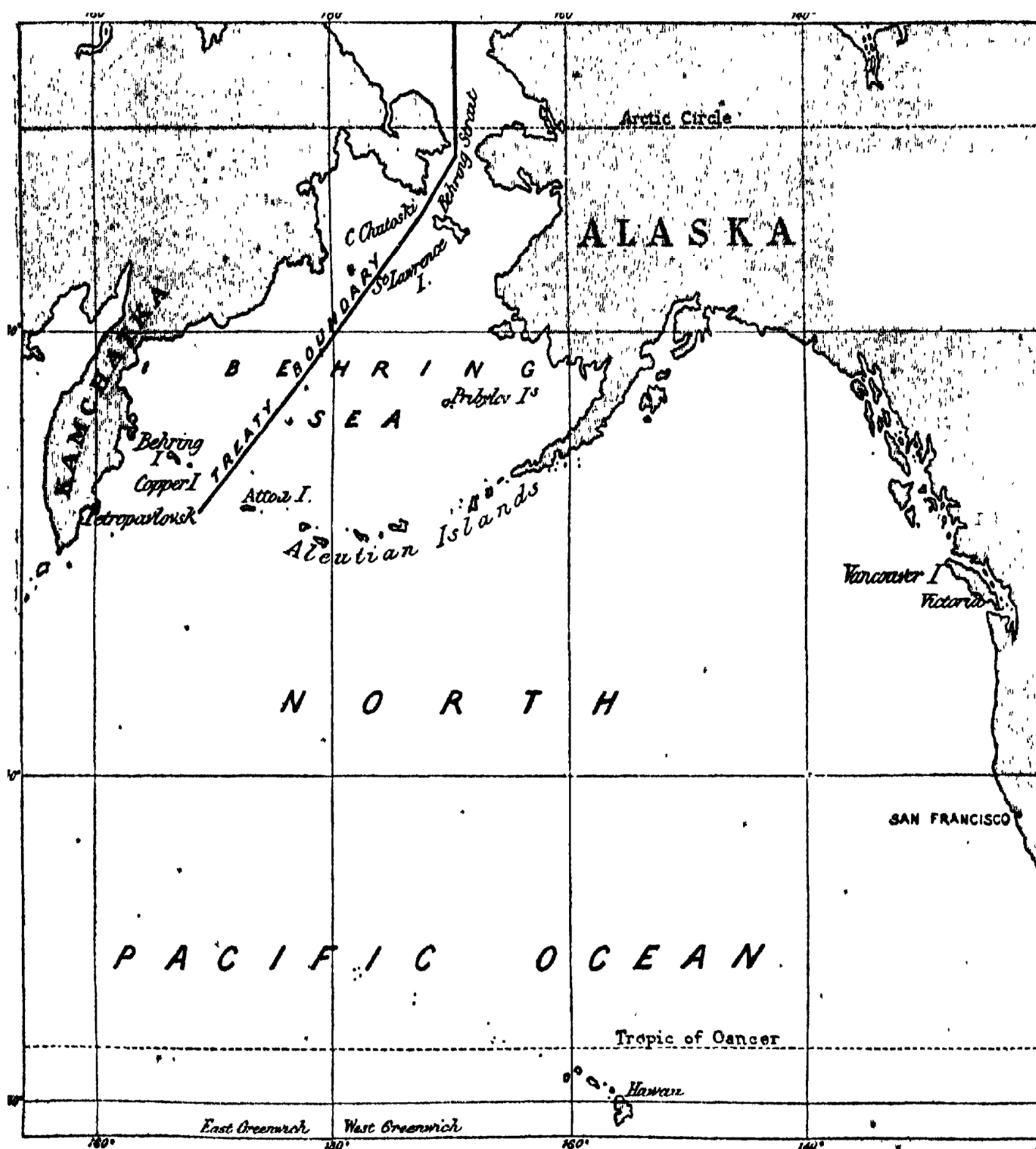
The manner of securing the bachelor seals is as follows:—In the very early morning the natives get between the bachelor seals and the sea. They then spread out on each flank of the herd, and drive the seals, which then form a long line, to the neighbourhood of the storehouses, where they are 'corralled.' The foreman then selects those to be killed, which are mostly three and four years old (the skins being finest at that period), and they are slaughtered by being knocked on the head with a wooden club, the others finding their way back to the sea.

Alaska was sold by Russia to the United States in 1867 for \$7,200,000 in gold, or rather less than a million and a half sterling. In the treaty conveying Alaska to the United States, the western and southern boundary of Alaska was defined as follows:—

The western limit, within which the territories and dominion conveyed are contained, passes through a point in Behring's Straits on the parallel of $65^{\circ} 30'$ north latitude, at its intersection by the meridian which passes midway between the islands of Krusenstern, or Ignalosk, and the island of Ratmanoff, or Noonarbook, and proceeds due north, without limitation, into the Frozen Ocean. The same western limit, beginning at the same initial point, proceeds thence in a course nearly south-west, through Behring's Straits and Behring's Sea, so as to pass midway between the north-west point of the island of St. Lawrence and the south-east point of Cape Choukotski to the meridian of 172° west longitude; thence, from the intersection of that meridian, in a south-westerly direction, so as to pass midway between the island of Attou and the Copper Island of the Kormandarski couplet or group, in the North Pacific Ocean, to the meridian of 193° west longitude, so as to include in the territory conveyed the whole of the Aleutian Islands east of the meridian.

This has been taken by most people merely to convey all land to eastward of boundary.

For many years sealing schooners have been fitted out from Victoria, British Columbia, and from Puget's Sound and San Francisco, and have killed seals on the open sea, cruising off the coasts of the United States and of British Columbia, and have no doubt occasionally gone into the Behring Sea. These are mostly sailing schooners, though a few have an auxiliary screw. They are worked by from five



to eight white men, and carry six or seven boats with three Indians, viz. two rowers and a hunter to each; and these boats, when the weather is fine enough, cruise on the open sea round the schooner, often out of sight of her, and kill the seals sleeping on the water, either by spearing or shooting them, now generally the latter.

About the years 1884 and 1885, it being apparent that large

profits were to be made by sealing, the number of schooners fitted out began to increase; and, although a good number of seals were killed to the south of the Aleutian Islands, the majority were killed inside the Behring Sea, the schooners following the seals up from the south, as they went to their breeding-ground on the Pribylov Islands.

In 1885 two schooners sealing in the Behring Sea were spoken by a United States revenue cruiser, though not molested; but in 1886 three were seized, they being at the time about seventy miles from land, or about halfway between the Pribylov Islands and Oonalashka, and these were condemned and confiscated by the United States Court at Sitka. Upon representations being made at Washington, it was said no more would be seized until the matter was discussed; nevertheless, in 1887 six were seized, and so the dispute began.

The Government of the United States hold that the Behring Sea is a *mare clausum* and included in Alaska.

The British Government hold that it is part of the Pacific Ocean and the open sea.

It is difficult to see how the United States can prove their contention. No doubt the Russians originally endeavoured to make the Behring Sea a *mare clausum*, and a ukase was issued in 1821 forbidding the approach of any vessel within thirty leagues of the coast of Russian America, a brig, the 'Pearl,' belonging to the United States being subsequently seized. In 1824-25, however, conventions were entered into between Russia and the United States, and Russia and Great Britain, which stipulated 'that in all parts of the great ocean, commonly known as the Pacific Ocean, and its adjoining seas to the south, the citizens and subjects of the high contracting powers may engage freely and without opposition in navigation and fishing, &c.,' and contemporary maps show that Behring Sea was considered part of the Pacific Ocean.

An indemnity was paid by the Russian Government to the owners of the 'Pearl.'

In 1842 the Russian Governor, Ekeolen, reported that United States and other whalers were fishing north of the Aleutian Islands, and asked that cruisers might be sent to stop them. The Russian Minister for Foreign Affairs, however, replied that the United States had the right to fish everywhere in the Pacific Ocean. The number of whalers increased until, about the years 1854-55-56, they amounted to nearly 600, the majority belonging to the United States, and there was never any question of their right to fish in the Behring Sea. There are none there now, or hardly any, simply because the whales have disappeared, and there are none to catch.

In 1872, Mr. Phelps, the collector of Customs at San Francisco, wrote officially to the Government of the United States to say reports were about that vessels were to be sent from the Sandwich Islands, Japan, &c., to take seals on their annual migration northwards in the

passes of the Aleutian Islands, &c., and asking that a revenue vessel should be sent to protect the fishery. To this Mr. George S. Boutwell, who was then Secretary of the Treasury at Washington, replied, saying, '*I do not see that the United States would have the jurisdiction or power to drive off parties going up there for that purpose, unless they made such attempt within a marine league of the shore.*'

The 100,000 skins or less which were taken every year by the Alaska Commercial Company from the Pribylov Islands about supplied the market, and were worth about \$7½ a skin in 1885-87; the schooners, however, that escaped capture in 1887 put about 30,000 additional skins on the market, and this brought the price down to \$5. The Alaska Commercial Company was very influential, and it being evident their success was likely to be seriously interfered with commercially, an attempt was made to close the Behring Sea. The lease of this company came to an end a year or two ago, and the islands are now let to another company who made a higher bid.

There is no doubt that many female seals are killed by the schooners, and that it is not easy always to distinguish the females on the sea, when only their heads are above water. If this, however, is allowed to go on, there is grave danger of the species being eventually exterminated, as has nearly been the case with the sea otter. On the other hand, everyone has a right to fish and do so as he pleases in the open sea, and it is most important this right should not be interfered with.

The arbitrators now sitting at Paris for the settlement of this question consist of—British: Lord Hannen, Sir J. D. Thompson; United States: Mr. Justice Haslan, Senator J. P. Morgan; French: Baron de Courcel; Italian: Marquis Visconti Venosta; Swedish: Mr. Gram; and whatever may be their finding, it is to be hoped that, although it is a most difficult question, some international agreement may be come to, to prevent the indiscriminate killing of female seals.

The only place where the fur seal is known to breed, in addition to the Pribylov Islands, is on Behring and Copper Islands, off the Russian coast. Two schooners were seized off these islands, but far from land, by Russian cruisers last year; so there is also a question to be settled with the Russian Government.

M. CULME SEYMOUR.

THE ART OF BREATHING

AS a rule we breathe automatically, and we take into the lungs during each twenty-four hours about 425 cubic feet of air. Important as is food and liquid to sustain life, these are insignificant as compared to air. A man may live several days without food, but he dies if he remain only a few minutes without air. By the act of breathing, oxygen is brought into contact with the blood and carbonic acid given off into the air. It is the oxygen in the air that supports life, and if by some catastrophe the oxygen were destroyed over the whole earth during even so short a time as ten minutes, the whole of the animal creation, except some few of the hybernating animals, would cease to exist.

At the average rate of breathing, a man takes about fourteen pints of air per minute, and about twenty-one per cent. of this air consists of oxygen. Consequently about three pints of oxygen per minute seems to be required in order to sustain life.

Suppose we could obtain only half this quantity of oxygen per minute, what results would follow?

I can speak from practical experience of these results. During the year 1877 I left the plains of India, and proceeded to Simla, and the room I lived in was about 7,000 feet above the level of the sea. I took with me an aneroid barometer, but I found this instrument useless, as it read only to 5,000 feet, and therefore remained fixed, no matter what was the state of the weather, as I was 2,000 feet above its reading.

Delighted with the coolness of the air after the scorching heat of the plains, I started soon after sunrise to take a walk round the mountain Jacko. Walking at my usual pace of about three miles an hour, I ascended the hill; but a strange sensation soon came over me: I felt giddy; my pulse and heart were beating at 132 per minute; I broke out in a profuse perspiration, and felt as though I were being suffocated. I was compelled to sit down, as I was quite faint and weak. I returned to my room, but it was fully two hours before I partially recovered.

Being in excellent health at the time, I was much puzzled to account for the strange sensations I had experienced, which, although

not returning with the same force, yet visited me every now and then, even when sitting quietly in an arm-chair.

Every effect must have a cause, and whilst looking at my rigid barometer it suddenly occurred to me that I had found the cause, more especially as my sensations were very similar to those I had suffered from when in a crowded and badly ventilated theatre or room.

When down in the plains, I had, at the usual rate of breathing, taken into my lungs about fourteen pints of air per minute, containing about three pints of oxygen. If these fourteen pints had been enclosed in a bladder and taken to an elevation of 7,000 feet, the bladder would have burst, because the fourteen pints of air would have expanded—and, for the sake of a simple illustration, we will suppose they expanded to twenty-eight pints, or just double.

It followed, therefore, that when I breathed automatically, at an elevation of 7,000 feet, at the same rate as that at which I had breathed in the plains, I took into my lungs, say, fourteen pints of rarefied air, equal to only seven pints of the air of the plains. Consequently, instead of supplying my blood with three pints of oxygen per minute, I was supplying it with only one pint and a half.

It was only natural that some effects would be produced by this reduction of oxygen taken into the lungs, and those which I had experienced were a considerable increase in the rate at which my heart beat and a feeling of suffocation. Why did my heart beat quicker in consequence of less oxygen being inhaled? was now the question.

Without making use of scientific terms I will describe in simple words the conclusions I arrived at.

The heart acts automatically, as a sort of force pump, to drive the blood through the system and to bring this blood in contact with the air by aid of the lungs, or, in plain language, to oxygenise the blood. But in consequence of the expanded condition of the air at an elevation of 7,000 feet, only half the amount of oxygen was contained in the lungs that would be contained if I had been in the plains. Was it possible that the heart by beating at nearly twice its usual rate caused the circulation to proceed more rapidly, and consequently to travel more frequently through the lungs, and thus to obtain in two journeys the same amount of oxygen that was obtainable by one journey, when the air was more dense, as it was in the plains? If this were the cause of the strange sensations I had experienced, I saw a possible remedy, which I decided to try practically on the following morning. The remedy was, to exert the will, and, instead of breathing automatically, to breathe at twice the usual rate, and also to take very long breaths. If, then, under normal conditions I took into my lungs about two gallons of air per minute, I would by breathing more rapidly take in about four gallons, and thus each minute would give myself a supply of three pints of oxygen

per minute. I commenced my walk as before, and soon experienced the same sensations. I then increased my rate of breathing to forty per minute, and in two minutes all sense of faintness ceased, and in five minutes the rate at which my heart had been beating was very much decreased. I continued my walk, and repeated my experiment, always with the same results, until I was convinced that I had found a remedy for the unpleasant effects of breathing a rarefied air. In the course of a week or ten days my system became accustomed to the rarefied air, and I did not feel any unusual effects from breathing.

A few months after this experience I went on an expedition towards Thibet, and when ascending the mountain Hutto, which is, I believe, about 12,000 feet high, the same sensations occurred as those which had taken place on my first arrival at Simla. I immediately breathed very rapidly, and, after a few minutes, felt quite well. This result, in addition to that which took place at Simla, was, I considered, a good practical test that there was an art in breathing.

If this were the only advantage to be obtained from knowing how to breathe it would not be of much advantage to the untravelled public. The majority of people rarely have to breathe at an elevation of even 7,000 feet; but, having found the effects of rapid breathing, I reflected on the subject, and formed my own conclusions.

At the date to which I refer, some fifteen years ago, I used to suffer, especially of a night, from most severe pain in the region of the heart; during several years previously I had suffered in the same way, and I came to the conclusion that disease of the heart would terminate my earthly career. This throbbing pain would continue, with but slight intermission, during one or two hours.

Thinking over this matter, it occurred to me that it might be due to the blood not being sufficiently supplied with oxygen. If this were the case the next time I experienced the pain I could try my remedy. I had not long to wait, for the pain came on very severely one night, and I immediately commenced breathing at the rate of about forty breaths per minute, with the result that the pain ceased in a few seconds and did not return that night. Since that time I have had several opportunities of trying my remedy, and invariably with the same success. As time went on the pains became not only less frequent but less severe, and now, if there is the slightest indication of any such pain, rapid breathing prevents its arrival to maturity.

In a medical book now before me it is stated, under the heading of *Functional Disease of the Heart*, that 'palpitation is increased by sedentary occupations, but relieved by moderate exercise.

What does moderate exercise do? It increases the rate of breathing, and hence gives a larger supply of oxygen to the blood than is given when a person is sitting still. But why take the exercise to

obtain this result ? It seems like burning down a house to roast a pig. Increase the rate of breathing, and the same results are gained, assuming that we can obtain pure air, even though we are sitting quietly in an arm-chair.

Many people seem to consider that unless they can take one or two hours' exercise each day they cannot keep in health. To some men who eat and drink too much such a proceeding may be necessary ; but during several years I have taken, as a rule, very little exercise, but I have obtained very much the same results by increasing the rate of my breathing during one or two hours a day, and when necessary I can walk ten or twelve miles, at a rate of about four miles an hour, without distress.

It has been stated by others that many instances have occurred of persons who suffered from toothache having at length made up their minds to rush off to the dentist and have the tooth extracted. On reaching the house of the dentist the person has found that the ache had ceased, and he therefore changed his mind and returned home.

Fear has been the supposed cause of this effect, but I attribute it to the rapid breathing caused by the walk to the dentist's. But why take the walk to increase the rate of breathing ? By the action of the will the rate of breathing can be increased up to fifty breaths a minute whilst reposing in an arm-chair ; and I can state that I have driven away headache, toothache, and other aches by breathing rapidly during several minutes.

Another effect I have experienced from rapid breathing is the cure of restlessness and sleeplessness, from which those who use the brain much not infrequently suffer. In order to avoid breathing secondhand air, it is advisable to get out of bed and walk about the room, breathing very quickly during one or two minutes.

Whilst there are few people who have to experience 'breathing' at a great altitude, and thus to find the results due to admitting to the lungs a less allowance of oxygen than is necessary for health, there are hundreds of thousands who suffer, often without comprehending the cause, from breathing air which is absolutely poisonous. A man sits in his study occupied in literary work probably two or more hours ; there is no circulation of air in the room, and he breathes down on the paper on which he is writing, or on a book he is reading. In a very few minutes the air which he has expelled from his lungs is again inhaled, and as he sits quietly pursuing his occupation, he is actually poisoning his blood by taking into the lungs those particles which the lungs half a minute before had thrown off.

Persons who do not reflect on these matters seem utterly unconscious that they are committing suicide by a slow but sure method of poisoning. Crowded rooms without proper ventilation,

rooms in which there are many gas-lights and but little change of air, are more dangerous to health than exposed cesspools or sewers. Like the effect produced by other poisons, such as an excessive use of alcohol or nicotine, persons have a strong desire for a repetition of the poison; they can scarcely endure a room containing fresh pure air. They will close every window and door because they feel cold, the coldness in the majority of cases being due to the impurity of the blood, resulting from breathing in vitiated air. When any disease attacks such persons, even such trifling affairs as a cold, sore throat, or cough, their blood is so impure that serious illness is usually the result; whereas a person who had not poisoned his blood by breathing impure air would not even suffer from the first disease.

Some few years ago I was asked by a gentleman, who was celebrated for his choice wines and dinners, to dine with him. I usually declined attending a dinner, for the reason that the majority of dining-rooms become unendurable, in consequence of the foulness of the air, before half the dinner has been got over. Under great pressure I accepted this invitation, and soon found myself seated at the dining-table, with four other gentlemen, in a room about twelve feet square by eight feet high. Above the table were three gas-jets burning, and, the windows being closed, the room felt close even when we entered it.

The menu which I glanced at showed what an excellent dinner had been provided by my host; but I had scarcely finished my oysters and turtle soup, when I began to feel sick and giddy. I broke out into a perspiration, and my heart was beating at the rate of about 120 per minute. I tried to take long and rapid breaths, but with no satisfactory results. There was no help for it; I apologised to my host for being ill, but said I must leave. On reaching the open air I held on to the railings, as I felt weak and giddy, and then breathed as rapidly as I could. In less than a minute all unpleasant sensations left me, and I walked quietly home, a distance of about half a mile, breathing every now and then, during half a minute or so, as rapidly as I could. On entering my house I felt very hungry, and ordered some cold meat and bread and cheese to be brought me, and from these unattractive viands I made an enjoyable meal, because I was in pure air. The host to whom I refer, although much my junior in age, has been dead about five years. Whatever may have been the ultimate cause of his death, I have no doubt that the real cause was blood-poisoning in consequence of daily breathing a vitiated air.

It is a well-known fact that we are continually building up new tissue in our bodies, and getting rid of the old, and the blood in our system is the principal material from which this new tissue is formed. If the blood is not properly oxygenised, it will build up impure tissue, and after some years a man may, by his own stupid acts, have

built up a body composed of material liable to various diseases on the slightest provocation, the sting of a wasp or a cut from a knife leading to most serious results. It is usual to say when such results occur, 'That man's blood was in a very unhealthy state;' but it must be remembered that it is not only the blood itself which at the time was unhealthy, but the flesh, which during several years had been formed from impure blood.

The man who allows the repairs of his body to be made with an impure material acts in the same manner as the house-owner who daily repaired a small portion of his house with rotten wood and unburnt bricks. If the repairs each day were small, as is the case with the repairs of the body, it might be several years before the house collapsed; but a catastrophe is sure to come. Then the tenant, in the case of the body, wonders what can be the cause of his feeling so ill. He consults a medical man, who looks wise, pronounces it a case of liver or heart, prescribes drugs as a remedy, and the patient may or may not recover.

If the heart and lungs could only speak, their remonstrances during many years against the impure air supplied them to work with, in order to build up and repair their master's body, would fill a volume. The heart does its best to remonstrate in various ways, and it is not surprising that it in some cases strikes against doing any more work for a master who has so grossly neglected its well-being.

Whenever the inner surface of the windows of a room become covered with moisture, the occupants may feel certain that they are breathing poisonous air; the dew or moisture contains refuse animal matter given off from the lungs, and has been proved to be a deadly poison.

No person, we believe, exists who would not turn away with disgust if asked to take into his stomach secondhand food. But to take into the lungs secondhand air, which scarcely a minute before has been expelled by another person, is not unusually a proceeding treated with indifference.

The habit which some people have of pinching the nostrils and breathing through the mouth when they encounter a bad smell is fraught with danger. The nostrils filter the air to a great extent, and the small particles of poisonous matter are deposited in the nostrils, and can be removed by aid of a handkerchief. When the air is drawn in through the mouth, these particles, if they fail to reach the lungs, are deposited in the throat, and produce sore throat, or even diphtheria.

When breathing rapidly in the manner described in the earlier part of this article, a fold of a handkerchief may with advantage be placed over the nostrils, and the air drawn in through this filter. This air should then be forced out through the mouth. If that part

of the handkerchief through which the air has been filtered be examined with the aid of a microscope, some curious facts will often be revealed.

The delicacy of the sense of smell is little short of wonderful, and is probably made so sensitive in order that we may guard ourselves from those poisons, which we have no other means of knowing to be near us. Yet some of the most deadly gases cannot be smelt.

In order to maintain health and strength, wholesome food is necessary, and this fact is well known to the majority of the human race. But that it is even more necessary that the air we breathe should be pure, and should contain its proper proportion of oxygen, is a fact which, if known, is very commonly neglected. It is not only that the oxygen is reduced in quantity in rooms which are imperfectly ventilated, and where people are crowded together, but we breathe out with the air certain organic poisons which are inhaled either by ourselves or by our neighbours. These poisons, known as ptomaines, are of a deadly character. We cannot inhale them with impunity. Yet in dining-rooms, theatres, and ball-rooms, which are crowded, and badly ventilated, it is impossible to avoid inhaling them.

Without intending anything in the form of a boast, I will now venture on a personal matter. If I enter a hair-dresser's shop, and am recommended by the owner to use a hair-wash which he states will prevent the hair from falling off, and I find he is as bald as a London pavement, I have no faith in his wash. When I find a medical man who professes to cure or prevent various ailments from which he is a frequent sufferer, I consider that his confidence is greater than his knowledge.

During some fifteen years at Woolwich, whilst occupying the position of Professor at the Royal Military Academy, and also superintendent of the Royal Artillery Observatory, my work was very severe. On very many occasions I have been at work at the observatory until one o'clock A.M., and have had to commence a lecture at eight A.M. at the Academy, after not more than five hours' sleep.

During the summer of 1877 I was in Central India; during the winter of 1878 I was in Nova Scotia, where the temperature is frequently below zero. In spite of the hard work, I can claim a record which is at least unusual, viz. that during upwards of thirty years I have not been sufficiently ill to take a breakfast in bed, and, except from a severe cut on my shin, have during thirty years never been on the sick-list. Colds, coughs, sore throats, and other ailments, from which I used to suffer as a young man, I am now free from. I can therefore claim to be something more than a bald man recommending a wash to preserve the hair. I attribute my immunity from many of those ills to which flesh is heir to having during many years studied 'the art of breathing.'

A distinguished engineer lately told me the following. A friend

of his had to descend to a great depth in a mine, and whilst there was subjected to a pressure of two atmospheres. It was his first experience of breathing such an atmosphere. On returning to the surface he entered a boat in order to cross a river, and he suddenly discovered that he was not breathing, and he exclaimed to his companion, who was accustomed to very deep mines, 'I am not breathing.' 'Oh,' was the reply, 'that usually occurs to me when I have been an hour or so' under a pressure of two atmospheres.' Here was an example the very opposite of that which occurred to me at Simla, where I was breathing what may be termed half an atmosphere. The individual who had been breathing two atmospheres instead of one had over-oxygenised the blood, and the readjustment was effected automatically by scarcely breathing at all. Sanitary science is much talked about at the present time, but probably the most important and the most neglected proceeding connected with our health is 'the art of breathing.'

A. W. DRAYSON
(*Major-General*).

BIMETALLISM ONCE MORE

THOSE who were privileged to hear Mr. Gladstone's speech, three weeks since, on the subject of the resumption of the Brussels Conference, must have been charmed with its play and power. As a debating achievement it was miraculous. The youngest might have envied its vivacity, and those who were subjected to its *badinage* might have forgiven its satire in their admiration of the skill of the artist. The form of the speech was nigh perfect. About its substance there may be different opinions. It was certainly a most conservative plea. The word is not intended as an epithet of dispraise. It is a very serious matter to make any change in the standard of value of a nation—it is serious to lend any countenance to a proposal leading up to the consideration of a change. Our pecuniary obligations to one another are based upon a certain unit of weight of a single metal; and a grave burden is upon those who would presume to alter this basis, thus sanctioning a departure from what was tacitly understood between the parties when the obligations were first constituted. There is a great risk of injustice. There must inevitably be an unsettlement in many minds, produced by something more than a suspicion of violated morality. I would not blame hesitancy in provoking such an unsettlement. If Mr. Gladstone is conservative in this matter, so am I. After all, contracts should be kept as a rule; and, like the founders of the American Constitution, I would not favour anything that should impair their obligation. Even the appearance of evil should be avoided. Before entertaining proposals of change in the money-unit of debt, some clear powerful and continuing reason should be produced. But circumstances may exist establishing such a reason, and when they do the injustice may be on the side of inaction. Lord Burghley was not a revolutionary minister, and he had not so much as heard of land nationalisation. He took note, however, of the great change in the value of money that was in movement about him, and he established a law requiring in ecclesiastical and university leases a reservation of a certain proportion of rents in corn instead of rents in money, which saved from waste the property dedicated to the Church and the universities. If any fault is now to be found with Lord Burghley, it must be because he did not go further. Greater interference would have been greater

justice. This example, three centuries old, may warrant the temerity of analysing proposals of change to-day. For myself, I may say I have been more than once called upon to consider such proposals, and if I venture now, for the first time, to put forth some opinions of my own on the subject, it is not until after much hesitation, and only under the cogency of a belief that there is a serious argument worthy of being examined.

What is a standard of value? asked Mr. Gladstone, when he was fairly launched in his speech; and I thought he was going to pluck out the heart of the mystery. I was disappointed. He spoke of some qualities a standard should possess, the chief among them being that it should be invariable, and he averred that gold had been proved to possess this attribute in the great experience that followed the Californian and Australian discoveries. Gold, he said, had not varied more than 3 or 4 per cent. through all that time. What did he mean by this? How did he prove it? All he meant and cited was that the price of silver per ounce measured in gold had not gone up more than a penny or two in the London market. Gold had not varied, because silver had not varied in relation to it. I had thought this error was long since exploded. I do not think I have seen it reproduced these thirty years. It is not quite as gross as the fallacy of those who say gold is invariable because it is always 3*l.* 17*s.* 10½*d.* per ounce at the Mint, but is akin to it. During the whole of the period to which Mr. Gladstone referred, any man who owed money in France, or any other country in the Latin Union, had the right to pay it at his pleasure in gold or silver at a fixed rate, and the consequence was that if there was any tendency in London for gold to become cheaper in relation to silver than the ratio established in Paris, gold was bought and sent over to Paris to take the place of silver there. French bankers saw the opportunity of gain and seized it. Hence it happened that gold could never get away from the fixed ratio to silver by a difference greater than the cost of transmitting it to Paris and of bringing back silver in return. The process of taking over gold and bringing away silver did, in fact, go merrily on, so that the currency of France became predominantly gold instead of predominantly silver. Observers now remark that the process would not have gone on for ever; but it was maintained until the force of the Australian and Californian discoveries had spent itself, or had been counteracted by profuse discoveries of silver. This substitution of gold for silver in France is still studied as a most interesting episode in monetary history, though long since discarded as affording any suggestion of invariability in the value of gold. Its futility for this purpose is shown by the fact that since the suspension of the law allowing the substitution of the one metal for the other in the Latin Union, the price of gold in relation to silver has varied enormously. This fact would show gold to be variable if the earlier

fact had shown it to be invariable, but both facts are worthless in establishing any conclusion.

But what should a standard of value be? If we were selecting one for the first time, what should we try to secure in it? The common answer would probably be that we should choose some substance such that a given weight should always be exchangeable for, as nearly as possible, the same bundle of mixed commodities. If gold were the material, we should hope that a hundred sovereigns would always command about the same combination of bread and beef, and clothes, and house-furniture, and coals, and other ordinary objects of desire and use. If this is what we aim at, then gold has altogether failed to secure it. The demonstration of failure is easy and complete. No statistician questions it. Certain laborious persons have taken out, year by year, the gold prices in some well-known marts of large groups of commodities, so as to ascertain, by adding such prices together and taking the mean of them, what have been the variations in prices of the groups. These investigators have varied a little in their plans. One man chooses Hamburg as his mart; another, London. One has a larger number of commodities in his tabulation; another, less. One man treats all commodities as of equal importance; another seeks to give greater effect to the variations in articles of largest consumption. Their results are well known as index numbers; and though the variations of method of the several investigators produce variations in their numbers, yet they practically agree in two conclusions: first, that during the time of the great operation of the gold discoveries, say from 1850 to 1864, prices advanced some thirty per cent.; and that, again, during the last twenty years—from 1873 to 1893—prices have gone down about thirty per cent. We have got down to something like the same range—if anything, to a rather lower range—of prices than prevailed before 1850. These great oscillations, which cannot properly be said to correct one another, prove that gold is not a stable standard, if stability is to be measured by command of commodities; and I repeat that, although the precise figures may be in dispute, the great facts are universally admitted. Tried by the selling prices of things, the people of the years 1850–64 experienced a great fall in the value of gold; and tried by the same test the people of the years 1873–93 have experienced a great rise. But is the test sound? After all, what is proved by the index numbers in question is that the ratio $\frac{\text{commodities}}{\text{gold}}$ has changed, and the change may be in commodities and not in gold. A thing may become dearer, like oysters, because, through some mishap or mismanagement, nature does not reproduce it as formerly; it may become cheaper, like a hundred manufactures, because cunning men have found out quicker and easier ways of making it. Gold may all the time be steady. These are obvious truths; though, considering the

comparatively uniform character of our commercial and industrial development, it is at least a little improbable that we should be driven to refer a great and continuous rise in the price of commodities during many years, and again a great and continuous fall for as long a period, to variations in commodities only. We should scarcely expect these movements in opposite directions. Putting this question aside, it remains plain that the prices of things, and even of groups of things, do not furnish a sound test of the stability of a standard, and we must look about for a better definition of stability and a better test of it. The reasoning we have been pursuing suggests another definition. Things may become cheaper because they can be produced with less effort; and the re-delivery of the same number of things, after a definite interval, may represent a less sacrifice than was involved in their first delivery. Or, things may become dearer because more effort is required for their production, and re-delivery would, in this case, involve a greater sacrifice. We may aim not at a re-delivery of article by article, but at a repayment of labour by labour, or of sacrifice by sacrifice; and, if this be our aim, a standard should be something which, as far as possible, involves the same labour and the same sacrifice in obtaining it. I do not stop to investigate the ethical foundation of this principle, which might lead us far afield; but I believe the standard so described does represent what would commonly be accepted as the *desideratum*, and that Mr. Gladstone's vindication of gold rested in his conviction that the effort represented in bringing an ounce of gold into any market such as London is sufficiently constant to be treated for practical purposes as invariable.

Is it true that gold is thus a stable standard? Mr. Gladstone's reasons for thinking so were vain, but the thing may be true. I was one of the six members of the Gold and Silver Commission who could not see their way to recommend bimetallism, and reported: 'When we look at the character and times of the fall in the prices of commodities . . . we think the sounder view is that the greater part of the fall has resulted from causes touching the commodities, rather than from an appreciation of the standard.' In the same paragraph we had said, 'We are far from denying that there may have been, and probably has been, some appreciation of gold,' though we held it impossible to determine its extent. Let me make a confession. I hesitated a little about this paragraph. I thought there was, perhaps, more in the suggestion of an appreciation of gold than my colleagues believed; but whilst I thus doubted I did not dissent. I am now satisfied that there has been an appreciation of gold greater than I suspected when I signed the Report, and I should not be able to concur in the same paragraph again. My conclusion is built up on many reasons, and it seems to me to explain many phenomena otherwise inexplicable. I may submit a consideration which may, perhaps, be accepted as affording a test. The fact of a considerable

fall of prices in the years 1873-93 is universally admitted. The fall may be taken at thirty per cent. The cause of the fall is disputed. It may have been produced by a reduced cost of production of commodities, or by an increased cost of production of gold, or by the operation of both causes. Assume the dominant cause to be a reduced cost of producing commodities, what effect would that have on the production of gold, if the conditions of production of gold remained the same? Things in general are by hypothesis obtainable with less labour, while the labour of producing gold is unchanged. It would seem to follow that gold-mining would become more profitable. The machinery required is cheaper; carriage is cheaper; the independent worker can make his earnings and the hired labourer can make his wages go further. Capitalist and workmen would both be stimulated to extend the range of their activity. If a certain number of ounces per ton sufficed to keep up gold-crushing in a given reef before, it would do so now and leave something over. Where gold-crushing just paid its way, it would come to yield a profit. What was profitable would be more profitable; what just paid costs would become profitable; what had been prosecuted at a loss would involve less loss. In the absence of some change in the conditions of producing gold itself, all these things would tend to increase the production of gold. I find this argument is not always accepted at once, either by monometallist or bimetallist. It would almost seem to be caviare to the general. Yet both monometallist and bimetallist who do understand it accept it. Put it in another way, as, indeed, it was put to me by a friend who thought my reasoning mere spinning of cobwebs. What really stimulates an industry, he said, is a better price for its products. Quite true. When the word went around in Cornwall in former days of a better price for tin, new levels were driven, new shafts opened, old abandoned workings resumed, tributers were more eager to tender, and there was a sense of bustle and increase everywhere. This was the result of a better price for tin. A similar result may be expected from a better price for gold. A better price for gold? When does gold get a better price? When other things get less prices. There is no other way in which it can fall out; and so we come around to the conclusion that if commodities are cheaper and the conditions of gold-finding remain unaltered, there will be a tendency to an increased production of gold. Turn to the facts. The following table shows the production of gold in quinquennial periods since 1851:—

| | | | |
|-------------------|--------------|-------------------|--------------|
| 1851-55 | £ 27,815,400 | 1871-75 | £ 24,260,300 |
| 1856-60 | 28,144,900 | 1876-80 | 24,052,200 |
| 1861-65 | 25,816,300 | 1881-85 | 20,804,900 |
| 1866-70 | 27,206,900 | 1886-90 | 22,640,000 |

These figures show that, instead of the increase that should have happened under the hypothesis, there is a large falling off. There has been some recovery in recent years through the development of

the Transvaal mines, and this is important in another connection; but, during many years of continuously falling prices, reaching a fall of thirty per cent.; there has been a considerable diminution of production. The conclusion is irresistible, that there have been serious changes in the conditions of the production of gold. Gold is harder to get. If it had been as easy to get as before, there would have been an increase in the quantity gotten. This has not increased: it has not even been stationary: it has fallen away. And there has been another cause, apart from the incontestable reduction in the real cost of things, why gold-mining should have been stimulated. During the last twenty years great nations have discarded silver for gold as the basis of their currencies, and have accumulated stores of gold coin and bullion. Had other circumstances remained unaltered, this would have tended to produce a further reduction of prices, besides that due to the real reduction in cost of things, and would have added another stimulus to gold production. The falling away in spite of the two streams of causes moving towards an increase still more strongly supports the conclusion of a serious increase in the difficulty of finding gold. Greater difficulty in finding is but another phrase for greater cost of production, and I would add greater cost of production involves appreciation. This last point is strangely questioned by some persons of authority, both bimetallists and monometallists. Gold is harder to get. The miner or streamer who just made a living finds he can no longer do so, although the things necessary for his subsistence can be obtained more cheaply. He deserts his ground. The operations of himself and his fellows are contracted. He shifts his occupation. The industrial statistics of gold-producing countries attest these statements. The total produce falls off. If gold were a commodity practically consumed as produced, the continuous consumption of which was essential to the maintenance of human existence, there would be an enhancement of value such as we know occurs, and in days of restricted commerce did occur more frequently and more severely, in food products in years of famine. But gold is a product slowly consumed. Its use in the arts admits of curtailment with little inconvenience. As for money, commerce can adapt itself to any supply, though the process of transition may be, and must be, unpleasant. It does so by descending to a lower scale of prices or by slackening an ascent to a higher scale; just as in the contrary circumstances it would have quickened an ascent or arrested a decline. What is true is that the ratio of appreciation cannot be measured numerically by the changes in the conditions of production. Neither, I submit, can it be measured, as some suppose, by the relative-diminution of the coined money of the world, consequent on a falling off in the annual supply. The effect upon *préciation* (if I may use such a word) in any market, and in relation to any commodity, of a change in the conditions of production of gold is a func-

tion not merely of these conditions but of the vitality of the commercial intercourse between the given market and the gold-producing country, and of the facility of increasing or contracting the production of the commodity the value of which is being measured in relation to gold. If we can imagine a fairly long interval of steady production all around, producing a dynamical equilibrium, the preciation of gold will become directly related to its cost of production on the margin of production, but we cannot assert this of any moment. Looking back over the history of the last forty years, it seems to me indisputable that there was a general depreciation of gold during the first half, a depreciation that went on after the supplies of the metal had been checked; and an equally general and serious appreciation during the second half. I hesitate to give any numerical estimate of these changes. The depreciation of the first period must have been greater than that shown by the rise of prices, for it counteracted what must otherwise have been a fall; the appreciation during the second must for a similar reason be less than the fall of prices, for it co-operates with other causes producing a fall. I have no doubt as to the fact of appreciation; I believe it to have been serious; the question which is doubtful is whether it will be continuous. Many men are ready to prophesy on this, as they are with respect to the future of silver; but their prophecies carry no conviction to my mind. It is possible that the development of the Transvaal may fundamentally alter the conditions of the problem, but this is, to say the least, uncertain, and, whichever way the event may happen, there is a case for consideration.

We have been passing through a period of appreciation of gold, and no one can tell how long it will last. This is a serious matter. An appreciation of 10 per cent.—and this is probably an insufficient estimate—would just counteract all that we have done in the last fifteen years in the reduction of the National Debt. We have reduced the nominal amount, but the real burden is unaltered. The pressure of all debts, public and private, has increased. Nor is this all. Although it is immaterial to commercial and industrial activity what may be the scale of prices, high or low, when a scale is reached and maintained, yet the transition from high prices to low is extremely restrictive of enterprise. The person who ventures on the use of things—that is, the man who creates enterprise, whether in industry or commerce—has his wealth nibbled away by those who have money claims upon him; and the man who trades on borrowed capital trades as little as possible if he finds his assets shrinking compared with his liabilities. Differences must also constantly arise between masters and workmen, between the producers of a raw material and the creators of the finished product—in a word, between all who co-operate to put something on the market—if they find its selling price mysteriously diminishing, and their shares of it have to be perpetually

adjusted. These are difficulties which we may recognise as characterising our history during recent years. The observer, however, who notes them, and is a little disquieted thereby, may fairly ask whether we should not have had an equally unsatisfactory experience, though of a different kind, if silver had been the standard of value of Western Europe since 1873. Judged, indeed, by that test of the prices of commodities which recommends itself to primary impressionists, silver has been reasonably stationary. Silver has declined in relation to gold, just as much as the mass of commodities is shown by index numbers to have declined, and it follows that silver, in relation to these commodities, has been steady. Roughly speaking, 100% in gold will buy in mixed commodities what it required 130% to buy twenty years since, but 100% in gold will also buy as much silver as it took 130% to buy at that time; and silver thus appears to have been nearly stationary in relation to commodities. But, as we have confessed, there has been a reduction in the real cost of commodities through easier and quicker methods of production; and the comparative steadiness in the value of silver only entitles us to say that the increasing facilities of its production have kept pace with the increasing facilities of production of other things. Even this statement must be corrected by the remembrance that silver has been largely demonetised in Europe, a circumstance which would of itself have caused a depreciation of it in the markets. Making this correction, we arrive at the conclusion that the development of the production of silver has fallen a little short of the development of the production of commodities. We should, perhaps, have looked for a greater change in the value of silver had we looked at the development in its production alone. The following figures show how its production over all the world has increased:—

| | kilos | | kilos |
|-------------------|-----------|-------------------|-----------|
| 1851-55 | 886,115 | 1876-80 | 2,450,252 |
| 1856-60 | 904,990 | 1881-85 | 2,861,709 |
| 1861-65 | 1,101,150 | 1886-90 | 3,432,457 |
| 1866-70 | 1,339,085 | 1891 | 4,480,000 |
| 1871-75 | 1,969,425 | 1892 | 4,731,000 |

In spite of these figures it remains true that had silver been our standard there would have been a comparative steadiness in the prices of things. Creditors would indeed have suffered, because while the things delivered back might be nearly the same, the sacrifice of repayment would have been less. Silver would have failed to satisfy the conditions we seek in an ideal standard in one direction, as gold has failed to satisfy them in another. There would not have been the same hindrance to enterprise as the appreciation of gold has involved.* We may realise to ourselves in passing the derangement necessarily caused in the commerce between countries having standards moving in opposite directions; but the conclusion of the

inquiry that has been traced is that the ideal standard of recent years should have been a compound of the two metals. Like the gridiron pendulum, whose parts expand up and down leaving the centre of oscillation unchanged, a properly chosen unit of money, part gold and part silver, might have maintained a truly stationary value. This species of bimetallism has been often suggested, but it may perhaps be somewhat summarily dismissed, as it was by the Gold and Silver Commission, as wholly impracticable. If it could be entertained at home—and the brains of Lombard Street would reel at the vision—we should be isolated internationally. The nations of the world have been accustomed to use gold as money, and have been accustomed to use silver as money; many have used, some still use alternatively both, leaving the option in every case to the payer of a debt; but the use of money based on a unit which is a mixture of the two metals would be a revolution making all things new. Ingenuity is always attractive, but there are forces against which ingenuity breaks itself in vain.

Is there nothing else that can be proposed? The situation is serious. It is a dream to suppose that gold is stable in value. It is no more stable than silver. It has undergone a considerable appreciation in recent years, and industry and commerce have been more hampered by its movement than they would have been had silver been our standard. Whether the appreciation will be maintained undiminished is uncertain, but every step taken towards the further demonetisation of silver must tend to the enhancement of the value of gold. It is true that much inconvenience is involved in the use of gold as the standard in some countries, and of silver as the standard in others, with no link to check their divergent variations; but the advantage of having the same monetary basis throughout the world would be counterbalanced if we made gold that universal basis and tied all the fortunes of all the nations to it. At this point the bimetallists come in with their solution. Why not go back, they ask, to the system which prevailed, though it was not universally recognised, up to 1873? As, within the Latin Union, gold and silver could both be coined in unlimited quantities, and each was available to pay any debt, subject to the condition that a thousand francs in silver was always fifteen and a half times as heavy as a thousand francs in gold, this fixed the relative price of gold and silver throughout the world, and the same monetary basis was secured. Whether accounts were kept in dollars, or francs, or pounds, or rupees, mattered not: their reciprocal ratios were fixed and the variations of exchange never in effect went beyond the narrow limits of the cost of transmitting bullion from one country to another. And the effects of the depreciation or appreciation of either metal were minimised, for they were diffused over the widest area. There was a great depreciation of gold under the influence of the Australian

and Californian discoveries, and had the rest of the commercial world outside the United Kingdom followed the example of Holland in demonetising gold the effect of the depreciation within the United Kingdom would have been most severe. Gold, in fact, spread itself abroad as money, especially in France, and the effect was abated. So in recent years. We should not have suffered under an appreciation of gold : we should have had instead some depreciation of silver, but that, too, would have been lessened as the range of the reception of silver as alternative money was widened.

I join with those who have hesitated, and do hesitate, to accept these suggestions. I was, I repeat, one of the six members of the Gold and Silver Commission who did not see their way to bimetallism. Peel's pound is as dear to us as 'the dollar of our fathers' can be to any citizen of the United States, and if I am ever disposed to laugh at any Narcissus of Lombard Street admiring his own yellow image, I do so with sympathy. I have acknowledged without reserve the gravity of any modification of the basis of contracts. But it must be pointed out, if it has not already been made evident, that our contracts have always been liable to modification through the legislation of other countries ; and in this instance have been so modified. A. engages to pay B. at some future time 1,000*l.*, representing a definite weight of gold ; but within the Latin Union the law provided that silver should pay debts as much as gold at the ratio of 15½ to 1 ; and it followed that the diminution of A.'s real burden, which would have followed the Australian and Californian discoveries, was checked halfway through the absorption of gold in France. The law of free coinage of both gold and silver has been suspended in the Latin Union, whilst Germany and other countries have discarded silver and adopted gold, and here A.'s real burden has been aggravated by the action of foreign Powers. It must be admitted, at least as a possibility, that if we took legislative action here we might do no more than counteract legislative action elsewhere, and thus prevent what would otherwise be an alteration of obligations. Mr. Gladstone raised another objection in his famous speech. He reproduced an argument, put with great force by Mr. Giffen, and apparently first propounded by Mr. Herries : If it was proposed that on a given day silver should be as available as gold for the payment of debts at the ratio of fifteen and a half to one, the market ratio being now much higher, every creditor who could get in his debts immediately would do so, and buy silver and other commodities (silver pre-eminently) for the rise. The form of the catastrophe might not be exactly as anticipated, but I admit that a mad confusion, a dislocation—we might say a wreckage—of the financial world would probably follow. The proposal is, moreover, open to the objection—which in my mind is fatal—that it would give an immediate and direct bonus to the Silver Ring. A plan of action may, however, be suggested, free from this vice, and not involving

chaos in the City. Assuming that the existing market value of silver showed a ratio between it and gold of something between twenty-three and twenty-four to one, and that a law was passed providing that the Mint should receive silver bullion and grant certificates therefor which should be legal tender at the ratio of twenty-five to one, what would be the effect of such a law? It would be inoperative until, by the rise in gold or fall in silver, or both movements, the ratio of twenty-five to one was reached, but it would prevent appreciation or depreciation, or the effect of both going further. There would be no dislocation of markets, no scattering of gifts, but a level platform would be reached, and apprehensions of further sinkings of exchanges would disappear. If after a time, through gold being more easily produced in the Transvaal, or silver less easily produced in Nevada, the ratio of twenty-five to one became too high to be operative, silver would cease to be brought into the Mint to be exchanged for certificates, and we should return to monometallism. The suggestion that silver might continue to become more and more abundant, and gold more and more difficult to win, so that gold might cease to be brought to the Mint, may, I think, be dismissed as fanciful.

Would there be any prospect of the leading Governments of the world accepting the ratio of twenty-five to one if we were prepared to suggest it at a reassembling of the Brussels Conference? The concurrence of three or four would probably be enough; but could two or three be got to respond to the British delegates? The main difficulty is to procure British initiative: it is admitted that as far as regards the principle of free mintage of both gold and silver, there is scarcely a Power that would hold back if we led the way, though some hesitation might arise over the ratio. France has a large stock of silver, and France might recoil from a ratio which would make the Bank of France bankrupt if its assets were exposed to a fixed realisation on its terms. But the Bank of France might be bankrupt to-morrow if its silver assets were realised at their market value; the solvency of the institution is maintained because the custom of the country enables a large silver coinage to be domestically upheld at an over-appreciation. The silver in the vaults of the Bank is not available for the settlement of foreign balances. It must be kept at home to serve domestic purposes. This state of things might survive an international agreement at the ratio of twenty-five to one. Five-franc pieces would remain outside such an agreement. Like our own shillings, though much greater in amount, they would circulate as a local currency of a token character, international liquidations being settled by the silver exchanged for certificates at the proposed ratio. I should expect some initial difficulty with France, but I doubt whether it would endure. The other Powers wait upon us, and the prime difficulty is assuredly at home. Here it is great. There is a considerable dead weight to be moved, and yet it is of a character that at short

notice might move with a run. This was strikingly apparent in the recent debate in the House of Commons. I have said that Mr. Gladstone's speech was Conservative, and properly Conservative; but the wise heads that wagged approval of his arguments, good and bad alike, what were they? I have always thought Mr. Giffen's clamours against the Report of the Gold and Silver Commission quite appropriate. There were twelve of us appointed to examine the question. We were presumed to have some qualifications for the work. We received evidence from a cloud of witnesses, many of them of the strictest faith. We deliberated long, and in the end we all agreed that a stable ratio might be maintained if the leading commercial nations agreed to a ratio not very different from the market ratio of the day. This was the express finding of the six who did not see their way to bimetallism,¹ and the rest, of course, agreed. The concurrent use of gold and silver at a fixed ratio thus becomes a question of expediency, and Mr. Giffen must be permitted to denounce 'the scandal.' Not predisposed to heresy, the Commissioners were forced to be heretical by the experience of the century. The dogmatic conclusion that nothing in the shape of bimetallism could be, disappeared in the face of the fact that it had been. The equivalence of gold and silver at the ratio of $15\frac{1}{2}$ to 1 was maintained in Western Europe—say, rather, throughout the commercial world—with no greater variations than affect exchanges between two gold-using countries, under changes of circumstances so tremendous that no sharper trial of the stability of a ratio can well be conceived. The gold discoveries pretty nearly inverted the values of the total world-production* of silver and gold; the production of the latter metal quadrupled, and indeed for a time more than quadrupled; yet, as Mr. Gladstone says, silver varied very slightly from 60*d.* per ounce, or in other words, the relation of silver to gold was practically constant. With the rupture of the bimetallic tie, the ratio has changed enormously, though there has been nothing like the same alteration in the relative production of the two metals. These phenomena defy explanation, except by admitting the conclusion to which the Commissioners were driven. When we take our stand on that conclusion, the question of action must be determined by a balance of divergent considerations. Five years ago I joined with my friends in deprecating any attempt to establish an international agreement for the free coinage of both gold and silver as standard money. I have advanced with further experience and reflection to the belief that such an agreement is to be desired, and that it could be accomplished with the minimum of change and with great advantage to the empire and the world on the conditions I have suggested.

LEONARD COURTNEY.

¹ Sir John Lubbock and Mr. Birch doubting.

'ARCHITECTURE—AN ART OR NOTHING'

MR. JACKSON confesses that the theorem which his book of essays was to prove will 'seem to most outsiders a mere battle of words, and even to the better informed a distinction of little consequence.' But still 'its point needs driving home, and Lord Grimthorpe, being an amateur architect in his way (whatever that means), might be expected to understand something of the real points in issue,' which 'his opening sentence proves that he does not.' If I did not understand before, still less do I now. Even when I hoped to propitiate him by indicating that I called Wren the 'surveyor' of St. Paul's—the title continued to this day—in his own old sense and not the popular one, I fare no better and am told that I use the term unfairly. There is no pleasing some people.

I offered him also the only small correction of the title of his book which would make it sense—at any rate in his sense—and then I am reminded that 'the essayists might be expected to understand their own meaning' (only they evidently did not), and that 'no note of interrogation was in their minds' when they headed every page of their book 'Architecture—a Profession or an Art.' A little more proficiency in the very inferior art of writing what you really mean would have perceived that this means that architecture is one as much as the other, as they are not contradictory; indeed all the world except the essayists consider it to be both, and so does every possible document ever issued by any architectural society or general meeting, as I showed in my review, and could have done still more if it had been worth while. Now we are told that what they meant was that it is 'an art or nothing,' and so this time I have adopted that heading exactly for these few pages. Nevertheless that is wrong too, and in fact nonsense, and not one of the points in issue, according to his own showing. For he truly says that all his opponents, and certainly I, admit that it is 'an art.' What he should have said then, if he had known how to express his own meaning and yet would not accept my simple (?), was 'an art and nothing else.' Such an interrogative is quite a legitimate and sufficient mode of introducing an argument that one of the alternatives is wrong. If he thought I seriously meant that the (?) had been omitted *per incuriam*

throughout, I can only class him with that *perfervidum genus* whose heads Sydney Smith said require a surgical operation to get in a joke. I must now substitute *per ignorantiam*.

That then is the point that wants driving home, it seems. But I think not the only one. Why does he not try to make some answer to the fact that a multitude of other things and persons are called art and artists by our *jus et norma loquendi*, from whom the architects must be far more anxious to sever themselves than even from such inferior creatures as those who are called members of the learned professions? I need not repeat my former catalogue of such arts. His new definition or distinction does him no good, unless he can persuade mankind that such things as legal advocacy and judicial eminence, and all successful oratory, and the art of influencing mankind by either speech or writing, and all scientific proficiency, from that of Newton, Adams, or Faraday, down to unusual manual skill, do not 'require special natural gifts,' as much as the designing of the Oxford Schools or Museum, or the Law Courts, or almost any other feat of our architectural artists of the last two centuries. Probably he has heard of that striking and true saying of Tyndall's that science has a 'province of imagination,' and can make no great advances without it. Has architecture made any in that time?

I have never yet been able to learn what good these pretenders to artistic inspiration fancy it would do them or their craft if they could get an unanimous plébiscite that they are to be deemed 'artists and nothing else,' and also that nobody else is, except painters and sculptors; of whom the immense majority do not even profess to be anything but copiers of nature—the very thing that architects cannot possibly be; and they are generally by their own confession bad copiers when they profess to copy or imitate ancient styles, and worse when they try to invent new ones. That indeed is the burden of the essays themselves, and of the still more condemnatory article in the last *Quarterly*, which Mr. Jackson oddly adopts, and which shows the same discrimination as it did in 1874, when the only modern building it praised was that Portcullis Hall of which I spoke before, and in the book which Mr. Jackson sneers at, and the St. Alban's restoration jointly, without having seen either, as he confesses.

And now the *Quarterly's* unique note of admiration is for an abolished window there, which was mostly composed of 'Roman' cement and of a very common old pattern, and which I have dared not to copy again. A fatality seems to attend the antiquaries and architects whenever they are unwise enough to condescend to particulars there for either praise or blame; and not only there, but at such places as Lichfield and St. Mary's, Oxford, where I am wholly on Mr. Jackson's side, and rejoice in the mess which the Society of Antiquaries have been led into at Lichfield by their Dr. Cox, who knows so much better than the chapter records and all the officials

of the cathedral what has been done there, and by whom, from Bishop Hacket's time till now.¹

Mr. Jackson thinks he has completely answered my remark that most or all of those whom the world calls artists execute their own works, which no modern architect does, though those builders do who neither direct nor are directed by architects. By this rule, he says, sculptors who do not cast their own statues and painters whose works are copied for publication are not artists. If he were right it would not signify a farthing, even to that trumpery verbal question. But, as usual, he is wrong and does not understand his words. The founder who casts a statue from a complete model, and the engraver or photographer who copies a picture, do nothing but simply imitate by mechanical or chemical processes what the real artist has completely done. An architect in no sense whatever makes the building of which he draws a picture, which, for all we can tell, he or his 'perspective ghost' might have copied from the building itself or one like it. And its effect in stone depends so much on the mode of execution that the best design is spoilt if that is wrong, though not one architect in a thousand seems to know that, or to take the smallest pains to secure proper execution; and the earlier the style is that he is copying the worse is the result.

Another of my 'misunderstandings of the mind of the essayists' is that they 'certainly do not want protection by any kind of legal restriction' against the common practice of combining architecture and surveying; and he declares that 'their whole object is to plead for free trade in Art.' What that means I have no idea, and I am sure he has not. He evidently reckons on that clap-trap phrase taking with people who never stop to think.² But if he really does not want that kind of protection or restriction what does he mean by again '*demanding* that the surveyor shall stick to surveying and the architect to architecture'? It would be a waste of time and words to argue with a man who so contradicts himself within a page, to say nothing of the intrinsic absurdity, at this time of day, of repeating the ignorant old cant that nobody can spend whatever spare time he has from one kind of occupation in learning and practising another successfully besides—in other words, that all spare time should be spent in idle amusement, or in rhodomontading about 'art,' which seems to get weaker and more vulgar the more we talk and write about it. In old days they did neither, but produced beautiful works.

That is Mr. Jackson's principal nostrum for reviving architecture. The other was that pupils who have paid their 200 to 500 guineas for the privilege of copying architects' plans and specifications for

¹ See a series of letters thereon in the *Church Times* of January, by him and the dean and two canons and the architect: a delightful exposure indeed.

² He cannot mean to rely on the word 'legal;' for a trade-union restriction may be and often is more effective.

three or four years, and yet feel that they have learnt nothing about building, should 'go under a clerk of the works,' whose only business is to see that the builder executes those plans, however bad and wrong they may be. And then, because I made fun of such nostrums and 'confessed that I have no *general* one of my own,' he finishes off with an unlucky bit of Horace inviting me to share his. I answer his 'si quid novisti rectius istis candidus imperti' by reminding him that I have candidly imparted several bits of knowledge, of a thoroughly practical kind at any rate, though not aspiring to artistic transcendentalism. It was open to him to argue that they were wrong, but he has not tried, beyond sneering generally at the possibility of 'an amateur architect in his way'—the way of the bishops and monks who built all our abbeys and cathedrals, sometimes with and sometimes without 'architects' or mere designers—having learnt anything practical in forty years of building on a pretty large scale for himself and other people, which these artistic geniuses have not, or having ever convinced the best architect of this century, with all his notorious deficiencies, that he was making mistakes, or convincing everybody else that he had made them. He does not even perceive that my relations to Scott were rather different from his own, who was only Scott's pupil, and also different from those of his ordinary employers with no experience or practical taste or knowledge.

This is quite enough to say by way of reply. If the revival of architecture is to depend on such a series of unpractical, visionary, impossible essays and remedies as its chief artistic champion has now given us, it is indeed hopelessly sunk from 'the Queen of Arts' to a miserable *Ars Perdita*, if not a Social Evil.

GRIMTHORPE.

CARDINAL NEWMAN ON THE ETERNITY OF PUNISHMENT

THE awful question of the eternity of punishment has recently been treated by Mr. St. George Mivart in a manner which is, to say the least, original. It has deeply moved the Roman Catholic world, and in a lesser degree has interested non-Roman Catholics. Anglicans are not necessarily committed to the doctrine of an eternal hell; the case of *Fendall v. Wilson* (1863–1864), before the Privy Council, decided that the Thirty-nine Articles do not bind Anglicans to hold that doctrine. This decision cannot be said to have been given contrary ‘to the *unanimous* consent of the Fathers,’ for in the early Church, Clement and Origen were Restorationists, as were also Gregory of Nyssa, Gregory Nazianzen, and Theodore of Mopsuestia.

On the principle of Development of Doctrine, as taught by Cardinal Newman, an imperfect view may for a length of time prevail in the Church; nay, even a false view may be received everywhere, and later on *more light* may come, and the truth prevail. Space prevents my proving this, but it is well known to students of ecclesiastical history. For example, in the earliest Liturgies the Blessed Virgin was *prayed for*. That, according to the Roman Catholic Church now, was a gross error. Now she is *prayed to*: an opposite idea. As De Maistre in his work on *The Pope* observed truly, why should not this still be the ‘early Church’ compared with ages to come? I think the following letter, written some years ago to me by the late Cardinal Newman, opens a merciful view of that most awful and depressing doctrine. May it be of use to some storm-tossed souls!

‘The Oratory: June 4th, 1872.

‘My dear Sir;—In answer to your letter I feel obliged to say that I do not think our Lord’s atonement logically implies the eternity of future punishment in the case of those who depart this life unreconciled to Him.

‘As to that awful doctrine, I observe (1) that it is a negative one, viz. that the lost will never go to heaven, that there will be no restitution. What eternity in itself involves positively, in its idea, we have no notion whatever. (2) Succession of thought, the sense of a

succession of time, is not logically involved in the idea of eternity. In the legend of the monk and the bird we find centuries of pleasure seeming to be not longer than a few minutes; so may it be with centuries of pain. (3) Taking punishment to mean pain, there is an infinite number of punishments in degree. There is nothing to show that, in a multitude of cases, the only punishment will be the *pœnia damni*, that is, the loss of heaven. (4) There is nothing to make it necessary to believe that one and the same individual will for ever have one and the same degree of punishment. (5) Theologians of weight have advocated, and have been allowed to advocate, a gradual mitigation of punishment in the lost. (6) And many ancient missals contain a mass for the alleviation of their pains.

‘It is difficult to speak on this subject, for the Church has said little, and one has little guide beyond one’s own private judgment. The great truth is, that death ends our probation, and settles our state for ever; that there is no passing over the great gulf; that our only happiness is to be with God, and that those who are not with God are without Him.

‘I am, my dear Sir,

‘Most truly yours,

‘JOHN H. NEWMAN.’

Mr. Mivart, in the *Dublin Review* and elsewhere, has in recent years tried to spread a broad and generous view of many of the doctrines of the Roman Catholic Church. The case of Galileo, for example, was alluded to by him with great satisfaction, because it showed that Popes could in a very formal manner condemn certain alleged facts as being *contrary to Scripture*, and yet time has proved that the See of Rome was quite in the wrong. Cardinal Newman in the above letter, it will be observed, says ‘the Church has said little.’ If Cardinal Newman is right no Pope can now demand the mental assent of the Roman Catholic world to any dogmatic decree issued by him until the Vatican Council is reassembled. This seems a very startling statement; but the written words of the late Cardinal to the writer, written on the 19th of June, 1874, and so some years after the Vatican Council was adjourned, bear but one interpretation.

‘As the Infallibility of the Pope was not determined till just now, and even now the formal conditions of the occasions when his teaching is infallible are not yet determined’

If, as Cardinal Newman remarks, the Church Catholic has said but little on the question of the Eternity of Punishment, if also the Vatican Council has not yet decided the formal conditions of the occasions when his teaching is infallible, it is evident that there is still room for ‘schools of thought’ upon this very open subject.

LAST WORDS

ON THE HAPPINESS IN HELL

A REJOINDER

II

CATHOLICS are considered by outsiders as a sadly 'priest-ridden' set of people. This opinion is unjust. There are of course individuals, especially women, who run after men who have attained even a local celebrity in the clerical as in any other profession. But this is the most likely to occur as regards clerics amongst Low Church Protestants, in whose eyes their pastor is rather a 'prophet' than a 'priest,' and is revered for his 'personal' and not his 'official' position. Amongst Catholics, it should be, and generally is, the *office* rather than the *man* that is revered, and how truly august and justly worthy of reverence in the eyes of Catholics is that office! It is the priest who offers the greatest of all sacrifices at once for the living and the dead. It is the priest to whom the penitent unburdens his laden conscience with inexpressible relief and gains fresh energy to struggle against evil, from the sacramental words whereby the blood of Christ is believed to cleanse his stained soul of sins repented of. From the priest priceless words of comfort, of exhortation, of remonstrance, or of charitable censure and rebuke, have wondrous power to restrain the erring, to redeem the seemingly lost, and to guide in the path of judicious moderation, devoid of eccentricity, young minds which religious enthusiasm would otherwise tempt to pious extravagance. An experience of more than forty years enables me to bear a testimony, not to be lightly set aside, to the wondrous power for good the priest can exert, and to the general zeal and fidelity with which that influence is in fact exerted. Calumnious indeed is the statement that the French clergy, before the great Revolution, were unworthy their high calling; but it is a calumny De Tocqueville has abundantly refuted. Admirable is the devotion and self-denial of the French clergy of to-day, and the *Kulturkampf* in Teutonic lands has brought out the noble characteristics of the German priests. My own experience in Belgium enables me to declare how great has been the edification I have derived from the members of the priesthood of Louvain.

Nevertheless, as men must always possess the qualities of their

defects, so they must also have the defects of their qualities. Sacerdotalism is, as Cardinal Newman has excellently said, a beneficent necessity; but the best of things may be exaggerated, and an exaggerated Sacerdotalism is one of those things against which Catholics have to be on their guard. Priests themselves admit this: thus in response to a letter of mine deploring certain changes which had been effected to the regret of not a few Catholics, a *priest* replied in the following words: 'I can only say, with Gambetta, *le Cléricalisme, voilà l'ennemi!*'

We retain our Christian liberty while we remain faithful children of the Church. With the deepest reverence for the priesthood, and, above all, for those who possess the plenitude of the priestly office—namely, the Episcopate—we are perfectly free to receive a bishop's utterances not blindly, but with respectful criticism and due consideration of those external or internal conditions a knowledge of which may modify our views respecting his utterances.

Thank God it is no part of the Catholic Creed to believe in the infallibility of bishops! The essentially apostolic nature of the Church marvellously safeguards our liberty, and the Supreme Pontiff is not likely to bow down our necks in bondage to a power which has often been—as in the days of our great St. Thomas—rebellious and indocile to the chair of Peter. Indeed, there was a sect of heretics who were called the *Acephali* because, by a then unheard-of novelty, they had no bishop at their head!

Father Clarke, S.J., calls the attention of the readers of this Review to a fact which, on that account, it becomes absolutely incumbent on me to deal with here. He announces¹ that 'one prelate of the Church has already spoken, and that in no faltering terms.'

It is true that the Catholic Bishop of Nottingham has done me the signal honour of publishing a pastoral letter on the subject of my article, and it is therefore necessary that the readers of this Review should be told who and what the Bishop of Nottingham is, that his enunciations may be taken at their just value.

To the reverence I entertain for his office I add the esteem and admiration which are due to him on account of his conscientiousness, sincere piety, love for souls, and zealous discharge of his episcopal functions. Nevertheless, he has some other personal characteristics which have also to be taken into account. He is a prelate singularly impulsive, not to say rash, so that he may, without disrespect, be called the *enfant terrible* of the English Catholic Episcopate. I ought, therefore, to consider myself very fortunate, in that he declines to undertake² 'the task of censuring the various propositions in my article,' and confines himself to declaring that it appears to him to pervert the doctrine of the Church on the subject of Hell 'to a most grievous extent, and in a most dangerous way.'

The present occasion is not the first when he has impulsively come

¹ P. 84.

² As quoted in the *Tablet*, 17th of December, 1892, p. 968.

forward to fulminate energetic condemnations against persons who were so unfortunate as to take up positions which he did not regard with favour.

The results to him, however, of his previous effort cannot be deemed encouraging. In March 1886 he also published a pastoral, in which he condemned and denounced the Primrose League as a secret society, and sought to ruin its 'Habitations' by denying the sacraments to its gallant knights and noble 'dames.' Thereupon, some of his most estimable subjects—sons of right worthy parents who had done the Church much service—were not disposed to submit to their Bishop's fulminations and appealed to Rome, and determined, 'pending the judgment of the Holy See and the Catholic Episcopate of England,' to 'have the honour of being the excommunicated of his diocese'—as one of his opponents expressed it. The upshot of the matter was that the Bishop had in a very short time to eat his words, apologise, and withdraw his condemnations and censures.

These facts are here mentioned in order to show how small may be the value of his recently issued pastoral.

Therein he does not hesitate to say, after referring to a declaration of the Council of Florence :—

It is a heresy, therefore, to deny that the souls of unbaptized babies are guilty of sin, or that they are punished for their guilt.

What a sentence for a non-Catholic, or a Catholic unversed in theological language, to read!

Here is a putting of the worst foot foremost with a vengeance! This sentence of the Bishop is, I do not hesitate to say, *far* more dangerous and misleading than anything contained in my much-abused article.

The Bishop writes in English, and is, therefore, bound, if he does not wish to deceive and hoodwink his flock (as I am sure he does not), to use English words according to their English meaning. 'To punish,' Dr. Johnson tell us, is 'to chastise,' 'to afflict;' 'guilt' he defines as 'an offence, a fault, a crime,' and 'guilty' as 'wicked.' The Bishop's sentence thus means, to English ears, that unbaptized babies are wicked, and are chastised for their faults.

He adds, indeed, that we are encouraged to suppose that their punishment is of the lightest, and that they enjoy much happiness. They have no deeds of their own doing for which to be judged.

But, in fact, they are not *punished* at all, the theological term *punire* being one with a very wide signification.

As Canon Moyes, the Archbishop of Westminster's secretary, has pointed out,³ with admirable clearness in letters which I recommend to the attention of my readers as models of temperate reasoning, reposing on acute and accurate distinctions, the term *punire* may

³ See the *Tablet* for 24th of December and 31st of December, 1892.

denote: (1) positive afflictive punishment or (2) negative, privative punishment—such as loss of food, liberty, or even an inheritance, which might otherwise have accrued. It may also (3) denote the absence of something for which no claim exists, which has no proportion to the nature of him from whom it is absent, and which is something he can neither imagine nor desire, so that its absence can be no bar to complete contentment and entire happiness. To this last meaning of the term *punire* the English term ‘punishment’ does not correspond.

As before said, the Bishop refers to the Council of Florence, the decree of which (1438) is:—

Definimus . . . illorum animas, qui in actuali mortali peccato, vel solo originali decedent, mox (εὐθέως) in infernum descendere, poenis tamen disparibus puniendas.

But, as Canon Moyes reminds us, the great object at Florence was to secure a lasting and satisfactory union of the Greek Church with the Holy See. Now amongst the points in dispute was one regarding the *immediateness* after death of final rewards and punishments. There existed amongst some of the Greeks a belief that the saved (however good) did not go immediately to Heaven, or the lost immediately to Hell, but that both remained in a state of expectation till the Resurrection. The direct object of the decree, therefore, did not concern the *state* of the lost—about which there was no dispute—but the *immediateness* of the result, whichever it might be. This example may well serve to show how necessary it is, if we would avoid error, to know the circumstances and objects of such decrees—to know, in modern language, what was the *environment* of any Conciliar or Papal authoritative utterance.

But who, from the way in which the Bishop of Nottingham speaks about babies being punished for their guilt, would understand that they entered into a state of ceaseless happiness beyond anything we can either imagine or desire?

The Bishop of Nottingham tells us we must not say ‘that God’s actual grace is limited to those who are within the Church or have the faith.’ A thing I most certainly never said, as it is directly contrary to my convictions. Thereupon he adds: ‘The immense mass of mankind then are all elevated to the supernatural order.’ This, which he states so dogmatically, is a mere inference of his, and one in which I do not believe he is right; although I repeat what I before said,⁴ that God has refused to no man who fully obeys the voice of conscience, heathen though he be, the full beatitude of the light of glory.

The Bishop further tells us that ‘the preachers of the Gospel are sent to all’—a statement which would, I venture to think, surprise the authorities of the Society for the Propagation of the Faith. As a statement of historical fact it is ludicrously untrue. Of course,

if the Bishop means that preachers who are sent to some are virtually sent to all, it is a mysterious statement which I do not understand. I altogether fail to see how savages or tribes who have never seen a missionary can be blamed for not having become Catholics or obedient to the Ten Commandments.

A writer to the *Tablet*⁵ quotes Hugo (in *Schol. ad Rom. ii. 12*) as saying,

if anyone were brought up by a beast in a forest and remained some time in that condition, would he be responsible? I answer that he would, because he has the use of his natural reason.

But has he? How did Hugo know? He evolved his answer from his own consciousness with respect to a matter of experience. Human reason may be said in one sense to be a function of its environment, and will not be normally evolved from a state of *potentia* into *act* without the social stimulus. The Bishop, and those like him, lay down the law as to what will happen merely on *à priori* grounds and the assertions of predecessors no more qualified than themselves to express any opinion about it. What is really needful is a little acquaintance with facts ascertained by anthropologists, a knowledge of which would greatly add to the value of their expressed opinions. As to the action of a social environment, even on conditions the most apparently hopeless, I may refer my readers to the remarkable case of Martha Obrecht.⁶ The Bishop again tells us dogmatically: 'No man is, or ever has been, in a state of mere nature;' but, save in a misleading and non-natural sense, this assertion is untrue. Of course, no man since the fall is the same as before the fall *historically*. A man who having five sovereigns in his pocket had a note for 25*l.* given to him and then stolen, the five sovereigns being left, would not be in the same state as at first, because he had been robbed. But he would still be the possessor of the five sovereigns, which he had never lost, and so would be as he was before the note was given to him. So man retains his natural qualities after having been permitted to fall from a supernatural state. As to the extent to which savages can rise, when left to themselves, to any serious moral elevation, I can confidently refer the Bishop to priests in Australia and to persons who know well either the Andaman islanders or the inhabitants of Tierra del Fuego. It is incredible to me that such human beings have deliberately rejected offers of grace, and that their degradation is the result of extreme individual perversity. I prefer to regard them as in a state analogous to that of unbaptized infants, like the adults dying before baptism, to whom St. Gregory Nazianzen refers⁷ as meriting neither celestial glory on the one hand nor suffering on the other.

⁵ *Tablet*, 10th of December, 1892, p. 940.

⁶ See my *Origin of Human Reason*, p. 166.

⁷ The passage is cited in the *Tablet* for 24th of December, 1892, p. 1021.

Passing from man as deprived of human society adequate to develop his higher faculties, I would next refer to the Bishop's attack upon my statement of the effects of ancestral and other conditions on the actions of individuals.

I had said^{*} that thereby free-will might be impaired and actions formally 'mortal sins' be rendered but 'venial' in fact. To this representation of a change of mortal sins into venial the Bishop strongly objects. I am quite willing to withdraw my expression and say that by such influences multitudes of acts which are 'mortal' sins according to the letter of the law become, formally, no sins at all.

That one or other such transformation takes place is for me evident and certain. I have known cases of hereditary drunkenness in which circumstances have so facilitated the commission of the offence, with such an intensification of habit as a consequence, that I do not believe the drunkard, if left alone with a bottle, could avoid drinking from it. Whether he *could* or not avoid it, I am sure he *would* not. Quite recently I have come to the knowledge of a very remarkable case. The patient was a merchant of exceptional ability. He was a cultured man, taking a great interest in politics and in social questions of the day. Having become very unwell, he told his physician that he knew his illness was only due to drink, but that he could not avoid drinking. He drank and died. His father and also his grandfather were drunkards, and had died from the effects. The unhappy man left two children, and these are also confirmed drunkards, though the younger is but seventeen years old. Now is it credible that in such cases God has always given sufficient grace to raise the habitual, hereditary drunkard, whenever exposed to temptation, to the level of an ordinary sober man, so that his will is free? This, of course, is a thing we cannot perceive, nor can we draw a line between cases where such grace may be given and where it is not. But if we were to believe, as the Bishop of Nottingham seems to do, that such grace was always given, we should be obliged also to believe these unfortunate persons to be guilty in the most extreme degree, since each time they would be raised to a condition of perfect freedom, and yet in every single instance they must abuse such extraordinary grace and plunge freely and of malice prepense into drunkenness to which they had, by grace, been made no more inclined than are ordinary sober people! This I do not and cannot believe, and the same consideration applies in many instances to infirmities of temper, to incontinence, due to inheritance and long habit, and doubtless to other forms of sin.

The Bishop does not, apparently, care to warn his flock that popular phrases do not accurately represent the real teaching of learned theologians. On the contrary, he speaks of 'a state of torture keen as that of fire,' and 'wholly inconsistent either with

intervals of unconsciousness⁹ or with any kind of happiness.' Towards the end of his pastoral he says:—

We will conclude with the words of the great Jesuit, Father Lessius, who thus speaks in his magnificent book on the divine perfections: 'We must say that it is certain that there will be there a real and corporeal fire; for the Holy Scripture, when speaking of the pains of hell, everywhere mentions, inculcates, and threatens fire. . . .' Again, in this fire bodies are to be burned: there is, therefore, no reason why the Scripture passages should not be understood of real and corporeal fire.

Now I was careful in my former article to say nothing against the expression 'a material fire,' and this for two reasons. My first reason was a clear perception of the profound reasonableness of the Church in defining that the reprobate have to be punished with a *pœna sensus* symbolised by the term 'Hell-fire,' as well as the state of the *pœna damni*. For it is clear that to a great multitude of mankind the pain of loss would be simply no pain at all, unless damnation was at once and suddenly both a great mental elevation and moral improvement, which seems incongruous.

Justice, therefore, for the very bad, such as those I have supposed to merit unceasing positive suffering of some kind (though, perhaps, gradually mitigated), absolutely needs some *other* punishment besides deprivation of an entirely undesired beatitude. But as to what this kind of punishment is I have (like St. Augustine) no idea whatever. I have not the least objection to the use of the word 'fire,' as denoting this unknown entity, though I am sure that in these days it is very necessary, if that term be used, to explain that thereby the Church does not mean anything like what we mean by fire.

Secondly, I did not object to the addition of the adjective 'material,' because it has so little meaning as to be quite devoid of importance. To say that a substance is 'material' simply means that it is not 'spiritual;' whoever supposed that Hell-fire was a spirit?

If my readers will bear in mind the mistakes hereinbefore pointed out, which have arisen from taking the word *punire*, as used in theology, as the equivalent of the English term 'to punish,' they may be better able to appreciate how the term *materialis*, as applied to fire, is often, when translated by the word 'material,' used in a popular sense, likely to give rise to gross errors.

But since Catholics are as little restricted in this respect in

⁹ I may say that when I spoke (p. 916) of 'possible unconsciousness' in Hell, I only meant a possibility for some of the lost. Not, like Rosmini, a universal unconsciousness on the part of souls in the natural order. That the souls of unbaptized infants must be unconscious of what their loss is seems to follow as a necessary condition of their happiness. As to adults, I only put the idea forward as a possibility for some, but, though regarding it as a possibility, I was not and am not disposed to consider it at all probable. Nevertheless, according to St. Thomas the damned cannot think of God as *Auctor boni*. If so, they must at least be unconscious of what their loss really is.

interpreting the word *materialis* as they are in interpreting the word *punire*, they have small grounds to complain of any lack of latitude of interpretation.

That whatever it may be, the 'fire' must be something utterly unlike what we mean by fire and unlike any fire of which we can have any sort of knowledge, is manifest, since it is supposed to affect pure spirits. The old idea of the action of fire was that it especially possessed a *purifying power*, and this well accords with the doctrine of gradual mitigation.

One of my recent clerical correspondents writes to me as follows:—

From its being what is called 'fire,' it does not follow that it produces any suffering whatever, and, though theologians pronounce it to be material fire, it is really of no practical importance whether it is that or something else. Through the accumulated industry of popular preachers, people now think of souls tortured by flames, just as a living man would be if he were put into a fire and miraculously kept alive and fully sentient, which is, of course, absurd.

But even St. Thomas will not admit that after the Resurrection the fire of Hell will physically burn bodies or even radiate any heat to them, but cause some spiritual affliction. It is probably something which our present faculties cannot understand any more than they can imagine the mode of the soul's existence when separated from the body by death. We read much, but who really knows anything satisfying as to the *anima separata*?

It is singular that since the appearance of the Bishop of Nottingham's pastoral a priest of the diocese of Limerick has said:¹⁰

I cannot admit that it is free to a parish priest, like myself, to teach his people that the fire of hell is a real fire, *without informing them* that he is doing so *on a mere opinion*, well grounded, no doubt, but a mere opinion of the Fathers and theologians of the Church.

The Bishop of Nottingham has not thought proper to tell his flock that the reality and materiality of Hell-fire is a mere opinion and not a matter of faith or a truth defined by the Church. Thus in his pastoral (written for the purpose it was) he has, I think, run the risk of seriously misleading many people.

It is not, I hope, disrespectful to suggest that the Bishop (save with respect to the two well-known matters 'of faith') has not a better knowledge of the conditions which exist in Hell than he has of the rules and constitution of the Primrose League.

Catholics may well exclaim, 'Thank God we are *Papists*!' The essentially Papal nature of the Christian Church has been made more and more clearly manifest in the course of the last four centuries. The happiness and comfort which result from the fact that God in His mercy has made the Church essentially Papal has been many times manifested, but hardly more clearly than, unintentionally as well as intentionally, by the Bishop of Nottingham.

¹⁰ *Tablet*, 14th of January, 1893.

He builds much upon the work of Father Lessius, S.J., entitled *De Perfectionibus Moribusque Divinis*. It is doubtless a very excellent book for its date (A.D. 1620), but is also a most excellent one for bringing forcibly home to modern readers the immense gulf which has gradually been produced between the mental images of the mediæval period and our own. Thus in his thirteenth book, *De Justicia et Ira Dei*, we have a very curious chapter (VIII.) on the plagues of Egypt. Chapter XIX., on the destruction of the world by fire, will even better repay perusal. The succeeding chapter, on the Resurrection, puts forward very quaint conceptions of angels being sent to collect the minute and widely scattered fragments of various bodies, special sections being devoted to the bearing of cannibalism on the process, to the number of the trumpets sounded at the last judgment, to the action of their sound on the dead,¹¹ and to the assembly in the valley of Jehoshaphat.

Chapter XXII. is still more striking in its amazing literalism, while in Chapter XXIII., after speaking of the sentence on the damned, adds :—

Spectabunt hæc omnia non solum Beati, sed etiam parvuli, qui sine Baptismo defuncti, et justitiam divinam admirabuntur, seque felices ducent, quod tantis malis in æternum sint exempti ;'

a passage which, it cannot be denied, has a certain flavour *à la Rochefoucauld*.

There is also a curious computation of the time required for the damned to descend into Hell, and of the number of miles to be traversed. In the next chapter the position of Hell is treated of, and, after deciding that it is in the middle of the earth, its size and its structure are considered, and it is declared not to be so very large because the damned will neither have to stand up nor run about, but are piled up in a great heap on either burning coals or wood. There is also a very singular study of the properties of sulphur in this connection, and a decision that the damned are in a pool of burning liquid sulphur the diameter of which need not be more than 20,000 feet.

Now I am far indeed from intending by these quotations to express any disesteem for Lessius, still less in the slightest degree to recant my often expressed profound esteem and abounding admiration for earlier scholastics—above all for Scotus. I only wish to make plain the absurdity of seeking to propagate in these days ideas and images which naturally and properly suggested themselves to our predecessors. I wish also to show how the hideous or grotesque images so often put forward by preachers, or to be found in books intended for edification, are but survivals of kindred mental pictures now universally discarded, and ought, like them, also to be discarded.

¹¹ The author considers and rejects the teaching of Cardinal Cajetan—teaching in many respects so broad and liberal, especially as regards the creation of Eve, which he declares it would be *absurd* to accept literally.

Some excellent remarks about Lessius, and in this connection, have recently been made¹² by the Rev. Robert Clarke, F.L.S., pointing out that later authors necessarily augment Lessius's horrors by merely repeating them, a softer mode of life lending to old terms an intensified meaning.

These images, as age succeeded age, have been ever increased in horror by the continual efforts of preachers to make them as horrible as they possibly could. In each generation touches have been added recklessly—though with the best intentions—and these intensified mental images have been addressed to hearers and readers, each of whom was, as a rule, more sensitive to pain and whose increased knowledge gave a more distressing meaning to each denunciation. Such a process has now gone so far that a reaction has become inevitable.

This reaction I rejoice to help forward, for I am sure the hour has fully come for putting away such revolting images, or for frankly explaining to the people about their origin and probable value.

And what does the Bishop of Nottingham, after all, really mean? Does he regard such teaching as true and salutary or not?

To deal with such a matter only by vague generalities, or, as the Bishop does, in words which have two meanings—terrible to ill-informed believers, but very different to others—is, to say the least, most unsatisfying. To answer as Father Clarke, S.J., has done, bears the appearance of wishing to run with the hare and hunt with the hounds. Are such loathsome and abhorrent representations to be declared true or to be distinctly repudiated—or are they simply to be left to work their effects on docile, not to say weak, minds, while an unavowed tolerant doctrine is reserved *in petto* for those who will brook no denial to ethical intuitions which are for them evidently true?

If it is incumbent on writers in this Review, who address a cultured audience, to be careful not to offend the 'little ones,' it is not less incumbent on Catholic teachers and pastors not to give utterance to words likely to drive the educated from the Church in shoals, and to effectively bar the way to those who seek to enter it. Since the appearance of Father Clarke's article I have had various letters from strangers utterly revolted by it.

But it is far from being only the readers of learned books and high-class magazines who revolt at such representations.

Mrs. Besant's denunciations of the frightful immorality of such doctrines about Hell have been hailed with enthusiastic plaudits from a large London audience, and hundreds of lecturers are aided in ridiculing what the Church has really defined, by the reckless writing and reckless talk of Catholics who 'with a light heart' do not hesitate to go beyond the Church's definitions, and address to men of our day

¹² *Tablet*, 14th of January, 1893.

intolerable statements which have no infallible authority to support them. The time has gone by for addressing the many in terms which cannot be tolerated by the less numerous class who, because they love the Church and her authoritative teaching, cannot be unfaithful to their intellect in the domain of ethics. Moral truth, as Father Clarke, S.J., and the Bishop of Nottingham well know, is universal, necessary, self-evident, ultimate and primary, and does not depend upon God's Will, but pertains to His very Nature.

It is surely questionable wisdom on the part of one in authority to vaguely favour, by ambiguous words, views which excite either the execration or the derision of modern minds, without being careful to point out the tenability of views which might gain their acceptance.

Infallibility is limited indeed! The well-known exclamation of Oxenstiern, 'With how little wisdom the state is governed!' might, with yet better reason, be every now and then applied to the government of the Church. I well recollect the late Monsignor Searle, formerly Cardinal Wiseman's secretary, telling me one of his reasons for believing in the Divine life of the Church. 'The Church,' he said, 'seems to me like an old coach which has horses harnessed to each of its four sides. One would think that such an arrangement must be necessarily fatal to its progress, and yet, somehow, the venerable machine gets on!' Truly, when one looks back over one's personal experience in this land, one finds much to justify Monsignor Searle's remarks, and when one reflects over the past history of England—the blunders with respect to Queen Elizabeth, the mismanagement at Wisbeach, the scandals during the reign of James the First, and the amazing stupidities during that of the Second James—its truth becomes apparent indeed.

• But Father Clarke, S.J., affirms ¹³ that

the fear of hell is a powerful deterrent to many educated as well as uneducated, and many a sin would be committed were it not for the wholesome dread of eternal misery before the sinner's eyes.

I have, indeed, heard it said: 'If there is no Hell-fire, what is the use of being good?' and, no doubt, there are some persons thus deterred from carrying out their bad desires into acts.

But, on the other hand, those who believe in such chastisement entertain, at the same time, other beliefs, which go far to do away with its efficacy. Thus Catholics believe that, though they run a risk of damnation, they can, if life is not suddenly cut short, put things right by confession, and possibly by an act of true contrition, if confession be impracticable. Then they will but have to endure the temporal punishment of purgatory. The Protestant goes still further. Either he thinks that, having been justified, immediate

happiness is his after death, let him do what he may, or he believes he has but to repent and pray for God's forgiveness, when he will not only obtain it, but a plenary indulgence also. It is somewhat strange that so many persons who think they disbelieve in and reprobate the doctrine of Indulgences are, in fact, most confident in its truth, and apply it universally to all who repent and amend!

It is not every one amongst the clergy, or indeed amongst the bishops, who takes the view of my critics. A priest told me a few days ago that the late justly beloved Bishop Danell, when he sent him on the Mission, said to him very earnestly, 'Whatever you do never preach Hell-fire, but preach the love of God.'

There are other priests I know who do not attach the value Father Clarke, S.J., does to the idea of Hell as a deterrent. One such assured me that, in his opinion, the deterrent action against grave offences of such dread was nothing to the dread of the policeman amongst the lower classes, while in the higher, the dread of that terrible policeman in petticoats known as Mrs. Grundy was even more deterrent.

It is difficult to judge about such matters, save by one's own personal experience, and I believe more in the force of attraction towards good than in the repulsion from the bad by terror. Certainly, in my own case, the latter consideration has never operated, nor was I ever under the sway of what the French clergy denounce as *respect humain*, which is their term for Mrs. Grundy. I care not one straw what anybody says or thinks, so long as I am convinced that I am serving the cause of truth and honest thought in whatever branch of science it may be—biological, theological, or metaphysical. By saying this I do not, of course, refer to supreme ecclesiastical authority. That authority forms by itself a category distinct from every other. As to motives, I venture to think that the time is rapidly approaching, if it is not yet already upon us, when the maxim 'Ad cælum homines trahendos esse non cogendos'¹⁴ will apply not only to physical, but also to spiritual intimidation. I believe that with the bulk of civilised mankind, frank, earnest, and thoroughly sincere appeals to conscience will be far more widely successful than any threats, apart, of course, from the criminal classes, who happily form but a small fraction of our co-patriots.

Certainly the modern experience as to the effects of milder state punishments, as well as of more indulgent treatment in schools, is opposed to systems of terrorism. I have been much struck with the excellent moral effect of trust in men's good instincts and freedom from restraint and compulsion, which have been experienced by my friend Professor Geddes, F.R.S.E., in his treatment of various classes in Edinburgh, where his experience is very extensive. The utility of

¹⁴ See the Breviary Office (2nd Lesson of 2nd Nocturn of Mattins) of St. Augustine of Canterbury. May 26.

terrible threats as to the next life as addressed to men and women of our own day is therefore, to me, extremely doubtful.

But, however this may be, I should have thought that the picture drawn by me of what *unfaithful Catholics* may have to fear in the next world would have been amply sufficient to restrain the sinners of the diocese of Nottingham, or of the congregation of Farm Street, if any consideration of that kind could act as 'a powerful deterrent at all.'

I represented ¹⁵ as in store for such, in addition to the *pœna damni*, an eternity of positive suffering, possibly exceeding, in certain cases, the most dire experiences of the present life. Surely such a prospect might satisfy the most stern of theologians, nor, to my mind, would pictures of jumping demons, fetid odours and chiaroscuro, really add one iota to the reasonable terrors such Catholics have to entertain for the consequences, *to them*, of persistent aversion from goodness, or to any who are guilty of pride or revolting cruelty to their fellow-creatures.

In astronomical science, in spite of all the opposition of the Father Clarkes of former days, the truth has triumphed, as it has also in geological science and the science of living organisms—biology. In critical science its triumph is no less certain, and will be as little prejudicial to the Catholic Church as is heliocentric astronomy.

In ethical science there must be an analogous progress to a greater or lesser extent, and the more men's intellects are exercised in ethics, the more religion must triumph. And every man is absolutely compelled to ground his belief on his individual ethical intuitions. Let him be ever so disposed to accept authority, he must, if he is conscientious, accept it because he individually judges that it is right for him to accept it and submit himself to it.

But I must not pass over my critic's objection to my article on the ground that it conflicts with the words of Our Lord Himself in His denunciations of wrath against the ungodly.

I would, indeed, be silent henceforth and for ever rather than be guilty of the slightest irreverence with respect to such utterances; but some words of explanation may be offered without running any such risk.

One instance will be sufficient to elucidate my meaning. Our Lord speaks, for example, of 'the worm which dieth not and the fire which is not quenched.' I see no difficulty in most reverently accepting such expressions as I conceive them to have been meant, while to accept them literally seems to me an extreme irreverence.

Who would be so absurdly literal as to suppose that one single worm was created to torment the multitude of the damned for all eternity? And if a critic, less absurdly literal, were to say that the singular is here used for the plural, what sort of worms could such a

literalist suppose to be intended? It must be evident to every reverent mind that the term here used is but a symbol, and it has been suggested that by the worm, the sting of conscience and of remorse is signified.

If, then, the worm is a mere symbol, why is the other member of the sentence to be taken literally? For Catholics, what has here already been said about the fire of Hell may, I venture to think, suffice to show that it is impossible for us to know really anything which can satisfy our human understandings about either term. To non-Catholics who reverence Our Lord's words the joint symbolism must be obvious. To assert the real earthly nature of the 'fire' and the unearthly ideality of the 'worm' would be as absurd as to uphold old notions about Noah and other Old Testament characters, on account of the way in which Our Lord refers to them—as if it was not a matter of constant recurrence to refer to well-known names, the creations of sacred literature, as if they were real persons. It is our constant practice now so to speak of 'the Good Samaritan,' 'the Unjust Steward,' or 'the Prodigal Son.' The practice is reasonable and useful, and the lesson to be learned from the 'wise and foolish virgins' is none the less valuable because they never lived.

The perusal of such a work as that of Lessius may well act as a warning against the foolish imagination that even the most advanced ideas and images, current in our own century, can be final and complete, any more than those of the fifteenth, thirteenth, or ninth century.

We must not erect dogmatic bounds where none exist. If we accept what is *de fide* and what *evidently* flows therefrom, it is sufficient. Many of the expressions we Christians use in our devotions are expressions emitted at a time when the world was deemed the centre of the universe, containing Hell in its depths, and surrounded by the seven concentric crystal spheres, external to which was the eternal empyrean.

Now, however, we know that our world is but a relatively minute speck of cosmic dust, and though for all that it is possible that rational creatures exist on no other celestial sphere, analogy seems to point the other way. Certainly it is not evident to us, either from reason or revelation, that such cannot be the case. It may be that thousands upon thousands of worlds possess their rational inhabitants who variously serve and love God and promote His accidental glory.

It may be that God the Son Incarnate has died in some or all such worlds, or that other Persons of the Trinity have been or are incarnate in one, or simultaneously in a galaxy, of the heavenly bodies. We read, 'My delight is to be with the children of men,' and it is not evidently impossible but that God may be ever incarnate in one or many of those worlds which are the work of His hands.

These conceptions are here just touched upon as a reminder to

those who would hasten to condemn the speculative intellect, and would cramp and confine it within limits which supreme authority has not imposed. How great is the real freedom of Catholics, and how increasingly wide the prospect opened to the eyes of faith by the intervention of her faithful handmaid, physical science! Let theologians beware of saying, 'Taste not, touch not, handle not,' when their prohibitions repose but on their own fancies or the authority of writers who lived in bygone centuries, and whose words have not been erected into matters of faith by the Supreme Ruler of the Church on earth.

It is much to be regretted that so many modern Catholic teachers do not follow the example of the great Scholastics, who, however much they may be blamed for not interrogating Nature by careful observations and experiments, at least availed themselves of all that was then known, and considered every doctrine with a noble breadth of view. St. Thomas is now very often referred to; would that those who so refer to him concerning such questions as here occupy us would imitate him in opposing the repulsive teachings of his mediæval epoch, as he opposed the repulsive teachings—even as taught by the greatest saints—of yet earlier centuries!

As to the important subject I have ventured to discuss, I can, after mature reflection, find nothing to retract in anything I before stated.

Nothing I have since heard or read disposes me to regard the Hell of even the positively damned, eternal though it be, as other than a state of gradual amelioration, for many if not for all, and of such a conversion of the soul towards God as may cause positive, unending punishment to be accepted and endured with relative contentment as a tribute to God's justice, and as one element in a vast scheme of supreme beneficence which our present faculties are unable to apprehend.

The lost may thus form one portion, as it were, in a minor key, of the marvellous harmony of the Universe, apprehended as God apprehends it, in one whole. Thus Hell would be, as I believe and before declared it to be, indeed a creation of that Infinite Power, Wisdom and Love, sung by Italy's immortal poet—a place into which the souls who know themselves justly condemned desire to enter in harmony with the Divine volition and as willing subjects of God's justice.

E pronti sono a trapassar del rio,
Chè la divina giustizia gli sprona
Sì, che la tema si volge in disio!

THE FINANCIAL CAUSES OF THE FRENCH REVOLUTION

[Conclusion]

II

IN the early days of the Monarchy, Parlements had been instituted in France to frame domestic laws, dispense public justice, and carry out the decrees of the Crown. They were high courts of justice magisterial bodies whose members acquired their offices by purchase on the nomination of the Crown. In ancient times, in order to obtain for their arbitrary rule an appearance of popular sanction, and in the confident expectation that the magistrates would at all times obey the royal commands with unquestioning docility, the kings had enacted that their decrees must receive the assent of the Parlements before they could come into operation, by being, in the language of the day, 'registered' by them. But though they were subordinate to the royal authority and had no political power, the Parlements, that of Paris especially, soon evinced a spirit of independence and opposition to the Government of the day which has always been a feature of the French character. They refused to register the financial decrees of the King when these bore too heavily on the nation, a refusal which took the form of a 'remonstrance.' As a rule, however, these remonstrances were ineffectual, as the King could overbear them by summoning a *lit de Justice*, where he appeared personally amongst the magistrates and compelled them by word of mouth to register his decrees. Though the King maintained his authority, the remonstrances addressed to him by the Parlements eventually brought home to the minds of the people a sense of the grievances under which they laboured, while his indifference to their sufferings provoked their anger and distrust. On this account the Parlements acquired great popular influence, an influence justified by their public conduct, and increased by the fact that, as their appointments were often made hereditary by purchase, many families were enabled to hand down from one generation to another the worthiest traditions in connection with parliamentary offices.

During the reign of Louis the Fourteenth the influence of the

Parlement had been overshadowed by the commanding personality of the King. In the first portion of it their opposition was stayed by his appeals to their patriotism on behalf of the great undertakings which were raising France to the foremost position amongst the civilised nations of the world, and during the latter period by the fact that the country was imperilled by invasion, and that sacrifices were demanded to save it from ruin. When peace had been concluded, however, and security restored, the people were able to concentrate their attention on the internal affairs of the country. They then began to see that the feudal caste had lost its power though its vexatious privileges remained, that the sole executive was vested in the King, who abused his authority, and thenceforward that spirit of opposition which had lain dormant both among the middle and lower classes began to revive.

The first serious conflict between the Parlements and the King arose upon a religious question, a conflict at which it is necessary to glance, as it stirred up public feeling and tended to bring into prominence the financial questions of the time. In 1713, two years before the death of Louis the Fourteenth, the famous Bull 'Unigenitus' was promulgated by the Pope, at the instigation of the Jesuits. That the King was merely actuated by obedience to the Pope in supporting the abuse of the ecclesiastical power involved in this Bull may be open to doubt; it is far more likely that he wished to conciliate the clergy, who might be expected in return to support him in his despotic proceedings. The Parlements rose at once against this attempted encroachment of Rome on the civil authority, and the Jansenist cause was eagerly espoused by the people. It would be well-nigh impossible to describe the enthusiasm with which the inhabitants of Paris entered into this conflict. Contemporary writers state that the whole town upheld the Jansenist doctrine, without comprehending its real meaning, merely because Rome, the Jesuits, and Versailles symbolised in their eyes ultramontane, clerical, and monarchical despotism. 'The nation is above the King, as the King is above the Pope,' was the motto inscribed on the Jansenist flag. The wider Jansenism spread, the more the Court contemned the sudden growth of public opinion: it stigmatised the Jansenists as 'factionists'—a term which in 1750 was changed for the first time into 'republicans.'

The moral support the Parlements received from the people in resisting these infringements of their legal authority emboldened them to oppose with more vigour than perhaps they might otherwise have shown, the proposals for fresh or excessive taxation brought forward by the Crown. Such proposals were met by them with repeated remonstrances, and struggles on financial and theological grounds continued throughout the whole reign of Louis the Fifteenth. As far as the efforts of the Parlements to resist ecclesiastical abuses

were concerned, the struggle was carried on with alternate success by both sides. At times the clergy suffered, some priests being condemned to perpetual banishment, or, if they failed to surrender to the Court, they were condemned to the galleys; at others the Parlements had to give way, and occasionally the magistrates were even arrested and exiled. In 1773, at one of these crises, the 380 members of the Parlement of Paris sent in their resignation in a body, and as they left the court, amid the plaudits of the crowd which had gathered in the streets, they were hailed as 'these true Romans and fathers of the country.' Victory may be said, however, to have rested finally with the Parlements, as in 1762 the Jesuits were banished from France. But though the King thus, in a sense, gave way in the clerical contest, he did so chiefly in order to have a freer hand in the financial one, which was of more immediate moment to him, as, in face of the growing public opinion which had supported the Parlements, he found himself unable to deal with the financial situation unless he either obtained or compelled the assistance of these bodies. It would be tedious to enumerate the many occasions upon which the remonstrances gave rise to serious conflicts between the Parlements and the Cour des Aides and the Crown. Being freed from the Jansenist trouble, the struggle ended as it only could end under an absolute monarchy. In 1763 the King prohibited all remonstrances, and, at the same time, peremptorily called upon the Parlement to register his decrees without delay. In the following year he went a step further. The Parlements had been invited to lay before him proposals for financial reform, but before they could comply another 'invitation' was addressed to them to abstain from submitting any such proposals, which was supplemented by a declaration that the printing, selling, or hawking of any plans, works, or writings concerning the reform of the administration of the finances was henceforth prohibited. The advisers of the Crown were becoming alarmed at the position which the Parlements were assuming. Their remonstrances were gradually being extended to every subject and every department of the State, and constituted a serious obstacle to the royal authority, and to the powers which the sovereign had wielded from time immemorial. Louis the Fifteenth, thoroughly alive to the value of his prerogatives, readily listened to these suggestions, and in 1776 admonished the refractory magistrates in the following dignified, if autocratic, strain: 'It is in my person alone,' said he, 'that the sovereign power resides: it is from me alone that the courts derive their existence and authority; it is to me alone that the legislative power belongs without any division; and the whole public order emanates from me.' In pursuance of the doctrine of royal supremacy here laid down, the King ceased to notice the remonstrances which the Parlements and the Cour des Aides were perpetually addressing to him. These bodies now took higher ground, insisted, that the

royal prerogative was being enlarged and should be curtailed, and that no decree relating to taxation could be legally enforced without the fiat of the Parlements; but, nevertheless, in the teeth of these declarations, the King compelled the carrying out of the financial measures he had ordered. Finally, in 1771, matters had arrived at such a pass that the King executed a *coup d'état*. The magistrates of the Parlement of Paris were arrested like malefactors at dead of night, dispossessed of their offices, and another tribunal established in its place. The magistrates, who carried with them into their exile the admiration of the people, were not restored to their offices until after the accession of Louis the Sixteenth.

The Parlements undeniably deserve great credit for their resistance to the financial impositions of the Crown, but the value of their services cannot fail to be depreciated in our estimation by the knowledge that they never seemed to think of, much less advocate, the one measure of reform which could have had any enduring effect in placing the fiscal affairs of the country on a sound basis—the equalisation of taxation. The incumbency of high parliamentary office carried with it a patent of nobility and a consequent exemption from taxation, and the magistrates in the enjoyment of this exemption had neither the public spirit nor the wisdom to assume any share of the burthen of taxation. Had they done so at that time, when the Revolution was still unthought of, and when the spirit of opposition, though active, displayed no tendency to violence, much of the trouble that ensued would probably have been averted, as it would have been difficult, if not impossible, for the rest of the privileged orders to refuse to follow their example. The Parlements were indeed mainly responsible for the delay of effective financial reform, and for the inadequacy of that reform when it eventually came. For this reason the results of their action were as ephemeral as was their popularity, as in the increasing gravity of the situation the services they had rendered were forgotten, and the victory the King had gained over them had the effect of temporarily establishing his autocratic powers more firmly than before. But the importance of these conflicts in another aspect cannot be too strongly enforced, because they led directly to the formation of public opinion, focussed the attention of the people on the maladministration of the finances, and created the conviction that a radical rearrangement of fiscal burdens was a vital necessity. The controversies between the King and the Parlements formed the theme of discussion in countless pamphlets, which, both in point of numbers and virulence, resembled the political publications that marked the earlier portion of the English eighteenth century. These publications were prohibited by the authorities, but their issue went on practically unchecked. In material they were, as a rule, poor, but they diffused a knowledge of the abuses of the fiscal system among the people, as they all insisted that the

taxes were exorbitant and unfairly assessed, that they crippled agriculture, and imperatively needed readjustment. It was an ominous condition of things, as a spirit of scepticism, that had already been aroused by the Jansenist agitation, was going far to undermine the stability of existing institutions and the power and prestige of the Crown. All competent observers regarded the outlook with profound anxiety, and foresaw the dangers that must follow upon the arbitrary proceedings of the King. Voltaire, writing in 1764, said: 'Everything that I see is sowing the seed of a revolution which must inevitably come, but which I shall not have the pleasure of witnessing. Frenchmen are slow in arriving at an object, but they arrive at it in the long run. Light has become so abundant that an explosion will take place at the first opportunity, and then we shall have a fine uproar. Young men should feel very happy, as they are destined to see great things.' Four years later, Grimm wrote: 'The disquiet which agitates the minds of men and leads them to attack religious and political abuses is a characteristic phenomenon of the century, and foreshadows an imminent and inevitable revolution.' These prophecies were supplemented by Madame Campan, who refers in her memoirs to 'the habit which the cultured classes have assumed of discussing the institutions of the State, which are fast falling into ruin, so that the century cannot close without some great revolution in France.' Though they were both aiming at a common object, there was no joint action between the philosophers and the Parlements, as some of the former—Voltaire especially—upheld the absolute power of the Crown; but at the same time their teachings tended to bring the Tiers Etat into prominence, enabling them to assume for the first time a position of great influence to which their intellectual culture and wealth entitled them. Among the men of letters, the school of economists or physiocrats devoted themselves particularly to showing the necessity for financial reforms. They advocated the abolition of all pecuniary privileges, and paved the way for Turgot and Necker, who, however, but partially attempted to carry out the proposals of the physiocrats, whose schemes were only realised by the Revolution. Though the physiocrats adhered to many time-worn fallacies, they also preached many truths, and none of their doctrines struck the mind of the public more forcibly than that a prosperous state of agriculture was essential to the prosperity of the State. But, however good their intentions may have been, the economists failed, as the Parlements had failed, to indicate the only reform which could render a sound financial administration possible—the equal distribution of the burthens of taxation. Enlightened as they were, and considerable as was the work they accomplished in preparing the minds of the people for the advent of a drastic change, the bane of the French eighteenth century was upon them; they were dominated by the spirit of caste, and by the belief in the rights of

the privileged orders, at any rate, in fiscal matters. Though the deluge of pamphlets, and even of works of enduring value and excellence, served to strengthen the force of public opinion by exposing and attacking the iniquities of his rule, Louis the Fifteenth, until death closed his ears to the grievances of his oppressed subjects, maintained his absolutism unimpaired. Without any desire to exculpate him from the obloquy he so justly deserves, it must be confessed that the system of public finance then prevailing in France offered him every opportunity and even inducement for indulging a reckless extravagance. Strict secrecy was observed as to the financial transactions of the State, and the national accounts were so loosely kept that they constituted no check whatever on his personal expenditure. In fact, the whole fiscal system of the time would have been sufficient to perplex the subtlest and acutest of our Chancellors of the Exchequer, and it was far more than the controllers-general could be expected to cope with. In the first place, there was a huge deficit, which was annually accumulating—a deficit to which the disastrous Seven Years' War contributed not a little—and there was no available means of diminishing it, though the liabilities it produced could not be evaded. National loans, as they are understood at present, were then unknown, and even if they had been known, it is very questionable whether the bulk of the population could have taken them up; and had they taken them up, it is still more questionable whether the exchequer could have paid the interest on them. In Russia, it is true, in the second part of the eighteenth century, the Empress Catherine, by issuing paper money, maintained the splendour of her Court, as well as a constant warfare, with a depleted exchequer.

On arriving here (says the Comte de Ségur, in 1786, writing from St. Petersburg), one must give up all the notions one has of the financial operations of other countries. In other European States the sovereign can compel the obedience of his subjects, but not their opinions. Here even public opinion also is subservient to the sovereign. The mass of bank-notes, the certainty that they cannot be reimbursed, the debasement of the coinage, which deprives it of half its value—in one word, everything that in other States would lead to bankruptcy and the most disastrous revolution, fails to impair confidence in the slightest degree; and I am convinced that were the Empress so to will it her subjects would accept leather instead of gold.

In 1786 public opinion in France had freely developed and ripened; but during the first portion of the reign of Louis the Fifteenth it was only in the bud. Moreover, the Russia of the eighteenth century and the France of that period were very different, and the ignorant and loyal subjects of Catherine were evidently quite content to accept the paper on which was stamped her counterfeit presentment as readily as if it were gold. But the French were far too independent and sagacious to confide blindly in the credit of the Government and accept a wholesale issue of

worthless bank-notes in lieu of money. The losses entailed by the financial operations of Law had taught the people to be on their guard. Ready money was essential to the Controller-General to meet his liabilities, and as the royal exchequer was in a chronic state of emptiness, whilst the need of money was imperative, the King sought to supplement the proceeds of the taxes by sending his plate to the Mint, an example which was followed by the nobility, who were ever anxious to demonstrate their loyalty to the Crown. In this manner countless artistic treasures were lost to posterity.

The financial confusion was aggravated by the entire unpreparedness of the treasury to meet unforeseen demands which were constantly cropping up, and by the absence of any systematic attempt to make provision for the liabilities of the State. The only object the controllers-general ever had in administering the finances was to tide over the embarrassments of the hour; they lived from hand to mouth, regardless of the ultimate consequences of that policy. Taxes were imposed and collected; extraordinary receipts were realised when they were required; but no preliminary estimate was ever made of the resources of the revenue. The same uncertainty prevailed with regard to the expenditure. The expenditure of the current year was the only guide followed in estimating that of the ensuing one. There was no such thing as the division of the public revenue into financial years; no definite period was fixed for carrying out the estimate of each separate budget, and the collection of the taxes often remained in arrear for two or three years. Neither Turgot nor his successors were able to deal with the bewildering condition of the public accounts, which required the summary procedure of the Revolution to bring about its amendment. The difficulties the Controller-General had to contend with were further increased by the arrangement under which all the public moneys were paid into the *Cours des Comptes*, thirteen courts situated in the different provinces and in Paris. These courts were supposed to control the collection of the taxes, but they were subject to no general supervision, and each kept its accounts after its own fashion. An abstract of these accounts had to be sent periodically to Paris, but the manner in which they were kept was so complicated and confusing that the superior court could exercise no effectual check upon them, and could obtain no clear evidence of the total amounts of the receipts and expenditure. Moreover, the floating debt had not yet been originated. There was, it is true, a floating debt in the shape of bills which the Minister drew whenever he had any pressing engagements to meet, and had no available money for the purpose. But, like all the other financial arrangements of the State, this was carried out in the most haphazard manner. The bills were negotiated with bankers or State contractors, the returns of

some tax or taxes for the ensuing year being given as security. But, as has been already said, the taxes were not necessarily collected within the period named for the purpose, so that when the bills fell due there was no money to take them up, and they had to be renewed sometimes again and again, each fresh renewal of course entailing a fresh commission. Colbert originated this system of forestalling the receipts of the revenue. Thenceforward it developed into a regular practice, and the amount so forestalled increased from year to year. Thus we find that in 1770 the sum forestalled was only 150,000,000 livres, whereas in 1776 it had mounted up to 800,000,000, and in 1781 to 1,600,000,000.¹

The manner in which the secret service money was disbursed introduced another element of irregularity into the management of the public accounts, and further conduced to rendering the task of ascertaining the true state of the exchequer practically impossible. It was deemed expedient to withhold even from the magistrates of the *Cours des Comptes* a knowledge of the way in which certain sums under this head were allocated, a precaution which was, to a great extent, unnecessary, as part at least of the secret service money was applied to the ordinary requirements of the State. But this practice afforded the King unlimited opportunities for indulging his wasteful inclinations, as he could draw any sums he chose from the secret service fund, by merely giving a receipt in the words 'I know the object of this expenditure.' As the amount of the secret service fund varied at the pleasure of the King, there was no means of ascertaining beforehand what sum would be required for it in any given period. All that the Controller-General knew was that the sum was always enormous, and that it generally exceeded a hundred million livres a year.

The King would have done well had he followed the example of Madame de Pompadour in the matter of keeping his accounts, whose bookkeeping, at any rate, was of a pattern worthy of imitation. Prodigal as this well-abused lady was, every sou she received or paid away during the nineteen years of her favour was duly entered in her books. After her death it was found that in that period she had cost France the sum of 36,327,268 livres 12 sous 6 deniers. The average revenue of the Crown at that time from all sources was about 370,000,000 livres a year; so that an approximate idea of the scale on which the King's munificence was based can be obtained from the money he lavished on the leading favourite.

In considering these sums it is necessary to take into account the alteration in the value of money, brought about by the altered conditions of life then and now. Taking, for instance, the incomes of

¹ There were various kinds of livres under the ancient monarchy, and the value of the coin fluctuated, but about the beginning of the eighteenth century it became equivalent to a franc.

prominent professional men in those days, and comparing them with what we know to be the incomes of men relatively in the same position now, we can get an idea of the extent of that alteration. Barbier mentions that a M. Norman, one of the best lawyers of the day, had an income of 50,000² livres per annum, which was then deemed very considerable for a man in his position. It may be interesting to compare with this the professional incomes of English barristers at the same period, from which we can gather that they were much on a par with those of their French contemporaries. Sir John Cheshire, a leading counsel in the last century, has left a note-book showing that for the six years succeeding his appointment as Serjeant his fees amounted to an average of 3,241*l.* per annum. The income of a counsel about the middle of the last century who had exceptional advantages is disclosed by the fee-book of Mr. Charles Yorke, the son of Lord Chancellor Hardwicke, and afterwards Chancellor himself. In his first year his practice only brought him in 12*l.*; but it increased so that when he was ten years at the Bar his professional income was nearly 2,500*l.*³

In 1769, when the Abbé Terray was Controller-General, the condition of the finances had become desperate. He was a man of much ability, but utterly devoid of character, and wholly unscrupulous as a Minister. On the 18th of February of that year, finding it impossible to stretch the revenue so as to meet the heavy liabilities of the State, he issued a decree which was equivalent to proclaiming national bankruptcy. By this decree he suspended for an indefinite period the payment of drafts to the value of about 200,000,000 livres, which had been drawn upon the Receiver-General of the Taxes by the Finance Minister, in anticipation of the revenue receipts of the current year, a breach of faith that spread ruin among the creditors of the State, who belonged principally to the *bourgeois* class, while it dealt a fatal blow at the financial credit of the Government. As late as the time of Necker's fall, in 1781, eighty millions worth of these drafts still remained unpaid. In 1771 the Abbé Terray went a step further, and promulgated a decree reducing the interest on the perpetual annuities purchased from the State by one-fifteenth, and the life annuities by one-tenth. He contended that this was a legitimate operation, on the ground that as the value of the principal of the sums invested to produce these annuities had been diminished—by the disgraceful mismanagement and malversation of the finances—it was only fair that the interest should be reduced in proportion; his argument in effect being that, as the owners of these annuities had already been defrauded of a portion of their principal, it was only equitable that they should suffer a proportionate loss of interest. In recent years

² About 2,000*l.*

³ Foss's *Judges of England*.

we have witnessed, not only in England, but on the Continent as well, conversions of stocks by which the interest has been diminished. But these conversions only take place when the stock is above par, and the holders of them have no reason to complain, as they have the option of either getting back their money at par or of accepting the new stock at the reduced rate of interest. That Louis the Fifteenth was not unaware of the state of public opinion produced by Terray's act of repudiation may be gathered from the words he used on his deathbed; but though he then expressed repentance for the scandal his private life had occasioned to his subjects, he added that to God alone did he owe any account of his conduct as a ruler. He may have been conscious of his vices, but he made as little effort to reform them as he did to conciliate public opinion in financial matters, as he might have done by reducing the heaviest item of his expenditure, a reduction which would have been a more effectual and practical piece of economy than sending his plate to the mint. This item was his household. Any visitor to Versailles may form some estimate of the expense of keeping up an establishment in that vast palace, which, despite the plundering it underwent during the Revolution, is still a monument of national art, which, though dedicated to all the glories of France, is nevertheless fast falling to decay because of the expense its maintenance would entail. It is almost impossible for us to conceive what Louis the Fourteenth and his successor deemed to be the obligatory household of the King of France, who lived like an Oriental potentate, secluded from the inquisitive and critical eye of the populace of Paris, but who, at the same time, wished to dazzle his subjects, as well as royal visitors from all parts of the world, by the pomp of the throne. It must be admitted that to have reduced that expenditure and display, even could it have been done, would have diminished the prestige of the monarchy. The King was the sole fountain of honour and emolument; every advancement, every favour, depended on him alone. 'The object of the greatest personages of both sexes,' says M. Taine, 'of laymen and clergymen, the chief object of their lives was to be at every hour of the day under the eyes of the sovereign, and within reach of his voice.' 'I would prefer dying to being two months without seeing the King,' wrote Marshal Richelieu to Madame de Maintenon. Vanity and self-interest continued this tradition under Louis the Fifteenth, and courtiers eighty years of age were known to have passed forty-five years of their lives waiting in the anterooms of the King, the princes, or the ministers. It was the aim of the life of noblemen to hold even the humblest Court appointment, and to lodge in the meanest garret of Versailles. The many sacrifices the nobility had made in the wars, and the ruinous condition of the finances, had so seriously diminished their wealth, that every minister and official looked to the favour and

bounty of the King for his advancement. In those days, civil and military service were not rendered to the country, but to the King, on whom all public officials were dependent for their livelihood. But he, in his turn, depended upon them for their services, and he could not have freed himself from the bonds in which he was thus held without endangering the safety of the Crown. The result of this mutual dependence on each other was that the Crown and its resources were being strangled in the tentacles of a vast octopus, from which heroic measures alone could have liberated them. The costly pomp which Louis the Fourteenth had instituted was continued by Louis the Fifteenth, oblivious of the progress of time and civilisation, and unmindful that the glamour that it was sought to preserve around the throne meant the ruin of the people.

Of the magnitude, splendour and cost of that royal establishment we can form a notion from the fact that the population of Paris at that time was only 600,000, whereas the household consisted of 6,000 persons, with stables containing 2,000 horses, and 300 chariots; three distinct hunting and six sporting establishments, together with an army of 1,500 lackeys, whose liveries alone cost 540,000 livres a year. There were seventy-five officers connected with the King's chapel alone, and forty-eight physicians, surgeons, apothecaries, attached to his person. D'Argenson, writing in 1751, says: 'It is asserted that there are 4,000 horses in the King's household, and that this year alone his single person cost 68,000,000 livres, or one-quarter of the public revenue.' As late as 1780, 383 men and 133 boys were employed for the King's table, which cost 2,177,771 livres, together with 390,000 livres for those of the King's aunts, and 1,000,000 for his sisters-in-law, bringing the total charge for the royal tables alone up to 3,660,941 livres per annum. At the death of Louis the Fifteenth the annual expenditure of the King amounted to one-twelfth of the whole revenue of the State; and if we take into account the households of the various members of the royal family which were supported by the State, as well as the cost of the nine or ten thousand household troops, the outlay under this head amounted to one-eighth of the entire revenue.

Louis the Sixteenth effected various reforms in the household, but with the result that the Court dignitaries, whose pockets suffered in consequence, revenged themselves by making fun of the King's parsimony and turning him into ridicule. Nevertheless, Turgot's retrenchments amounted to 5,000,000 livres, an attempt at economy which contributed to bring about his disgrace. 'You are in too great a hurry,' said Malesherbes to him; 'why do you want to do so much at once?' 'Because,' answered Turgot sadly, 'you forget that in our family we die of gout at the age of fifty.' In fact, Turgot died seven years later, at the age of fifty-four. Necker was more fortunate than Turgot, but what he saved with one hand he lost with the other. Court intrigue was too strong for him, and his comparatively trifling

household reforms were counterbalanced by the costliness of the Court favourites. Madame de Polignac, for instance, received on the same day 400,000 livres to pay her debts, and a marriage portion for her daughter of 800,000 livres.

But the household was not the only item in the expenditure of the King that drained the public purse. Perhaps one of the most indefensible of the many financial abuses of the eighteenth century was the pension list, which even Louis the Sixteenth, economical and ever ready as he was to act upon the advice of his ministers, was unable to restrict. These pensions nominally awarded out of the privy purse for public services were in reality given indiscriminately to private favourites and unworthy persons. That every minister on his resignation should receive a pension of 50,000 livres was justifiable, as well, perhaps, as that his widow should receive 30,000 livres, but that each of his daughters should get from 4,000 to 10,000 livres a year made the system a scandal. In the same way other high dignitaries of State, and even in the higher magisterial offices, obtained hereditary pensions; an example of which is afforded by the case of a Mdlle. de Maulde, who, as late as 1790, secured a pension of 4,000 livres, when only fourteen years of age. There was Madame du Deffand, the friend and correspondent of Horace Walpole, who, in 1763, got a pension of 6,000 livres from the King because—to use her own words—her aunt, the Duchesse de Luynes, had been a friend of Marie Leczinska. Numerous examples of the same kind might be quoted. Madame de Lamballe was granted a pension of 40,000 livres, and Madame d'Andlau, aunt of Madame de Polignac, obtained a pension of 6,000 livres, though she had been exiled from Court for a grave dereliction of duty. Later on, when the secrets of the administration were disclosed by the Revolution, it was found that the family of Polignac received pensions, the greater part hereditary, amounting to 700,000 livres a year; and that gifts to the value of about 2,000,000 livres were given to the Noailles family alone. In 1774 the Abbé Vermont wrote to Maria Theresa that 'by an immemorial custom of the French Court, three-fourths of the places of honour and pensions were given not in return for services, but through motives of favouritism. Such claims were based formerly on birth and connections, but lately they have had no other foundation than in intrigue.' Even the finance ministers of Louis the Fifteenth appreciated to some extent the absurdity of the pension system, and at one time an effort was made to reduce the then existing pensions. Under this reform the pension awarded to Madame du Deffand was cut down to 4,800 livres, whereupon this lady remonstrated with the minister. The sincerity with which he had entered upon this economy was then shown by his reply, that, although it was true that the old pensions must be reduced, there was no reason why new ones should not be granted, and forthwith Madame du Deffand had her loss made good

by the granting to her of a new pension. An idea of the drain these pensions constituted upon the exchequer can be gathered from the following figures. In 1763 the pensions granted by the King amounted to 8,600,000 livres, in 1774 to 10,400,000, in 1776 to 16,500,000, and in 1781, the year of Necker's dismissal, to 23,814,988 livres.

Louis the Fifteenth must have been cast in a heroic mould to have been able to free himself from this incubus. But he was not a hero, nor was the age in which he lived a heroic age. Still, selfish and indolent as he undoubtedly was, he had sufficient penetration to perceive the extent to which he was being preyed upon by the vultures of his Court. It is recorded that when driving one day with the Duc de Choiseul, he turned to him, and asked, 'What do you think was the cost of the carriage we are sitting in?' The Minister, having pondered a minute, replied that he thought he could buy one the same as it in all respects for from 5,000 to 6,000 livres; but he added that, as the King must pay *en roi*, and seldom in ready money, it might have cost him 8,000 livres. 'You are far from the right figure,' rejoined the King, 'for this carriage cost me 30,000 livres!' Choiseul some days afterwards reminded the King of this conversation, and said that if he would support him he would redress the abuses of the royal expenditure. My friend,' answered the King, 'the robberies in my house are on a colossal scale; but it is impossible to stop them, as too many people, especially too many influential people, are interested in their continuance. My ministers have always begun by attempting to introduce something like order into my affairs, but they have been frightened to proceed, and abandoned the task in despair. Cardinal Fleury was powerful; he was master of France; but he died without carrying out any of the plans he had formed. Believe me, it is better not to trouble yourself, and to let ineradicable vices alone.'

This sketch of the financial condition and administration of France during the reign of Louis the Fifteenth, incomplete as it necessarily is, may still serve to convey an adequate impression of the herculean character of the task with which Louis the Sixteenth found himself confronted. France not being a homogeneous country, but composed of a group of autonomous provinces, with conflicting institutions and interests, the young and inexperienced Prince found the whole system of local administration an impenetrable maze of detail, and that of the fiscal administration a mass of confusion and disorder. Sixty years of misgovernment and corruption had shaken the foundations of the throne, and destroyed the public respect for the clergy and nobility, whilst modern civilisation was asserting its influence, and conducing, with other causes, to render a radical change inevitable. A system of fiscal wastefulness and maladministration which was endured in the early part of the century was no longer possible.

Absolute and unquestioned as yet was the authority of the King, he was powerless to effectuate any reform without the co-operation of the privileged classes. It must be remembered that some of the enlightened members of the nobility had become ardent radicals and reformers, but their vague talk in the *salons*, witty as it may have been, their wild declamations in the *cafés* and clubs, their contributions to the revolutionary literature, and their participation in the American War of Independence, only weakened the existing institutions without producing any cure for the evils under which the country suffered. Moreover, however laudable may have been the exertions of these members of the ruling caste in the cause of liberty, the leading nobles still clung desperately to their vexatious and obsolete rights. Dukes ridiculed the new economy that had come to be practised at Versailles, and dowagers who were offended by Marie Antoinette's infringement of the old etiquette, and her preference for the society of her friends in the seclusion of the Petit Trianon to the stately pageantry of the old *régime*, became the originators of the calumnious stories which were later on so freely circulated against her. Because their interests were touched by the reforms of Turgot they conspired to bring about his fall, but, with extraordinary inconsistency, when Necker, whose financial reforms were of a far more serious nature, was dismissed, they ostentatiously made pilgrimages to his country residence as a mark of their sympathy. This spirit of opposition to the established order of things displayed by these conspicuous personages was only too readily imitated and improved upon by the people at large.

The great problem, however, with which Louis the Sixteenth and his advisers found themselves face to face at the time of his accession, though studiously concealed from the people, was the gigantic deficit in the exchequer.⁴ The buoyant disposition of the French people caused them to imagine that all the abuses and vices of the old system had sunk into the grave with the late King, and

⁴ In 1774 the perpetual annuities and rentes amounted to 90,000,000 livres, representing a capital debt of 1,500,000,000. The gross revenue was then 375,000,000 livres, but the net revenue was only 215,000,000, against which there was an expenditure of 236,000,000 livres, showing a nominal deficit of 21,000,000 livres, but the real deficit in that year was about 50,000,000. Turgot reduced it to 40,000,000 livres. In 1787 the deficit had increased to 112,000,000, and in 1788 to 140,000,000. The revenue had also increased to 472,000,000, and the expenditure to 527,000,000 livres, consequently the deficit was 55,000,000, to which must be added 76,000,000 for bills due and 29,000,000 for extraordinary expenses; so that the total deficit was 160,000,000 livres. In 1789 Necker announced a deficit of 56,000,000, but did not mention the sums due for bills, which were then from 75,000,000 to 80,000,000 livres. In 1789 the interest on the perpetual rentes and annuities was 162,000,000, in addition to which a large sum had to be paid on forestalments and various other debts. The capital of the rentes was 2,170,000,000; reimbursements, 585,000,000; forestalments, 270,000,000; loans from the Pays d'État, and the Caisse d'Escompte, 220,000,000; finally, the amounts to be paid to the holders of offices, 1,200,000,000. Consequently the total indebtedness of the State in that year was over 4,500,000,000 livres.

that under the new rule of a youthful prince, who was known to be influenced by the best and most conscientious motives, the millenium must necessarily begin. The young generation was carried away by noble impulses, and indulged in dreams, hopes, and illusions based on misleading appearances. They never attempted to fathom the depths at which rested the foundations of the monarchy; they never tested the soundness of those foundations on which they wished to reconstruct a new edifice; they did not realise that an absolute monarchy could never continue to subsist on the support of a debased upper class, and that there was no longer that loyalty and affection for the throne among the other classes on which alone a constitutional monarchy could depend for its existence.

The first seven years of the reign of the young King were called the Golden Age by those who survived the cruel times that followed them, as their ignorance of the dilapidated state of the finances and the self-deception in which they indulged inspired the young generation with an illusory confidence. Owing to this circumstance, for which the reforms with which Louis the Sixteenth inaugurated his reign gave some ground, there was a great revival in the prosperity of the country. The cost incurred by France in the War of Independence further impoverished the State; but nevertheless the returns of the Fermiers-Généraux showed that individual wealth was increasing, and, according to Arthur Young, in the twenty years from 1768 the shipping trade of France doubled. Agriculture was depressed, but trade flourished—a remarkable change, considering that the old injustices of administration still continued, and that trade and industry still groaned under feudal restrictions and the oppressive monopolies of the corporations. But the impositions of the Treasury on the poorer classes had become of less frequent occurrence, taxation had been lightened, and large sums were devoted to charitable purposes. This prosperity was as fleeting as the national contentment was misleading, being based not on any substantial ground, but only on unjustifiable expectations of the future. For the preceding thirty years every capable observer of the progress of events and every leading political economist had expressed the conviction that a revolution was inevitable, though they probably never realised to themselves the full significance of the term, nor what a revolution meant in such a country as France.

As early as the year 1756, M. d'Argenson insisted on the necessity for a fundamental change in the system of government, and the suggestions he put forward for that purpose proved prophetic, as they were fulfilled by the Revolution. He proposed that France should be divided into departments, with the appointment of local magistrates and mayors in the smallest villages; he recommended the establishment of uniformity of weights and measures throughout the country, the institution of tribunals of commerce,

councils of trustworthy men, the holding of agricultural conferences, and the establishment of free education. He even thought of laying out the Bois de Boulogne and the institution of companies of omnibuses. He advocated the principle that trade 'should be as free as air, because liberty elevates, while arbitrary authority corrupts and debases everything it touches.' These were statesman-like suggestions, but d'Argenson also somewhat chimerically expressed the wish to see an absolute king the head of the philosophers and the self-constituted leader of the reformers of the State. 'But if Louis the Fifteenth was not the man fitted to fulfil d'Argenson's ideal of monarchical rule, Louis the Sixteenth was equally incapable of carrying forward the much more extensive reforms which the still worse condition of the country at his accession demanded.

In doling out such concessions as he decided upon, Louis the Sixteenth, though unconsciously, was acting in obedience to public opinion. The answer given by the octogenarian Maréchal de Richelieu to the young King, when invited to describe the three different reigns in which he had lived, shows how public opinion had progressed, in face of all obstacles, during the century. 'In the time of Louis the Fourteenth,' replied the veteran, 'one dared not say a word. In that of Louis the Fifteenth one spoke under one's breath; now, under your Majesty, one says what one chooses.' The very reforms Turgot set on foot laid bare to the people, in their full injustice, many of the abuses of which hitherto they had been only half aware. By the publication of his memorials to the King, for the first time they obtained some knowledge of the arbitrary fashion in which the revenue had been always raised, and of the still more iniquitous manner in which it had been spent. His conscientious efforts were worthy of all praise, but his disclosures altogether shook the belief of the people in the virtue of government. They saw that their share of the taxes was excessive; that these taxes were unjust and arbitrary, and that the exemptions enjoyed by the privileged classes were part of an intolerable system. The climax was reached on the publication of Necker's *Compte Rendu*. Inaccurate, misleading, and untrustworthy as a national budget, it attacked the whole financial system of the day, impugned the arbitrary administration of the monarchy, exposed in all their injustice the disorders of the past administration and the lavish expenditure of the public money on the Court.

The *Compte Rendu* brought about the fall of Necker, as the immense popularity it secured for him inflamed the jealousy of the Prime Minister Maurepas, who at once decided to procure his dismissal on the first opportunity. The inordinate conceit and vanity of Necker soon gave him that opportunity, as he demanded admittance to certain Court functions, from which his birth excluded him, and, moreover, he claimed to become what we might term a cabinet

minister, for which, as a Protestant, he was rendered ineligible. When the King refused these demands Necker tendered his resignation, which, much to his astonishment, was accepted. Great doubt may be felt as to whether, under any circumstances, he could have remained much longer in office. It is true that Maurepas was an octogenarian and died soon afterwards, but, had Necker even waited a few months to urge his claims, he probably would have succumbed to some other Court intrigue, and to the incapacity of the King, who not only failed to recognise the merits of his minister, but perpetrated the blunder of breaking the continuity of his financial policy. Necker at any rate might have retrieved the mistakes of his administration and have proceeded with his reforms in the spirit in which he had begun them.

The case of Necker was pleaded by Marie Antoinette; nevertheless, he fell. Considering the strength of her influence, was it likely that he could have maintained himself at a future time? But what would have been the result had Louis the Sixteenth persevered even with Necker's reforms? That question has already been answered. In my humble opinion, no effective reform could have been carried out owing in the first place to the aristocratic system. The financial condition of the country and of its administration were intimately associated with the aristocratic institutions, and could undergo no really salutary change so long as these institutions were not remodelled. But it is questionable whether, even had they been remodelled, any good could have resulted. The people would no longer tolerate their exclusion from all part in the management of their own affairs. Could any minister have coped with the difficulty of filling up the colossal deficit of the Treasury—a problem which the States-General were unable to solve, and which eventually led to national bankruptcy? The inference to be drawn from the examination of the ministries of Turgot and Necker is that Turgot was a man of genius, but being deficient in tact was wrecked on the shoals and quicksands of Court susceptibilities and greed, between which he was not courtier enough to steer a successful course. Necker was a man of the greatest ability, honest and disinterested to a degree, as he devoted a great part of his fortune to the needs of the State; but he can hardly be termed a genius, as he did not possess a commanding grasp of affairs, dealt with symptoms instead of with primary causes, and failed to show that prescience which is one of the attributes of genius for statesmanship. A great fault of Necker's administration was that though he did not increase taxation, even during the French participation in the War of Independence, he borrowed too freely and largely, forgetting, apparently, that by taxation alone could the interest on these loans be met. Though the financial outlook seemed to be better during his ministry than it had been for many years,

yet the fundamental vices of the financial system remained untouched, and the money raised by loans was not procured by the State from the nation at large, but from groups of private individuals. At present, not only in France, but in most European countries, a large proportion of the population hold Government securities, and, consequently, are interested in the order and welfare of the State. But at the end of the eighteenth century the pecuniary interests of the French State were in the hands of comparatively few financiers, who were always trembling for their security, and made losses for which they sought to recoup themselves, partly by obtaining high official salaries, partly by speculating in the financial dealings of the State. Consequently their personal interests became involved with those of the State, and being ultimately threatened in their private fortunes, they were the first to cry out for reform in the existing state of things. They thought it was possible to separate the financial from the general reform of the system of government, and had no apprehension that the work of emendation once set on foot would inevitably provoke a general revolution.

Still it has been asserted by many historians that the Revolution would have been averted had Louis the Sixteenth been endowed with the genius of a Napoleon. It is not altogether unprofitable, and it is decidedly harmless, to rewrite history according to our fancy, or in the light of our knowledge of recent events. But the history of our century may teach many useful lessons to those who would rewrite that of the eighteenth. It has taught us that the autocrats of this century differ immaterially from those of preceding ages, and are no more disposed to divest themselves of their absolute powers than their predecessors were, or to grant reforms to their subjects, however pressing and moderate their claims may be. This has been illustrated by the revolutions in Austria and Germany in 1848, and by that in Italy in 1859-60. 'Mon métier est d'être royaliste,' coldly replied Joseph the Second, the liberal and enlightened ruler of Germany, to the excited courtier who brought him the news of a victory of the Franco-American over the English troops. Louis the Sixteenth could not have been otherwise than a royalist, though he was liberally inclined, and readily carried out every reform that his ministers recommended. It is true that he was weak, and bent like a reed before every breath of influence. Had he, as has been suggested, possessed the genius of a Napoleon, he might have grappled with the difficulties that surrounded him, governed his people himself instead of being governed by incapable ministers, compelled the privileged classes to obedience, and stifled sedition with grape-shot. But it may be replied that it would have been nothing short of a miracle had a prince nurtured in the atmosphere of Versailles, and in the traditions of the eighteenth century—the heir of the Bourbons, of whom

it was said, after they had had twenty-five years of revolutionary experience, that they learned nothing and forgot nothing—been endowed with the character and the talents which were needed in the saviour of France. Had Louis the Sixteenth attempted to compel the privileged classes into obedience, another Ravallac might have been found, and had he put himself at the head of the army, defied public opinion and provoked a civil war, it is more than likely, from the growing power and influence of the middle classes, that army might not have proved as loyal as it has been deemed, and victory might eventually have fallen to the people. The truth was that, as the Comte de Ségur said, ‘The authority of the King had vanished, and despotism alone remained.’ But the responsibility for the Revolution rests not only on the unfortunate monarch, on Marie Antoinette, or on the privileged classes. The responsibility for the Revolution rests principally on the French people themselves. It is true that the national deficit formed a hideous chasm which no means could be found to bridge over, that the agricultural distress was terrible, that the plebeian classes were overtaxed, that the domination of the upper classes was no longer bearable, and that the misgovernment of the King from the fall of Necker was indefensible. But though clear-headed and logical in analysis and argument under normal conditions, the people allowed their reason to run riot when their emotions became excited by an accumulation of wrongs which had now reached a climax, and, being too light-hearted to reflect what the results of their action might be, they fell a prey to their own passions and to the theatrical rhetoric of demagogues. The ardour and impulsiveness they exercise in the pursuit of peaceful and laborious avocations, which make them one of the most productive nations in the world, they carried as vehemently into the work of wholesale destruction; and though patriotic in the highest degree, never having been trained to political life, they had none of that veneration for the traditions of the past which is one of the securest bulwarks against anarchy. Too impetuous to tolerate any slow process of reform, once they realised the full extent of their grievances, the weakness of the authorities and their own power, they grasped the whole hand instead of the fingers that were one by one extended to them. When the temper of the French race was inflamed it burst forth like a cyclone, destroying every landmark, overwhelming good and evil alike in its indiscriminating fury. The Revolution, whose causes were welded together as the links of a chain, was fated to come, and when it came its history was inevitably destined to be written in letters of blood.

FERDINAND ROTHSCHILD.

RECENT SCIENCE

DURING the last thirty years the data of meteorology have been accumulated with a very great rapidity, and the chief desideratum of the moment is, to construct with these data such a general theory of the circulation of the atmosphere as would embody the distribution of heat, pressure, moisture, and winds over the surface of the earth, and represent them as consequences of well-established mechanical laws. The old provisory hypothesis of atmospheric circulation, advocated by Hadley in 1735, and further elaborated by Dove in our century, can be held no more, and a new theory has become of absolute necessity.

We all have learnt Dove's theory at school, even though we often found it difficult to understand. The air, greatly heated on or near the equator, rises in the same way as it rises in the summer over a sunburnt plain. On reaching the higher strata of the atmosphere it flows towards the poles, but, owing to the speed of rotation which it has acquired in the lower latitudes, it is deflected—to consider the northern hemisphere only—to the right, and blows in the upper strata as a current from the south-west. To compensate this flow, air rushes on the earth's surface towards the equator, and as it also is deflected from its course by the same inertia of rotation, it appears in the tropics as a trade-wind blowing from the north-east. However, the upper warm current does not flow all the way to the pole in the upper regions; it is gradually cooled down, and in about the thirtieth degree of latitude it begins to descend to the earth's surface, where it meets with the cold polar current. A struggle between the two winds ensues, and it lasts until they make a temporary peace by blowing side by side, or one above the other; the struggle giving origin to storms and to changes of wind which are fully analysed in Dove's theory. A rope without end rolling over two pulleys, one of which lies horizontally near the equator and the other stands upright in higher latitudes—such was the simplest expression of Dove's theory given in text-books.¹

Under this provisory hypothesis meteorology made an immense progress, and some five-and-thirty years ago, Leverrier in France,

¹ E. E. Schmid, *Lehrbuch der Meteorologie*, Leipzig, 1860, p. 568.

and Fitzroy in this country, ventured for the first time to foretell weather twenty-four hours in advance, or at least to send out warnings as to the coming storms. This bold step brought meteorologists face to face with a quite new problem. From the air-pressure, the temperature, the moisture, and the winds observed at a certain hour of the day at various spots and telegraphed to a central station they had to infer the next probable state of weather. So, leaving aside the great problems of atmospheric circulation, they directed their attention to the changes of weather rather than to the causes of the changes.² For this purpose purely empirical laws were of great value. When the meteorologist saw on a weather-chart a region of low atmospheric pressure, with winds blowing in spirals round and towards its centre, he named it, by analogy with real cyclones, a 'cyclonic disturbance' or a 'cyclone,' giving the name of 'anti-cyclone' to the region of high atmospheric pressure—and he studied the tracks of both disturbances in their advance across the oceans and the continents. He did not inquire for the moment into the causes of the disturbances; he took them as facts, and, following Buys Ballot's law, he said that the wind will blow as a rule from the region of high barometric pressure (the anti-cyclone) to the region of low pressure (the cyclone), with a certain deflection to the right or to the left. Immense researches were made to study the routes followed by the centres of barometrical minima, and we now have splendid atlases showing the normal tracks of cyclones across the Atlantic Ocean, over Europe and the States, in Japan, in the Indian Ocean, and so on, at various seasons of the year.³ With these empirical data meteorologists attained such a perfection in their weather forecasts that in five cases out of six their previsions are now correct, while the coming gales are even foretold with a still greater accuracy.

However, the very progress achieved demonstrated the necessity of a more thorough knowledge of the too much neglected upper currents of the atmosphere. In Dove's scheme, the upper equatorial current, after part of it had been sent back to the equator, was entirely abandoned to itself, to make its way as best it could against the opposed polar winds; but the existence of a strong, nearly permanent, and relatively warm upper wind blowing towards the east in

² See W. Bezold's short sketch of meteorological progress in *Sitzungsberichte der Berlin Akademie der Wissenschaften*, 1890, ii. 1295, sq.

³ Besides the earlier works of Ley (*Laws of the Winds Prevailing in Western Europe*, Part I. 1872) and Köppen (*Wissenschaftliche Ergebnisse aus der monatlichen Uebersichten des Wetters*, 1873-78), we have now the splendid work of W. J. Van Bebber, which embodies the tracks of all cyclones in Europe for the last fifteen years (*Die Zugstrassen der barometrischen Minima*, für 1875-90), the researches of Blanford, S. E. Hill, and Elliot in the *Indian Meteorological Memoirs* and *Cyclone Memoirs*, Part IV. (published by the Meteorological Department of India), the work of E. Knipping for Japan, in *Annual Meteorological Report for 1890*, Part II. Appendix, and several excellent works for Russia.

our latitudes—which was only probable thirty years ago⁴—became more and more evident, especially since the movements of clouds began to be systematically studied and observatories were erected on high mountains; and this wind remained unexplained in Dove's theory, while in Maury's scheme of atmospheric circulation, which is still in great vogue in our schools, there was even substituted for it a current in an opposite direction, which does not exist, and which Maury himself could not account for.⁵ An entire revision of the subject was thus necessary, and this revision has been done by the American meteorologist Ferrel, in a series of elaborate works which are only now beginning to receive from meteorologists the attention they fully deserve.

Ferrel's theory is based upon considerations as to the laws of motion of liquids and gases of different densities. If the whole atmosphere were equally heated in all its parts, and at full rest, the air would be disposed in horizontal layers, of greater density at the bottom, and of decreasing density towards the top. Considering some part only of the atmosphere, from pole to equator, and neglecting the curved surface of the earth, we should thus have something analogous to a trough filled with layers of different liquids. If one end of the trough were now warmed, and the other end were cooled, the layers would be horizontal no more. They would be inclined, but in two different ways; the lower ones would be inclined towards the warm part, while in the upper layers the inclination would be the reverse. A full circuit of the lighter liquids flowing one way on the surface, and of heavier liquids flowing the other way on the bottom, would thus be established. The same would happen in our atmosphere with the lighter warm currents and the heavier cold currents if the earth had no rotation on its axis. But it rotates—the solid globe as well as its gaseous envelope—and this modifies the whole circulation. The air which flows from the

⁴ Observations in Siberia, namely, at the graphite works on Mount Alibert, at a height of 8,000 feet (52° N. lat.), were especially conclusive. Alibert's observations, buried in the Russian *Trudy* of the Siberian expedition, proved the existence of a nearly permanent W. and W.N.W. wind on the top of the peak, and they showed at the same time that the average yearly temperature on the top of the peak was by some fourteen to eighteen Fahrenheit degrees higher than it otherwise ought to be. When I visited the then abandoned mine in 1864, and saw the peak dominating all surrounding mountains, and could judge of the force of the west wind from the immense works accomplished to protect the road which was traced on the western side of the peak, I could not refrain from explaining the extraordinarily great height of the snow-line in East Siberia by the existence of a relatively warm equatorial current blowing with a great force at a height of from 8,000 to 10,000 feet in the latitude of 52° N. Later on the observations which I brought from the Voznesensk mine (60° N., altitude 2,620 feet) induced my friend Ferd. Müller, who calculated those observations, to conclude that in higher latitudes the same current descends still lower to the earth's surface, and still maintains some of its initial warmth.

⁵ See James Thomson's paper 'On the Grand Currents of the Atmosphere,' in *Philosophical Transactions*, A. 1892, p. 671.

equator to the poles maintains, not its velocity of rotation, as has been hitherto taught, but its energy of rotation, which means that it obeys the law of preservation of areas; therefore, when it is transported from the equator to a higher latitude it is endowed (in the northern hemisphere) with a much greater eastward velocity than if it simply maintained its speed of rotation.* On the other side, the air which is flowing from the higher latitudes towards the equator also obeys the same law and acquires a westward velocity, but much smaller than the eastward velocity of the former; this is why the west winds have such a preponderance in our latitudes.⁶ Moreover, in virtue of the centrifugal force, all masses of air moving in *any* direction—not only north or south, but also due west or east—are also deflected to the right in the northern hemisphere, and to the left in the southern hemisphere.⁷ Consequently the air flows in great spirals towards the poles, both in the upper strata of the atmosphere and on the earth's surface beyond the thirtieth degree of latitude; while the return current blows at nearly right angles to the above spirals, in the middle strata as also on the earth's surface, in a zone comprised between the parallels 30° N. and 30° S.⁸

Such are, very briefly stated, the leading features of the theory which Ferrel laboriously worked out during the last thirty years, submitting all its parts to the test of both observation and mathematical analysis. By the end of his life (he died in 1891) he embodied his theory in a well-written and suggestive popular work, which fully deserves being widely known. All taken, his views so well agree with the facts relative to the movements of the atmosphere, and they give such a sound method for further investigation, that they are sure to become for some years to come the leading theory of meteorology. They already have given a strong impulse to theoretical research, and have created a whole literature in Austria and Germany.⁹

* Full tables giving the eastward (or westward) velocities for each latitude, under the two different hypotheses, have been calculated for the *Meteorologische Zeitung*, 1890, pp. 399 and 420.

⁷ Ferrel seems not to have been aware that the same had been demonstrated, by R. Lenz, for rivers (about the year 1870) in a discussion of Baer's law, applied to the Amu river, in the *Mémoires* of the St. Petersburg Academy.

⁸ Wm. Ferrel, *A Popular Treatise on Winds, comprising the General Motion of the Atmosphere, Monsoons, Cyclones, Tornadoes, Waterspouts, Hailstorms, &c.* New York (Wiley), 1889. See also analysis of it by W. M. Davis (in *Science*, xv. p. 142; translated in *Meteorologische Zeitung*, 1890; *Literaturbericht*, p. 41), who gave the best diagram of circulation according to Ferrel's theory, and by H. F. Blanford in *Nature*, xli. 124. A full bibliography of Ferrel's works was given after his death in the *American Meteorological Journal*, October 1891.

⁹ Roth has already abandoned the mathematical objections he had raised against Ferrel's theory in the *Wochenschrift für Astronomie*, 1888. The objections raised by Teisserenc du Bort and Supan against the 'density surfaces' have been answered by Professor Davis in *Science*, and are not shared by the most prominent meteorologists. And the mathematical analysis of Professor Waldo, Sprung (the author of the well-known *Treatise of Meteorology*), M. Müller, and Pernter has further confirmed the

Another theory of the general circulation of the atmosphere which is also awakening a good deal of interest among physical geographers was propounded in 1886 by Werner Siemens, and further developed by him in 1890.¹⁰ Siemens did not consider that air might flow down the density surfaces, as supposed by Ferrel and Helmholtz, and admitted by many meteorologists, and he maintained that the source of the energy required for all disturbances of equilibrium in the atmosphere must be looked for in the unequal heating of its different strata by the sun, and in the unequal loss of heat through radiation in space. From these considerations he inferred the existence of an ascending current in the equatorial belt, an upper warm current, and a cold polar current. As to the eastward and westward directions of these currents, he made the very just remark that the energy of rotation of the whole atmosphere must remain constant and unchanged, even though masses of air move from one latitude to another. The velocity of rotation of the atmosphere in tropical latitudes must therefore lag behind the rotation of the earth, and it must outstrip it in higher latitudes, mathematical calculation proving that the thirty-fifth parallel is, in both hemispheres, the line of division between the two. The general system of air circulation deduced from these principles is very similar in its results to the system of Ferrel; but the interest and importance of Siemens' views lie elsewhere. His memoirs were an appeal and an attempt to apply the principles of thermodynamics to the aerial currents, and they have opened the way for a series of important researches, which, however, are not yet sufficiently advanced to be discussed in these pages.

And, finally, a third new point of view has been introduced into accuracy of the theory. So also Hildebrandsson's observations of upper clouds (*Annuaire de la Société météorologique de France*, xxxix. 338), Teisserenc du Bort's high-level isobars, and Guaran de Trommelin's researches relative to coast-winds. The transport of the Krakatoa dust and Abercromby's observations of clouds having rendered the existence of an upper east current very probable on the equator, Pernter has mathematically deduced from Ferrel's theory the existence of such a current in a belt $4^{\circ} 45'$ wide on both sides of the equator, and he therefore has withdrawn the restrictions he had previously made in a lecture (published in *Nature*, 1892, xlv. 593) in favour of Siemens' views. It must be added that the idea of three superposed currents blowing in spirals may have been suggested to Ferrel by a communication of James Thomson to the British Association in 1857. Such was, at least, the claim raised and developed at some length by the Glasgow professor before the Royal Society in a Bakerian lecture, now published in the *Transactions* (A. 1892, pp. 653-685). Though Thomson's paper was never published, and only given in a very short abstract without a diagram (the diagram in the *Transactions* is now published for the first time), the few lines in which his theory was stated (*British Association Reports*, Dublin, 1857, pp. 38, 39) contained the idea clearly expressed. It is certainly a matter of great regret that James Thomson has not returned to this subject.

¹⁰ 'Ueber die Erhaltung der Kraft im Luftmeere,' in *Sitzungsberichte der Berlin Akademie der Wissenschaften*, March 1886, p. 261; 'Ueber das allgemeine Windsystem der Erde,' in same publication, 1890, ii. p. 629.

the same discussions by Helmholtz. Sitting one day by the seaside, and observing how wind blows on the surface of the sea by sudden gushes, how it originates waves, and how they grow when wind blows with an increasing force, Helmholtz came to consider what would happen with two air currents blowing one above the other in different directions. A system of air waves, he concluded, must arise in this case, in the same way as they are formed on the sea. The upper current, if it is inclined towards the earth's surface (as is often the case), must originate in the lower current, immense aerial waves rolling at a great speed. We do not generally see them, but when the lower current is so much saturated with moisture that clouds are formed in it, we do see a system of wave-like parallel clouds, which often extend over wide parts of the sky. To calculate the sizes of the waves in different cases is extremely difficult, if not impossible; but by taking some simpler cases Helmholtz and Oberbeck showed that when the waves on the sea attain lengths of from sixteen to thirty-three feet, the air waves must attain lengths of from ten to twenty miles, and a proportional depth. Such waves would make the wind blow on the earth's surface in rhythmical gushes, which we all know, and they also would more thoroughly mix together the superposed strata, dissipating the energy stored in strong currents. These views are so correct that they undoubtedly will throw some new light, as they already begin to do, upon the theory of cyclones.¹¹

At the same time, Bezold is now endeavouring to reconstruct meteorology from the point of view of thermodynamics;¹² and the well-known Austrian meteorologist J. Hann, whose work is exciting just now a great deal of interest, has openly broken with the old theory as regards the origin of cyclones and anti-cyclones.¹³ From observations made for several years in succession on the top of the Sonnblick—a peak 12,000 feet high, of the Tyrolese Alps—as well as from observations made on several other high-level stations, he has concluded that a cyclone can *not* be due to a local heating of the earth's surface and to an ascending current of warm air provoked by this cause, just as an anti-cyclone cannot be due to a local cooling of the earth's surface, and to a consequent condensation of the air. Contrary to the provisions of the meteorologists, the ascending column of air within a cyclone, up to a height of some 10,000 feet,

¹¹ H. Helmholtz, 'Zur Theorie von Wind und Wetter,' and 'Die Energie der Wogen und des Windes,' in the *Sitzungsberichte* of the Berlin Academy, 1889, ii. and 1890, ii. Oberbeck's calculations of the waves are given in the *Meteorologische Zeitschrift*, 1890, p. 81.

¹² 'Zur Thermodynamik der Atmosphäre,' in *Sitzungsberichte* of the Berlin Academy of Sciences, 1888, p. 485; same year, p. 1189; 1890, p. 355; and 1892, p. 279.

¹³ 'Das Luftdruckmaximum vom November 1889,' in *Denkschrift der Wiener Akademie der Wissenschaften*, 1890, Bd. lvii. p. 401. 'Bemerkungen über die Temperatur der Cyclonen und Anticyclonen,' in *Meteorologische Zeitschrift*, 1890, p. 328.

is not warmer than the surrounding air; it is *cooler* within the cyclone, and its upward motion thus cannot be due to its temperature. So also in an anti-cyclone the descending current of air is *warmer* than it is under normal conditions, and its downward motion must be due to some other cause than an increase of density resulting from a lowering of its temperature. The decrease of pressure in the one case, and its increase in the other, thus cannot be caused by differences of heating or cooling of the lower strata; and both cyclones and anti-cyclones must be considered as parts of the general circulation of the atmosphere, such as it was conceived by Ferrel.¹⁴

Such a deep modification of the current views, though supported to a great extent by weighty evidence, will obviously not be accepted without opposition; but it is already making its way, and certainly will exercise a deep influence on the further development of meteorology.

Abandoning now the domain of theoretical investigation, I must mention a work—also a life's work—which may safely be placed side by side with the best achievements in theory. I mean the beautiful charts of Mr. Buchan, representing the distribution of pressure, temperature, and winds over the surface of the globe, embodied in the last volume of the '*Challenger*' *Expedition Reports*. When Mr. Buchan published, twenty-three years ago, his first maps of monthly isobars and prevailing winds, they were quite a revelation, even though the data upon which they were based were very incomplete at that time.¹⁵ But better data have been collected since, and in the hands of Mr. Buchan they have undergone such a careful and able analysis, that the '*Challenger*' *Reports* charts may be taken as the best reliable representation of the winds, the temperatures, and the pressure in the lowest strata of the atmosphere, as well as the surest basis for further generalisations.¹⁶ The theories which have been mentioned in the preceding pages give the grand lines of atmospheric circulation; on Buchan's maps we see how the grand lines are modified in the lowest strata by the distribution of land and sea, and the unequal heating or cooling of continents

¹⁴ See the discussion of this subject between Hazen and J. Hann in *Science*, 1890, xv. 382-384, and *Meteorologische Zeitschrift*, 1890, p. 328.

¹⁵ To trace the isobars, or lines of equal atmospheric pressure, reduced to the sea-level, the real altitude of each meteorological observatory must be known from direct geometrical levellings; but in 1869 the altitude of not one single station in Siberia, Central Asia, or even the Urals was known. A levelling across Siberia, as far as Lake Baikal, has been made since, Mr. Buchan's isobars having been one of our best arguments to press the necessity of the levelling. But Mr. Buchan may not be aware that the levelling beyond the ninetieth degree of longitude is now considered by Russian geodesists as utterly unreliable; it is supposed to contain some substantial error, so that a new levelling between Krasnoyarsk and Lake Baikal is insisted upon. The incertitude in the isobars on an immense space in North-east Asia resulting from this cause may attain as much as one- or, perhaps, even three-tenths of an inch.

¹⁶ An excellent *résumé* of the whole work and its results in a popular form has been published by Buchan himself in the *Proceedings of the Geographical Society*, March 1891.

and oceans. The leading features indicated by theory are still maintained, and they become even still more apparent if we consult isobars traced for a certain height, like those of Teisserenc de Bort; but the immense plateaux of East Asia and North America act in winter as colossal refrigerators, where cold and heavy air accumulates, to flow down in all directions towards the lowlands. We see also how in July the air is heated in the lower lands of North-west India, in the corner between the Afghanistan and the Tibet plateau, how pressure is lowered there by the ascending current, and how winds blow towards this region of lowered pressure. We see more than that: on looking on the maps it strikes the eye how the moisture or the dryness of the climate is dependent upon the distribution of pressure, and how the dry anti-cyclonic winds make barren deserts of parts of North and South America, of Africa, and Central Asia, and how they will continue to dry the lakes and the rivers of these regions and occasion total failures of crops so long as that distribution of pressure lasts on the globe, and man has not yet learned to eschew its effects by getting water from the depths of the earth. The life of the globe during the present period is written on these splendid charts.

II

At one of the recent sittings of the French Academy of Sciences, Henri Moissan, whose name has lately been prominent in chemistry, in connection with several important discoveries, read a communication to the effect that he had finally succeeded in obtaining in his laboratory minute crystals of diamonds.¹⁷ His communication was followed by a paper by Friedel, who has been working for some time past in the same direction, and has attained similar though not yet quite definite results; and, finally, Berthelot, who also was working in the same field, but followed a different track, announced that, in view of the excellent results obtained by Moissan, he abandons his own researches and congratulates his colleague upon his remarkable discovery.

The discovery is not absolutely new, and the French chemist himself mentions two of his English predecessors. Mr. Hannay obtained in 1880 some diamond-like crystals by heating in an iron tube, under high pressure, a mixture of paraffin oil with lamp-black, bone oil, and some lithium;¹⁸ and in the same year Mr. Sidney Marsden, by heating some silver with sugar charcoal, obtained black carbon crystals with curved edges.¹⁹ Besides, it was generally known that a black powder, composed of transparent microscopical crystals having

¹⁷ *Comptes Rendus de l'Académie des Sciences*, February 6, 1893, tome cxvi. p. 218.

¹⁸ *Proceedings of the Royal Society*, xxx. 188; quoted by Moissan.

¹⁹ *Proceedings of the Royal Society of Edinburgh*, 1880, ii. 20 (Moissan's quotation)

the hardness of diamond, is deposited on the negative electrode when a weak galvanic current is passed through liquid chloride of carbon. But these crystals, like those of Mr. Marsden, belong to the easily obtained variety of black diamonds known as carbonados; while some of the crystals obtained by Moissan are real colourless and crystallised diamonds—the gem we all know and admire.

For industry and everyday life the infinitesimal quantities of diamond dust obtained by the French chemist may have no immediate value, and some time will probably be required before a modest-sized jewel is made in a laboratory. But the discovery has a great scientific interest, inasmuch as it is the outcome of a whole series of researches which have recently been made with the view of artificially reproducing all sorts of minerals and rocks, and which are admirably chosen for ultimately throwing new light upon the intimate structure of physical bodies.

Moissan's method is based upon the capacity of iron of absorbing carbon at a high temperature and of giving it back in the shape of grains and crystals while the iron mass is cooling. When iron has been saturated with carbon at a temperature of about 2,000 Fahrenheit degrees, a mixture of amorphous carbon and graphite is discovered in the iron mass. At higher temperatures the fused iron dissolves more and more carbon, and the cast-iron of our blasting furnaces, after having been heated to about 3,000 degrees and slowly cooled down, contains, as known, an abundance of graphite crystals. It was thus natural to see whether a still higher temperature, and cooling under high pressure, might not give the still denser form of carbon—that is, the diamonds.

In order to thoroughly saturate iron with carbon at a high temperature, and to cool it under a high pressure, Moissan resorted to a very simple and effective means. He took a hollow cylinder of soft iron, filled it with some purified sugar charcoal, and corked the cylinder with an iron screw. Then about half a pound of soft iron was molten in a crucible in Moissan's new electric furnace, which readily gives a temperature of about 3,000 Centigrade degrees (5,400° Fahrenheit), and the cylinder was plunged into the molten metal; iron was thus thoroughly saturated with carbon. The crucible was then taken out of the furnace and plunged into a pail of cold water until the surface of the iron mass was cooled to a dull red temperature, whereupon it was taken out and left to cool in the air. This was the ingenious means of obtaining a high pressure. It is known that water when it becomes ice increases in volume, and that if it freezes in a strong shell the interior pressure of the crystallising water often bursts the shell; but if it cannot burst the shell it necessarily solidifies under an immense pressure, due to the molecular forces. The same was done by Moissan with the liquid iron, which also has the property of increasing in volume while it solidifies. An outer

solid crust having been formed by a sudden immersion into cold water, the crust prevents the further expansion of the iron mass, which is thus bound to solidify under an immense *pression*, like the water in the shell.

The next step was to separate the iron from the carbon crystals which it might contain. This was done by dissolving the iron in hydrochloric acid, and three different varieties of carbon crystals (which are not attacked by the acid) were received as a residue. Some graphite, some chestnut-coloured, curved needles of carbon, and diamond dust could be seen; and they were separated from each other by several complex operations indicated by Berthelot in one of his previous works. A few grains of diamond dust were finally obtained—most of them belonging to the carbonado variety, while a few of them proved to be real diamonds; they were translucent, they scratched a ruby, and they distinctly showed under the microscope the crystalline structure and cleavage of the diamond; their density was that of the precious gem, and they were completely consumed in oxygen at a temperature of 1890 degrees.²⁰

Mr. Marsden's experiment with silver was also repeated; but silver being a bad dissolvent for carbon, even at high temperature, it was boiled for some time with sugar charcoal in the furnace, the cooling being operated in the same way as with iron. The result was extremely interesting. No diamonds were obtained, but a series of carbonados of different densities (from 2.5 to 3.5 times heavier than water) were discovered, some of them in grains, some others in needles, or in conchoidal masses, the densest ones also scratching ruby and burning in oxygen at 1,800°. This is perhaps the most interesting part of Moissan's researches, as it confirms the long-since suspected fact that there is a whole series of carbon molecules each of which is composed of a different number of atoms, and some of which must be very complex.

As to the quantities of diamond dust obtained in this way, they were extremely small. Several cylinders gave no diamonds at all, and from all his experiments Moissan could not collect even a few milligrammes (a few hundredth parts of a grain) of the precious dust, although the black carbonados were quite common. But a sure method is now indicated, and its further development is only a matter of time and perseverance.

The scientific value of these researches is undoubtedly very great. Diamond, like graphite and simple charcoal, is pure carbon, but all attempts at fusing carbon or dissolving it have hitherto failed; it could not be brought into a liquid condition out of which it afterwards might crystallize. However, the investigations recently made into the carburisation of iron, especially by Roberts Austen, tended

²⁰ From a subsequent communication by Moissan we learn that the same varieties are found in the diamond-bearing earth at the Cape.

to prove that in steel and cast-iron the carbon is not simply diffused through the iron, but enters with it into some of those combinations in definite proportions which, like all solutions, occupy an intermediate position between real chemical compounds and purely physical mixtures.²¹ It was reasonable, therefore, to presume that carbon is brought into a liquid condition in molten iron, and that under certain conditions it may crystallise in the shape of diamonds within an iron mass. Moissan's discovery confirms this view. On the other side, the researches of Moissan and Friedel must also throw some light upon the great questions raised by Mendeléeff as regards the probable presence and prevalence of iron and carbon compounds in the interior of the globe, the formation of naphtha out of these compounds, and other extremely interesting geological questions.²²

The artificial reproduction of the diamond must also be viewed as a further step in a long succession of researches which have been lately pursued for artificially reproducing all sorts of minerals, the formation of which had long remained a puzzle for mineralogists. The silicates which were formerly considered as impossible to reproduce in the laboratory have yielded within the last few years before the efforts of the chemists. Sarrasin, Hautefeuille, and especially Friedel, have reproduced different varieties of the chief constituent mineral of our crystalline rocks—felspar—and the artificial crystals are absolutely identical with those found in nature. Hornblende, which had long defied the efforts of the explorers, has been finally obtained in 1891 by K. Chrustchoff, after he had spent seven years in unsuccessful attempts;²³ but in order to reproduce it he had to heat its constituent elements for three months at a temperature of nearly 1,000 degrees. The importance of a high temperature for further achievements was rendered still more evident in Frémy's successful reproduction of the ruby. The ruby is, of course, quite different from the diamond. Like the sapphire and the corundum, it is nothing but alumina, that is, a compound of two atoms of aluminium with three atoms of oxygen, coloured by some impurities in red, in blue, or in brown. But for a long time alumina would not crystallise in our laboratories. Later on Frémy obtained a very fine dust of rubies; but when he submitted the constituent parts of the ruby to a temperature of 2,700°, and maintained the same temperature for one hundred consecutive hours, he was rewarded by full-sized crystals of the precious stone, big enough and in sufficient numbers to have a collar made of them. And finally, the investigations of Friedel, Le Chatelier, and especially F. Fouqué and Michel Levy, who reproduced a micaceous trachyte containing felspar, spinel,

²¹ See 'Recent Science' in *Nineteenth Century*, May 1892.

²² See, in Mendeléeff's *Principles of Chemistry*, the footnotes to the chapters on carbon and iron.

²³ *Comptes Rendus*, 1891, t. 112.

and mica, demonstrated the necessity of resorting to a high pressure in addition to a high temperature.

To extend the range of high temperatures hitherto obtained, and to devise a means of measuring them, was thus the first condition for further progress in the reproduction of minerals and gems. But the measurement of high temperatures is a very difficult problem which has much occupied of late several prominent physicists and chemists. A thermo-electric thermometer, made of two very resistant metals (platinum and an alloy of platinum with rhodium), and graduated with the aid of the air thermometer, finally came into general use, and it proved to be quite reliable—but only up to 3,000 Fahrenheit degrees,²⁴ which temperature was soon surpassed. Then, Le Chatelier devised a pyrometer based on the variations of intensity of light of fused metals at different temperatures, and this instrument again proved to be sufficiently accurate up to 3,600 degrees; but this last temperature, too, is now surpassed by Moissan, by means of his new electric furnace, which is a real model of efficiency and simplicity.²⁵ It consists of two superposed bricks, made of quicklime, or of an especially pure calcinated magnesia. A groove with a small cavity in its middle (large enough to receive a small crucible) is made on the upper face of the lower brick in the sense of its length; and two carbon electrodes are introduced from both sides into the groove. As soon as they are connected with a dynamo-machine the electric arc appears between their extremities, and an immensely high temperature is produced in the cavity. Thus, a small Edison machine, worked by a gas-engine of eight horse-power, gave a temperature estimated at about 4,500 Fahrenheit degrees, and with a fifty-horse-power engine the enormous temperature of about 5,400 degrees (3,000° Centigrade) was reached.

The effects of this little furnace are simply wonderful. At about 4,500° lime, strontia, and magnesia are crystallised in a few minutes. At 5,400° the very substance of the bricks is fused and flows like water. Oxides of various metals which were considered as quite irreducible are deprived of their oxygen in no time: nickel, cobalt, manganese, and chrome oxides can be reduced at a lecture experiment, and a piece of 120 grammes of pure uranium is obtained at once from the uranium oxide. At about 4,050° pure alumina is fused and little rubies are formed; true, they are less beautiful than those of Frémy, but the whole experiment lasts less than a quarter of an hour. At a higher temperature alumina is even volatilised, and nothing is left of it in the crucible. In short, the results are as interesting and as promising as those which Pictet and Dewar have witnessed when they went to the other end of the thermometric scale and produced the

²⁴ C. Barns in *Philosophical Magazine*, 5th series, xxxiv. 376; L. Holborn and W. Wien in *Wiedemann's Annalen*, xlvii. 107.

²⁵ *Comptes Rendus*, December 12, 1892, t. cxv.

extremely low temperatures of about 200 Centigrade degrees below the freezing-point.

And, finally, Moissan's discovery establishes a new link between the processes which we obtain in our laboratories, and those which are going on in the celestial spaces, in the formation of meteorites. It was known long since that these masses of silicates and nickelled iron which travel in the interplanetary spaces and, entering occasionally into the sphere of attraction of the earth, fall upon its surface, sometimes contain charcoal or a special variety of graphite; but later on, in 1887, the St. Petersburg Professors Latchinoff and Eroféeff went a step further and proved that the charcoal is occasionally transformed into diamonds; thus they extracted some diamond dust from the meteorite fallen during the previous year at Novo Urei, in the province of Penza. Some doubts were, however, entertained as regards their discovery, but the fact has been fully confirmed since by Friedel and Le Bel, who found in a meteorite from Cañon Diablo minute diamonds and carbonados, exactly similar to those of Moissan.²⁶

It is thus evident that the artificial reproduction of the diamond is not one of those accidental discoveries which may be made without leaving an impression upon science for many years to come. It is only one of the many advances made in a certain direction, and is the outcome of the whole drift of modern research which endeavours immensely to widen the means at our disposal for effecting physical and chemical transformations of matter. It is one step more into a new domain where chemistry, metallurgy, and mineralogy join hands together for revealing by joint efforts the secrets of the constructive forces of matter.

III

The study of the direct action of environment upon organisms, and of the mechanism of its action, becomes a favourite study among biologists—the 'transformists' being no more a few exceptions in science, but already constituting a school which has several brilliant representatives in America, France, and Germany, as well as in this country. It is evident that almost none of the biologists engaged in this kind of research maintains any doubts as to the importance of natural selection as a factor of evolution. To use the words of one of the leading American transformists,²⁷ 'the law of natural selection is well established, and no more under discussion.' For many adaptations it offers the best and the only possible explanation. But biology would have been brought to a standstill if

²⁶ *Comptes Rendus*, December 12, 1892, t. 115, p. 1039; also February 13, 1893.

²⁷ H. F. Osborn, whose admirable essays, mentioned in a previous review, are now published in book form.

the idea had prevailed that, after a more or less plausible explanation of some adaptation has been given under the hypothesis of natural selection, nothing more is left to be done to explain this same adaptation. For many animals whose manners of life we hardly know at all—the study of animal life having been deplorably neglected for the last fifty years—the explanation would often be little better than a mere hypothesis; but even in the best cases, the very origin of each variation would still remain to be found. Darwin fully understood this necessity; and the physiological and mechanical origin of variations is what so many biologists are now working at. Several such investigations are already well known to English readers through the works of Cope, Semper, Lloyd Morgan, J. T. Cunningham, and P. Geddes. Many others ought to be analysed and discussed; but for the time being I can only mention a few recent works relative to the origin of animal colours.

Wherever we go we see animals coloured in accordance with their surroundings. White and light grey colours predominate in the Arctic regions; tawny and yellow colours in the deserts; gorgeous colours in tropical lands. The striped tiger in the jungle is hardly recognisable among the shadows of the tall grasses. Insects resemble the flowers which they usually visit; caterpillars have the colours and often the forms of the twigs and the leaves they feed upon. Dusty-coloured nocturnal insects; moths which take autumnal tints if they begin life in autumn; dark squirrels in the dark larch forests, and red squirrels in the Scotch-fir groves; animals changing their colour with the season—all these are familiar instances. But are they all due to natural selection alone? Does not environment take some part in itself producing these colours?

In a very suggestive work,²⁸ Alfred Tylor has shown in how far the different markings and the diversified coloration of animals follow the chief lines of structure; and A. R. Wallace has readily admitted that, while the fundamental or ground colours of animals are due to natural selection, the markings are probably due to internal physiological causes.²⁹ Coloration responds to function; and there is a law in the distribution of colours and the development of the markings, while there ought to be none under the hypothesis of selected accidental variations. Wallace goes even a step further, and shows that those birds possess the most brilliant colours which have developed frills, chests, and elongated tails, or immense tail-coverts, or immensely expanded wing-feathers, all appearing near to where the activities of the most powerful muscle of the body would be at a maximum. He considers 'a surplus of vital energy,' increased at certain periods, as a *vera causa* for the origin of ornamental

²⁸ *Coloration in Animals and Plants*. London, 1886.

²⁹ *Darwinism*, p. 288 sq.

appendages of birds and other animals. And it is difficult to examine these and like facts without coming to the same conclusion.

But if partial vigorous coloration is so much dependent upon vital energy, is it not possible to suppose that the decoloration of animals with the approach of the winter is in some way connected with a decrease of vital energy, especially if we take into account the permanent white colours of domesticated animals in Arctic regions (such as the Yakutsk horse), which cannot be dependent upon natural selection? Some recent observations give a certain support to this supposition. Thus we now learn that rabbits which have been taken to the Pic du Midi Observatory (9,500 feet above the sea level) have given in seven years a race somewhat different from their congeners in the surrounding plains. They are a little smaller, have less developed ears, and their fur coats are of a lighter colour and very thick. Moreover, the very consistence of their blood has undergone a notable change. It contains more iron, and possesses a greater power of absorption for oxygen.³⁰ An anatomical change is thus produced by the environment; and no naturalist will doubt that, if the race continues to multiply for a great number of years in the same conditions, it will maintain its present characters or develop new ones on the same lines, the more rapidly so if natural selection eliminates the less adapted individuals.

A few more additions in the same direction may be found in a valuable work recently published by F. E. Beddard.³¹ Thus, he mentions the researches of Dr. Eisig,³² who has endeavoured to explain the ground colours of some animals as dependent upon their food, and has shown, for instance, that the yellow colour of an annelid which is living on a yellow marine sponge (a colour which might be explained as protective for the parasite) depends upon the yellow pigment of the sponge absorbed by the annelid. The prevalence of crimson colours among some fishes in a certain part of the New England coast, which is covered with scarlet and crimson seaweeds, is explained by J. Browne Goode by the red pigment derived by the crustaceans from the algæ with which their stomachs are full, the crustaceans being devoured by the fishes. And the experiments of Mr. Guyson relative to the effects of different food plants upon a number of species of moths, as well as those of Mr. J. Tawell upon important modifications produced by food in the larvæ of the large tortoiseshell butterfly, both mentioned in the same work, are attempts in a most important but very young branch of experimental morphology.

Another series of researches are now being made with the view

³⁰ *Comptes Rendus*, January 2, 1891, t. cxii.

³¹ F. E. Beddard, *Animal Coloration; an Account of the Principal Facts and Theories relating to the Colours and Markings of Animals*. London, 1892.

³² *Fauna und Flora des Golfes von Neapel: die Capitelliden*, quoted by Mr. Beddard, *l. c.* p. 101.

of more deeply penetrating into the physiological causes of animal coloration. Thus, it is a fact well known to fishermen, and now confirmed by direct experiment, namely, by Westhoff, that several freshwater and marine fishes change their colour from white to dark as soon as they have been transferred from a medium with a light-coloured bottom to another medium the bottom of which is dark. Fishermen, we are told by Mr. Poulton, even keep their bait in white-coloured vessels in order to make it assume a lighter colour. The common frog also can change its colour to some extent in harmony with its surroundings, while the green tree-frog of Southern Europe was long since known for this capacity. It is bright green among green leaves, and dark green when seated on the earth or among brown leaves.³³ Like changes are also known in the chameleon and in some South American lizards. The causes of these changes have already been investigated by Pouchet in 1848 and Brücke in 1852, but now we have a more elaborate research by Biedermann³⁴ upon the same subject. He has discovered three different layers of cells which contribute to give the frog its varying colours. There is first, deeply seated in the skin, a layer of pigment-cells which contain black pigment both in their interior and in their ramified processes, spreading within the skin. These cells are covered by a second layer of 'interference-cells' containing bright yellow granules as well as granules of a pigment which sometimes appear blue or purple, and sometimes grey—the whole being covered with a transparent outer skin. The normal green colour of the frog is produced by a combination of blue and yellow interference-cells appearing on a black background; but if the black pigment of the deepest layer is protruded into its ramifications, the colour of the animal becomes darker; and if it retires deeper, the yellow granules of the middle layer become more apparent, and the frog assumes its lemon-yellow colour. Finally, when the yellow pigment gathers into round drops between the bluish interference-cells—not above them—the skin acquires a whitish-grey tint. The same arrangements exist in other reptiles and amphibia.

Now, how is it that the cells change their position in various lights? Is it some reflex action of the nervous system, as it appears in fishes, which cease to change their colour when they become blind? Or have we to deal with some direct action of light? Facts are in favour of the second explanation. The slightest change of temperature affects the mutual disposition of the pigment-cells, and, consequently, the colour of the frog; it is enough to keep the animal in the hand to provoke a contraction of its black cells. The amount of blood-supply also has a definite effect; as soon as a certain

³³ E. B. Poulton, *Colours of Animals*. London, 1890, p. 82 sq.

³⁴ W. Biedermann, 'Ueber den Farbenwechsel der Frösche,' in Pflüger's *Archiv für Physiologie*, 1892, Bd. li. p. 455.

part of the skin receives no more blood, the colour-cells receive less oxygen, the black cells contract, and the animal assumes a lighter colour. But the effects of light are even more interesting. Pouchet had shown that those fishes which usually adapt their colour to their dark or light surroundings cease to do so when they have lost sight; they remain dark even in light surroundings.³⁵ The indirect effects of light through the intermediary of the visual organs are thus certain. But Steinach³⁶ has proved that light acts in a direct way as well—perhaps, we may add, in the same way as it acts upon the chlorophyll grains of the leaves. He glued strips of black paper to the skin of frogs which were kept in the dark; and when these animals were exposed to light, only the open parts of their skin returned to a lighter colour, while the covered parts remained dark. To avoid all doubts, the experiments were repeated on skin separated from the body, and photograms of letters and flowers, cut out of black paper and glued to the skin, were reproduced upon it. Besides, blind tree-frogs do not darken as the fishes do, and Biedermann has proved that the chief agency of their changes of colour is not in the sensations derived from the eye, but in those derived from the skin. Frogs, whether blind or not, become dark green, or black, if they are kept in a dark vessel in a sparingly lighted room. But when a larger branch with green leaves is introduced into the vessel, they all recover their bright-green colour, whether blind or not. In some way unknown, the reflected green light acts either upon the nerves of the skin, or, what seems more probable, if Steinach's experiments are taken into account, directly upon the pigment cells. Moreover, the sensations derived from the toes have also an influence upon the changes of colour. When the bottom of the vessel is covered with felt, or with a thin wire-net, the frogs also become black, recovering their green colour when a green branch is introduced in the vessel.

We have here temporary changes of colour produced by the surroundings; but various gradations may be traced between the temporary and the permanent changes. Thus Lode provoked local contractions of the pigment-cells in fishes by electrical irritations applied locally. And Franz Werner's researches upon the colouring of snakes, recently embodied in a separate work,³⁷ show that the temporary and irregular spots which appear in fishes and frogs under the influence of artificial irritations are of the same character, and have the same origin, as the also temporary and irregular spots which

³⁵ Direct observations have been made also by Alois Lode (*Sitzungsberichte* of the Vienna Academy, 1890, vol. xcix. 3te Abtheilung).

³⁶ 'Ueber Farbenwechsel bei niederen Wirbelthieren, bedingt durch directe Wirkung des Lichtes auf die Pigmentzellen,' *Centralblatt für Physiologie*, 1891, Bd. v. p. 326.

³⁷ Franz Werner, *Ueber die Zeichnungen der Schlangen*, Wien, 1890.

appear in other fishes, as well as in several tritons and many Gekonides, without the interference of man. Some of the provoked changes of colour do not entirely vanish after the irritation is over, and they belong to the same category as the spots which appear in many animals in youth, and disappear with growing age. Moreover, it is maintained that a series of slow gradations may be established between the irregular spots, the spots arranged in rays, and finally the stripes, such as we see them in higher mammals like the zebra or the tiger; and if these generalisations prove to be correct, we shall thus have an unbroken series, from the temporary spots provoked by light or electricity to the permanent markings of animals.³⁸

And, finally, attempts are being made to explain some of the wonderful so-called adaptive colours of insects as a direct produce of environment. Some time ago (in 1867) T. W. Wood published experiments upon the larvæ and pupæ of both the small and the large cabbage butterfly. He kept the larvæ during their metamorphoses in boxes lined with paper of different colours, and he found that the colours assumed by the pupæ more or less corresponded to their surroundings. Later on E. B. Poulton made a wider series of analogous experiments, and he saw that the change of colour is accomplished during the first hours when the larva spins its web; he came to the conclusion that it depends upon a certain physiological action which is transmitted to the nervous system, not only through the visual organs, but through the whole surface of the skin. These facts have now been fully confirmed again by W. Petersen,³⁹ but his explanation is of a more mechanical character. He maintains that the colour of the pupa depends upon the pigment contained in both its cuticle and hypodermis. The pigment of the latter is green in the larva, and sometimes it remains green during the pupal stage; but it may be visible or not, according to the amount of dark pigment which is formed in the cuticle, and the amount of this dark pigment entirely depends upon the colour of the light. Yellow and orange light prevents the formation of the dark pigment, and in such cases the cuticle, which remains transparent, shows the green pigment of the hypodermis. But the less bright parts of the spectrum have not the same power, and if we trace a curve representing the powers of the various parts of the spectrum for preventing the formation of a dark pigment, the curve has its culminating point in the yellow, and descends towards both ends of the spectrum; it exactly corresponds with the curve of assimilation of carbon by plants under variously coloured light. It is also remarkable that the green colour of the pupa is only

³⁸ See the polemics engaged upon this subject in *Biologisches Centralblatt*, December 15, 1890, and July 15, 1891; as also the *Zoologische Jahrbücher*, 1891.

³⁹ 'Zur Frage der Chromophotographie bei Schmetterlingen,' in *Sitzungsberichte der Dorpater Naturforscher-Gesellschaft*, 1890, vol. x. p. 232.

obtained by yellow light, or by such green as contains yellow ; such is, as known, the average colour of leaves. We thus have a case where environment itself makes the colour which approximately matches it.

The meaning of these researches is self-evident. No naturalist will probably attempt to explain the animal colours and markings without the aid of natural selection. But it becomes less and less probable to admit that the animal colours are a result of a selection of *accidental* variations only. The food of the organism, and especially the amount of salt in it, the dryness or moisture of the air, the amount of sunshine, and so on, undoubtedly exercise a direct effect on the colour of the skin, on the fur, and on the very intimate anatomical structure of the animal. As to the relative parts which must be attributed in the origin of each separate variation to natural selection on the one side, and to the direct action of environment on the other side, it would simply be unscientific to trench upon such questions in a broadcast way, so long as we are only making our first steps in discriminating the action of the latter agency. The first steps already indicate how complicated such questions are, especially in those cases where natural selection must act in an indirect way—not as a mere selection of already modelled forms, but as a selection of forms best capable to respond to the requirements of new conditions—in which case the intimate organisation of the living being comes in the first place. All we may say at the present moment is that the direct modifying action of environment is very great, and that no theory can claim to be scientific unless it takes it into consideration to its full amount.

P. KROPOTKIN.

THE READING OF THE WORKING CLASSES

No class of the community has had such paternal and patronising care bestowed upon it as the class of working men. Some of this care has been rightly given, but ill-received; some has been wrongly bestowed—and eagerly accepted. In the following lines I shall endeavour to keep clear of anything like dictating, or even directing the course of study, and when I appear to drift in this direction it will only be to suggest ‘helps’ that have been practically tested, but which, I at once admit, are open to other experiences. As my personal acquaintance with the working classes does not extend to quite a half-century, it will be at once seen that others have a prior claim to be heard.

First, let it be understood that I do not claim for the working classes that they are generally better than the other classes. I only claim that they are no worse; and when you sift out the idle, noisy, loafing members, and come to the industrious, persevering, trained working men, you have some of the finest possible specimens of humanity. This is without making fine selections, such as Arkwright, Stephenson, Bloomfield, Bunyan, Petty, Tenterden, Brindley, Hugh Miller, Faraday, or Garfield. I allude to men who fight through a hard laborious life, master a trade, acquire some technical knowledge and a liberal taste, maintain a wife and family in respectability, overcome the jealousy of shop-mates and the opposition of those put over them, and finally, as respected leading hands, foremen, or officers, reach an honourable old age. I repeat, such can be admired far away and above all who have had good starts in life. But even in the portion I have sifted out there are a large proportion who have only yielded to the hundreds of temptations with which the cupidity, the love of position, and the laws have surrounded these men. We must remember that we have reversed the dictum of Mr. Gladstone, and made it easy to do wrong, and difficult to do right.

The press of this country, in overwhelming numbers, and with few exceptions, sets itself against any real efforts for the good of the working classes. Take up your newspapers almost at random, and for every four lines of good work done for, or by, the working

classes you will find four columns recording that which cannot do any possible good—*i.e.* verbatim reports of statement of counsel, examination-in-chief, cross-examination, speeches of counsel on both sides, summing up of the learned judge, scenes in court, and finally, leading articles on some poor creature who had been ‘licensed to be drunk on the premises,’ had returned home and murdered his wife. Yet even worse than this are the same revolting and minute details of a divorce case, which can have nothing but the worst moral effect on the readers. We very rightly reprobate certain abominable illustrated papers; but are some of our leading journals much less guilty of a breach of that trust which their influential position imposes upon them? Do they not, almost without exception, pander to the worst propensities, play upon the ignorant prejudices, and make their miserable capital out of the vices or the passions of the class which they profess to educate?

It is not an uncommon scene in a factory to see a group of lads with a newspaper picking out the vicious evidence, making light and jocular fun out of the misdoings of some individual who in an unguarded moment has fallen. You are sometimes compelled to overhear conversation about these cases, and listen to comments thereon. Could such be published without perpetuating the evil, every reader, unused to such, would shudder at the immoral effect. But it can easily be detected by taking part in a friendly discussion with such people, and venturing to call attention to the wrong of such acts. You will immediately provoke such replies as, ‘Better people than we are do it;’ ‘The newspapers would not publish it if it was as wrong as you make out;’ ‘We should know how people live.’ They have grown to believe by familiarity in doing. ‘The oldest sins the newest kind of ways.’

If further evidence were necessary it could be found in the ordinary conversation of some parents. Some children were recently heard using words they were too young to understand, and must have learnt them from adult companions.

Need we call attention to what every person whose business calls him into our streets must have observed, the collections of young people who ‘throng and press’ to see the placards—‘The ——— divorce case; startling revelations; full details’—in type that he ‘who runs can read.’ And this is repeated edition after edition during the day.

The proper position was occupied by one of the comic papers when it put the case thus—

Mr. Bull. Is Mrs. Bull about— or the girls?

His man. Ain’t seen ’em, sir.

Mr. Bull. Then, while nobody’s looking, burn these nasty daily papers.

The working classes are very susceptible of influences; hence

designing, bad men lead them wrongly at times. Cunning persons have many times been able to fill their pockets from the working classes by flattering lectures and articles which contain broad denunciations of other classes of society. When the pennies of the working men have put them in affluence, then they join the class previously denounced; but you look in vain to find their names in philanthropic or benevolent subscription-lists. This would lead us to suppose that their habits of reading could be easily directed. But this is not quite the case. They are very suspicious of recommendations to read certain books. The librarian has to be very careful not only *what* he recommends, but *how* he suggests the advantages of reading any particular books. The best course to pursue is to get a reader to talk about books, mention some incident in a particular book, as, for example, the founder of the Normandy Peerage in *Self-Help*. He will first read for himself, then recommend to his mates. The library of which I have charge has had to purchase triplicate copies of some books to satisfy a demand thus created. Lecturers can also do much good by mentioning, in parenthesis, 'that his hearers will find the subject more fully discussed in such and such works.' But still better are the visits of select parties to particular places under good guides. The late Dean Stanley and the present Dean of Westminster have done more to direct the reading of the working classes historically and biographically than any other twenty gentlemen that could be named. Every visitor is struck with the simplicity and manliness of their style; they believe them to be telling the truth, become interested, and desire more knowledge. I have had no end of questions asked about books after a visit to Westminster Abbey, Lambeth Palace, and particularly after a visit to Guildhall, where the late distinguished Librarian, Mr. Overall, described London in the fifteenth century, showing books illustrative of that period.

I shall not advertise bad books by naming them; I will only indicate the class of literature which I consider the most harmful. May I repeat, what cannot be repeated too often, that the most important part of the life of either sex is that between leaving school and taking charge of a household? It is at this time that the character is moulded. It is of the utmost importance at this period to have good books placed in the way of our sons and daughters, and those who have opposed the establishment of free public libraries have incurred a serious responsibility in this respect, by excluding our young people from easy access to standard works of all classes of writers, and by driving them to purchase 'the penny dreadful' trash—*How by Courting she became a Countess*, or *How by Duplicity he became a Duke*, or some such spicy titles—which fills their heads with all kinds of unattainable ideas, and hopes that never can be realised. The effect of this is seen in the exalted opinions the young people entertain of themselves, even to the

disuse of ordinary politeness. Out of ten boys who applied for work, only one said 'Please' or 'Thank you.' The next class of books which merit our condemnation are those which mix truth and falsehood, arrogate to themselves the position of judging what is right or wrong for other people to do, but never including themselves in the category; a few doubtful tales, a column of indifferent recipes, an imperfect description of some town, miscellanea, advertisements, and answers to correspondents making up the balance. There are good specimens of this class of periodical literature, which are read and appreciated by a large portion of the working classes, and which lead in a few cases to the study of works on set subjects; but I am afraid the effect is much over-estimated. I have known few instances of students being made out of readers of miscellanies. This class of literature begets loose, desultory habits of reading, and the idea that the study of a given subject is the height of monotony. I once gave a few particulars of the life of Oliver Cromwell to a circle of journal readers, one of whom afterwards asked me 'where he could get this information.' I lent him a small biography of Cromwell. Some months later I asked how he got on. He replied that I had better have it back; he had read thirty-six pages, but it was too dry for him. Nevertheless, I would prefer that men read miscellaneous works rather than nothing. There is hope for him who reads something, but none for him who will not read.

I have before refused to advertise bad books by naming them. The mention of a book as being bad increases the sale and the number of readers. I am very much tempted, in order not to be misunderstood, to name in this case; but that I am convinced that the publication of a single name would double the sale. When our education is so complete as to tell us that to be in company with a bad book is even more dangerous than a bad companion, we shall receive names as offered and judge rightly. I will put a few questions. First: Can a book published, as a commercial speculation only, at one penny, and containing sixty-two articles and stories, added to one hundred and thirty-five various paragraphs, be all true? Can they be carefully selected? Can the tales, as shown by some of the illustrations, have the least good effect? One before me has four most bloodthirsty pictures. I have examined ten periodicals, each containing from twelve to sixteen pages, of which but very few lines are worth remembering, and, if remembered, you cannot use them, as no authority is quoted; in fact a large proportion commence 'It is said,' &c. Think of the waste of valuable time in wading through such an amount of rubbish to reach a few doubtful bits of information. One chapter of a good book would yield more advantage than all these put together. It is our young people that I would pray to be delivered from this waste paper. This reading is not recreation in any way; it is degradation. We can only be recreated

by good things, never by doubtful, and we must be hurt by bad things.

Another very dangerous, nay, pernicious class of works consists principally of fiction, and especially that class of *fiction* which, pretending to give a narrative of real life, makes it a point to misrepresent all the motives of good in life. Were I to particularise in this case I should doubtless include some big names, and perhaps controvert popular prejudice. Occupying a front rank in this class of writers are those whose books teem with scandal and abuse of all ranks of society, to find material for which 'they must needs go listening at keyholes, overhearing scraps of conversation, taking surreptitious peeps behind the scenes, and, as a last resource, when the story will not hang together, call upon fancy for fact.' When published in detached pieces they are headed by attractive titles, and the writer, as if ashamed of his name, adopts an *alias*, which in everything but literature is considered disreputable. The titles of some books might well be reversed with much gain on the side of correctness.

My association with a library connected with a factory for upwards of twenty years affords various experiences. I shall only offer two illustrations. First, three sample months taken at random from our issue-book. We allow all the employes to have books on equal terms, from the highest officer to the smallest boy. As a rule workmen read more solid books than clerks, as the latter read rather for recreation than study.

Our list of books used, and figures, must be regarded in the light of the fact that our rules do *not* require the return of the books periodically: hence the novel-reader changes his books more frequently than the student who keeps his book for months. The lists are of books taken home to read; we do not keep record of those used in the reading-room.

Viewed in the light of these statements, the result will not appear so bad as it looks at first sight. It is, for three months, 160 solid books against 352 of fiction; and when we consider that many of the books were selected from the highest ranks of this class of writers whose works are second only to matter-of-fact writing, we may conclude that the choice was on the whole satisfactory. It may be urged that scientific and educational works bear a small proportion, but it must be kept in mind that novels are *read only*. Scientific books are studied, hence are longer in hand. In many cases these kind of books are purchased, and not borrowed from the library.

*Three separate Months' Reading—with Number of Times each Book lent
to Read and Total of each Class.*

| | 1st month | 2nd month | 3rd month | Total | | 1st month | 2nd month | 3rd month | Total |
|-------------------------------------------------|-----------|-----------|-----------|-------|-------------------------------------------------|-----------|-----------|-----------|-------|
| SACRED AND RELIGIOUS WRITINGS | | | | | Who is Responsible for the War? (Franco-German) | | | | |
| The City, its Sins and Sorrows | 1 | — | — | | Deptford, History of | 1 | 1 | 1 | |
| Christianity in the First Three Centuries | — | 1 | — | | England, Histories of | — | 4 | 12 | |
| A Light Shining out of Darkness | — | — | 1 | | „ Baths of | — | 1 | 1 | |
| Marriage with Deceased Wife's Sister | — | — | 1 | 1 | Elizabeth, the Age of | — | 2 | — | |
| | | | | | Europe during the Middle Ages | — | 2 | — | |
| BIOGRAPHY | | | | | Five Years' Penal Servitude | — | 1 | — | |
| Brave Boys who became Illustrious Men | 1 | — | — | | London, Romance of | — | 1 | — | |
| Phelps, Samuel, Life of | 1 | — | — | | „ Shades and Echoes of | — | 2 | — | |
| Shaw the Life Guardsman | 1 | — | — | | Roughing it in the Bush | — | 2 | — | |
| Saints, the Lives of | 1 | — | — | | Savage Islands | — | 1 | — | |
| Columbus, Life of | — | 1 | — | | Scotland, Handbook of | — | 1 | — | |
| Gardiner, Commander Allen, R.N. | — | 1 | — | | The Cruise of the 'North Star' | — | 1 | — | |
| Grimaldi, Life of | — | 1 | — | | The Warriors of our Wooden Walls | — | 1 | — | |
| Heroes of the Workshop | — | 2 | — | | The Loss of the 'Kent' | — | 2 | — | |
| Piozzi (Thrale), Mrs, Autobiography and Letters | — | 2 | — | | „ Sea and its Sailors | — | 1 | — | |
| Pirates, Lives of | — | 1 | — | | An Eastern King | — | — | 2 | |
| Working Man, Autobiography of | — | 2 | — | | Epitaphiana | — | — | 1 | |
| Warren Hastings | — | 2 | — | | Gibraltar, Siege of | — | — | 2 | |
| Alice, Princess, Life and Letters | — | — | 1 | | Greece, Rome, England (Historical Course) | — | — | 1 | |
| Barnum, Life of | — | — | 2 | | India, History of | — | — | 1 | |
| Clive, Lord, Life of | — | — | 1 | | Middle Ages, History of | — | — | 1 | |
| Livingstone, Dr., Life of | — | — | 1 | | My Experiences in a Lunatic Asylum | — | — | 1 | |
| Nelson, Lord, Life of | — | — | 1 | | Normandy | — | — | 1 | |
| Stanley, A. P., Dean of Westminster | — | — | 1 | 23 | Nations Around | — | — | 1 | |
| | | | | | Our Iron Roads | 1 | — | 1 | |
| HISTORY, NARRATIVE, DESCRIPTION, &c. | | | | | The 'Bounty,' and other Mutinies | — | — | 1 | |
| Ancient History, Landmarks of | 1 | — | — | | Vienna, the Siege of | — | — | 1 | 60 |
| British and Colonial Temperance Congress | 1 | — | — | | SCIENTIFIC, MANUFACTURES, AND EDUCATIONAL WORKS | | | | |
| French Revolution | 1 | — | 3 | | Dictionary | 1 | — | — | |
| Kent, Handbook of | 1 | 1 | — | | English Mechanic, vols. XII. & XXVI. | 2 | — | — | |
| London, Old and New | 1 | 1 | 2 | | Health, Guide to | 1 | — | — | |
| Sea Fights | 1 | — | — | | Science for the People | 1 | — | — | |
| The Natural Historian | 1 | — | — | | Alcohol, Lectures on | — | 1 | — | |
| The Zulu War | 1 | — | — | | Every Man's own Lawyer | — | 1 | — | |
| The Irish Sketchbook | 1 | — | — | | How to stop Drunkenness | — | 1 | — | |
| Winter in the Far West | 1 | — | — | | How Families are made Happy or Miserable | — | 1 | — | |
| Women of the Reign of Queen Victoria | 1 | — | — | | Iron Ships and Shipbuilding | — | 1 | — | |
| | | | | | Mechanics | — | 1 | — | |
| | | | | | Our Natural Resources | — | 1 | — | |
| | | | | | Right Lines in Right Places | — | 1 | — | |
| | | | | | Self-Aid Cyclopædia | — | 1 | — | |

| | 1st month | 2nd month | 3rd month | Total | | 1st month | 2nd month | 3rd month | Total |
|-------------------------|-----------|-----------|-----------|-------|-------------------------|-----------|-----------|-----------|-------|
| Science and Art . . . | — | 1 | — | | Fairly Won . . . | 3 | 1 | — | |
| The Family Doctor . . | — | 1 | — | | Frank Mildmay . . . | 1 | 1 | — | |
| „ Steam Engine . . . | — | 1 | — | | Friendship . . . | — | 1 | 1 | |
| „ Garden that Paid | — | 1 | — | | Fireside and Lamp | — | — | — | |
| the Rent . . . | — | 1 | — | | Stories . . . | — | 2 | — | |
| Civil Engineers, Pro- | — | — | — | | Falkland . . . | — | — | 2 | |
| ceedings of . . . | — | — | 1 | | Fashion and Famine . | — | — | 1 | |
| Dying Scientifically . | — | — | 1 | | Giles' Trip to London . | 1 | 1 | — | |
| Dietetic Reformer . . | — | — | 1 | | Great Expectations . | 1 | — | — | |
| National Philosophy . | — | — | 1 | | God and the Man . . | — | 2 | — | |
| Pursuit of Knowledge . | — | — | 1 | | Guy Livingstone . . | — | — | 1 | |
| Railway Intelligence . | — | — | 1 | | Harold . . . | 1 | — | — | |
| The Electric Telegraph, | — | — | — | | Hagarine . . . | 2 | — | — | |
| its History and Pro- | — | — | 1 | 26 | How Paul's Penny be- | — | 1 | — | |
| gress . . . | — | — | — | | came a Pound . . . | — | — | — | |
| | | | | | How Peter's Pound be- | — | 1 | — | |
| | | | | | came a Penny . . . | — | — | — | |
| FICTION, ROMANCE, | | | | | Hopes and Fears . . | — | 3 | — | |
| TALES, &c. | | | | | Handy Andy . . . | — | 1 | — | |
| | | | | | Harry Coverdale's | — | — | — | |
| Arabian Nights . . . | 2 | 1 | — | | Courtship . . . | — | 1 | 1 | |
| Alec Drummond . . . | 2 | — | 1 | | Harry Lorrequer . . | — | — | 2 | |
| Above Suspicion . . . | 2 | — | — | | Hard Cash . . . | — | — | 1 | |
| An Unfortunate Au- | — | — | — | | Ivanhoe . . . | 1 | — | — | |
| thor . . . | 1 | — | — | | In Sheep's Clothing . | 1 | — | — | |
| A Match in the Dark . | 1 | 1 | — | | In the Lap of Fortune . | — | 3 | — | |
| Annals of a Quiet | — | — | — | | Jacob Faithful . . . | 1 | — | — | |
| Neighbourhood . . . | 1 | — | — | | Just as I Am . . . | 2 | — | 1 | |
| Alice; or The Mysteries | 1 | — | — | | Joseph Wilmot . . . | — | 3 | — | |
| A Woman Hater . . . | 1 | — | — | | Jack Hinton . . . | — | 1 | — | |
| „ London Romance . . | — | 1 | — | | Jezebel's Daughter . | — | 1 | 2 | |
| „ Simpleton . . . | — | 1 | — | | Jess . . . | — | — | 1 | |
| Adventures of Phillip . | — | — | 1 | | Joyce . . . | — | — | 3 | |
| „ „ Mr. Led- | — | — | — | | Keeper's Travel in | — | — | — | |
| bury . . . | — | — | 1 | | Search of his Master . | 1 | — | — | |
| Alfred Campbell . . . | — | — | 1 | | Lottery of Marriage . . | 1 | 1 | — | |
| A Clever Woman . . . | — | — | 1 | | Legends of the Black | — | — | — | |
| „ Prince of the Blood . | — | — | 2 | | Watch . . . | 1 | — | — | |
| „ Daughter of the | — | — | — | | Ia Benta . . . | 2 | — | — | |
| People . . . | — | — | 1 | | Lovel the Widower . . | 1 | — | — | |
| All in a Garden Fair . | — | — | 1 | | Lovels of Arden . . . | — | 1 | 3 | |
| Autobiography of a | — | — | — | | Lady Goodchild's Fairy | — | — | — | |
| Thief . . . | — | — | 1 | | Ring . . . | — | 2 | — | |
| Blue Bell . . . | 1 | — | — | | Lionel Franklin's Vic- | — | — | — | |
| By Birth a Lady . . . | — | 2 | — | | tory . . . | — | 2 | — | |
| Buy your own Cherries | — | 1 | 1 | | Lover upon Trial . . . | — | 1 | — | |
| Between two Fires . . | — | — | 1 | | Leila . . . | — | — | 1 | |
| Birds of Prey . . . | — | — | 1 | | Monte Cristo . . . | 2 | — | 2 | |
| Broken Bonds . . . | — | — | 1 | | Martin Chuzzlewit . . | 1 | — | 1 | |
| Caroline of Lichfield . | 1 | — | — | | Merry England . . . | 5 | — | — | |
| Constable of the Tower | 1 | — | — | | Mary Marston . . . | 2 | — | — | |
| Chandos . . . | 1 | — | — | | Mount Royal . . . | 1 | — | — | |
| Charlotte's Inheritance | 1 | — | 2 | | Madge Dunraven . . | — | 2 | 1 | |
| Cerise . . . | 1 | — | — | | My Heart's in the High- | — | — | — | |
| Cartouche . . . | 1 | — | — | | lands . . . | — | 2 | 1 | |
| Charles O'Malley . . . | 1 | 1 | 1 | | Monsieur Jack . . . | — | 1 | 1 | |
| Called Back . . . | — | 2 | 1 | | Mrs. Halliburton's | — | — | — | |
| Change for a Shilling . | — | 1 | 2 | | Troubles . . . | — | — | 1 | |
| Caste . . . | — | 1 | — | | Martin Rattler . . . | — | — | 1 | |
| Colonel O'Brien . . . | — | — | 1 | | Notre Dame . . . | — | 1 | — | |
| Danesbury House . . | — | 1 | — | | Newton Foster . . . | — | 1 | — | |
| Dynevor Terrace . . . | — | 1 | — | | New Magdalen . . . | — | 1 | — | |
| Dick Onslow . . . | — | 1 | 1 | | Oakshott Castle . . . | — | — | 1 | |
| Dred . . . | — | 1 | — | | Off the Roll . . . | — | — | 2 | |
| Drayton Hall . . . | — | 1 | — | | Only a Girl's Life . . | — | — | 1 | |
| Doctor Antonio . . . | — | — | 1 | | Poor Humanity . . . | 7 | 2 | 1 | |
| Dead Man's Rock . . . | — | — | 2 | | Paul and Virginia . . | 8 | — | — | |
| Diana's Defender . . . | — | — | 2 | | Pickwick Papers . . . | — | 2 | — | |
| East Lynne . . . | 3 | — | — | | Poor Miss Finch . . . | — | 2 | 1 | |
| Elizabeth of Siberia . | — | 1 | — | | Pendennis . . . | — | 3 | 1 | |

| | 1st month | 2nd month | 3rd month | Total | | 1st month | 2nd month | 3rd month | Total |
|-------------------------------------------|-----------|-----------|-----------|-------|-------------------------------------------|-----------|-----------|-----------|-------|
| Peter Simple | — | 1 | — | | The Cockaynes in Paris | — | 1 | — | |
| Precaution | — | — | 1 | | „ Cost of a Lie | — | 1 | — | |
| Queen of the Regiment | — | 1 | 1 | | „ Lion in the Path | — | 1 | — | |
| Robinson Crusoe | 1 | 1 | 1 | | „ Colthorpe Cousins | — | 1 | — | |
| Roland Yorke | 2 | — | 1 | | „ Love Match | — | 1 | — | |
| Roughing It | 1 | — | — | | „ Surgeon's Daughter | — | 2 | 1 | |
| Ralph the Heir | 3 | 1 | — | | „ Pirate | — | 1 | — | |
| Revelations of a Lady Detective | 1 | — | — | | „ Black Dwarf | — | 1 | — | |
| Rookwood | 2 | — | 1 | | „ Newcombes | — | 1 | — | |
| Roundabout Papers | 1 | — | — | | „ First Temptation | — | 1 | — | |
| Ranald Bannerman's Boyhood | 1 | — | — | | „ Law and the Lady | — | 1 | 1 | |
| Rosine | 1 | — | — | | „ Old Curiosity Shop | — | 1 | — | |
| Rob Roy | — | 1 | — | | „ Lucky Penny | — | 1 | 1 | |
| Ravenshoe | — | — | 1 | | „ Head of the Family | — | 1 | — | |
| Redeemed by Love | — | — | 2 | | Tales from 'Blackwood' | — | 1 | — | |
| Red Spider | — | — | 2 | | Tom Brown's School-days | — | 2 | — | |
| Random Shots | — | — | 2 | | Two Years Ago | — | — | 1 | |
| Story of the Little Boy | 1 | — | — | | Tricotrin | — | — | 1 | |
| Squire Arden | 2 | 1 | — | | The Channings' | — | — | 2 | |
| Strathmore | 1 | — | — | | „ Siege of Vienna | — | — | 1 | |
| Sea Drift | 1 | 1 | — | | „ Pottleton Legacy | — | — | 1 | |
| Stories of Waterloo | 1 | 1 | 2 | | „ Black Prophet | — | — | 1 | |
| Stephen Archer | 1 | — | — | | „ Mystery of a Hansom Cab | — | — | 1 | |
| Sentimental Journey | — | 1 | — | | „ Last of the Barons | — | — | 1 | |
| Seven Champions of Christendon | — | 1 | — | | „ Lottery of Marriage | — | — | 1 | |
| Sir Jasper's Tenant | — | 1 | 1 | | „ Hildyards and the Burtons | — | — | 1 | |
| Sybel Campbell | — | — | 1 | | „ Talk of the Town | — | — | 1 | |
| Sin and Sorrow | — | — | 2 | | „ Son of his Father | — | — | 1 | |
| Sarchedon | — | — | 1 | | „ Betrothed Lovers | — | — | 1 | |
| Strangers and Pilgrims | — | — | 1 | | „ Captain of the Vulture | — | — | 1 | |
| Silcote of Silcotes | — | — | 1 | | „ Two Marriages | — | — | 1 | |
| The Miser Married | 1 | — | — | | Uncle Tom's Cabin | 2 | — | — | |
| „ Hussar | 1 | — | — | | Under which King? | 1 | — | 1 | |
| „ Irish Police Officer | 2 | 1 | 1 | | Uncle Walter | 1 | — | — | |
| „ Harveys | 2 | — | — | | „ John | 1 | — | — | |
| „ Coming Race | 1 | — | 1 | | Under Two Flags | — | 1 | 1 | |
| „ Scattergood Family | 1 | — | — | | Ursula's Love Story | — | — | 1 | |
| „ Mysteries of Paris | 1 | — | — | | Vera | 1 | — | — | |
| „ Doctor's Wife | 1 | — | — | | Valentin | 3 | — | — | |
| „ Betrothed | 1 | — | — | | Vanity Fair | 1 | — | 1 | |
| „ Moonstone | 1 | — | — | | Valentine Vox | — | 2 | 1 | |
| „ Captain of the Guard | 1 | — | 1 | | Water Babies | 1 | — | 1 | |
| „ Tuggs at Ramsgate | 1 | — | — | | Westward Ho! | — | — | 2 | |
| „ Diamond Cross | 1 | — | — | | Was He Successful? | — | — | 1 | 352 |
| „ Cossacks | 2 | — | — | | | | | | |
| „ Bride of Lammermoor | 1 | — | — | | MISCELLANEA | | | | |
| „ Burgomaster's Wife | 1 | — | — | | All the Year Round | 1 | — | 1 | |
| „ Jilt | 1 | 1 | — | | Animal World | 2 | — | 1 | |
| „ Bachelor of the Albany | 1 | — | — | | Cottager and Artisan | 1 | — | — | |
| „ Gold Seeker | 1 | — | — | | Enquire Within | 1 | — | — | |
| Tony Butler | 1 | — | 1 | | Household Proverbs | 1 | — | — | |
| Tales of the Castle | 1 | — | — | | Leisure Hour | 1 | 3 | 3 | |
| „ Crusaders | 1 | — | — | | Bow Bells | — | 2 | — | |
| That Artful Vicar | 3 | — | 1 | | Good Words | — | 2 | 2 | |
| Thos. Wingfield, Curate | 1 | 1 | — | | Old Jonathan | — | 1 | — | |
| True to the Core | 1 | — | — | | The Quiver | — | 2 | 4 | |
| Three Brass Balls | — | 2 | 1 | | „ Family Friend | — | 1 | — | |
| Ten Nights in the Bar Room | — | 2 | — | | Temple Bar | — | 1 | — | |
| Through the Stage Door | — | 1 | 1 | | British Workman | — | — | 1 | |
| The Master of the Ceremonies | — | 1 | — | | Beautiful Thoughts | — | — | 1 | |
| „ Bride-Elect | — | 1 | 1 | | Extraordinary Popular Delusions | — | — | 1 | |
| „ Heir of Redclyffe | — | 1 | — | | Good Cheer | — | — | 1 | |
| | | | | | Great Thoughts | — | — | 2 | |

| | 1st month | 2nd month | 3rd month | Total | | 1st month | 2nd month | 3rd month | Total |
|------------------------------|-----------|-----------|-----------|-------|------------------------------|-----------|-----------|-----------|-------|
| Household Words | — | — | 1 | | POETICAL AND DRAMATIC | | | | |
| Nineteenth Century, vol. ix. | — | — | 1 | | Faust | 2 | — | — | |
| Prince Consort's Speeches | — | — | 1 | | Paradise Lost | 1 | — | — | |
| Things you Ought to Know | — | — | 1 | 40 | Imperial Speaker | — | 1 | — | |
| | | | | | Shakespeare | — | 2 | — | |
| | | | | | Cowper | — | — | 1 | |
| | | | | | Reciter for the Million | — | — | 1 | 8 |
| | | | | | Total Issue for three Months | | | | 512 |

But perhaps the most reliable illustration I can offer is afforded by a few particulars of a personal friend, who commenced life in its humblest walks, entered a factory in the first month of his tenth year, almost without the elements of education ; after many struggles and vicissitudes, under great difficulties, he mastered a trade, acquired some education, and now possesses a library of upwards of six hundred volumes, which I will call ‘A.’ With the exception of prizes won and testimonials presented, this library has been selected and purchased as required ; it will, therefore, indicate the turn this class of men take when following the bent of their own mind. First, let me say Fiction forms the very smallest part of this collection, which is represented by Scott, Lytton, De Foe, Madame Cotton, St. Pierre, Dr. Johnson, Mrs. Stowe, Mrs. Wood, and the Brothers Grimm ; while serious works include the Bible, and several commentaries thereon, *Josephus*, Butler’s *Analogy*, Chalmers’ *Astronomical Discourses*, Professor Stowe’s *Origin and History of the Books of the New Testament*, Milner’s *Church History*, and works by Dean Stanley, Father Hyacinthe, and Dr. Richardson. In History, Hallam’s *Middle Ages*, &c., several histories of England, Motley’s *Dutch Republic*, Atkins’ *Court of Queen Elizabeth*, Gibbon’s *Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire*, Lamartine’s *Restoration of the Monarchy* (English edition), Stanley’s *Memorials of Westminster Abbey*, *Nations Around*, Histories of China, Hungary, Cassell’s *History of Protestantism* and *Old and New London*. In Essays, Locke, Hume, Lamb, Macaulay, Channing, and Father Gavazzi. In Poetry, several editions of Shakespeare and works thereon, Goethe (in translation), Byron, Scott, Burns, Cowper, Hood, and those excellent spirits of the great poems published by Messrs. W. and R. Chambers in their *Repository*. A collection of Biography from Iæo the Tenth to Dean Stanley, Boswell’s *Life of Johnson* to *Recollections of Paul Bedford*. Algernon Sydney to Marshal Turenne, Henry the Fifth to the Duke of Wellington, and Caxton to George Cruikshank. Some high-class technical works relating to his trade ; Phillip’s *Millions of Facts* ;

some useful dictionaries; Chambers' *Information for the People*, *Miscellany Tracts*; Brassey's *Work and Wages*, and Lady Brassey's *Voyage in the Sunbeam*; Prince Albert's *Addresses*, Princess Alice's *Letters*, and Her Majesty's *Journals*. Several works in French and German, in which languages my friend is not a profound scholar; yet he puzzles out some free—perhaps too free—translations, and widens his range of thought thereby.

I have been favoured with particulars of three other private libraries of working men, of which I offer as many particulars as space will allow. As I have called the first library 'A,' for convenience, I will use letters, and call the second 'B,' which contains over 300 volumes, of which the owner says: 'It may be of interest to you to know that I have read all the books I have, with the exception of two or three new ones lately added, and these are not on the list.' In Science we find such books as *Chemistry*, by Sir Henry Roscoe, and by Thorpe and Muir; *Metallurgy*, by Bloxam; *The English Mechanic*, complete to date; *Self-Aid Cyclopædia*, *Rees' Cyclopædia*, *Students' Darwin*, *The Popular Educator*, and *The Cabinet Lawyer*. History contains *Evelyn's* and *Pepys' Diaries*; Chambers' *Book of Days*; Histories of England, Franco-Prussian War, Church of Rome, Machinery, &c. Among Biography, Pitt and Nelson. Poetry is small; but Shakespeare and others find a place. In Miscellanea, *Information for the People*, *Popular Illusions*, *A Million of Facts*, &c.

Library 'C,' of about 250 volumes. Scientific, Technical, and Educational Works may be represented by *The Technical Educator*, *The Carpenters' and Joiners' Assistant*, *Self-Aid Cyclopædia*, *Alcohol*, by Dr. Richardson, *Work and Wages*, *The Art of Singing*, *Prize Readings*, *Academic Speaker*. Several good dictionaries, Reciters, Elocutionists, and French books. History has England, Paris, Isle of Wight, York, *London: How the Great City Grew*, *Nations Around*, *World of Wonders*, *War with Russia*, and *Percy Anecdotes*. Biography: *Working Men*, *Lord Clive*, *Napoleon*, *Princess Alice's Letters*, and *The Biographical Dictionary*. Fiction finds a small place here in the complete works of Scott and Dickens, *Westward Ho!* *The Devil's Chain*, *Valentine Vox*, *Robert Faulkner*, and *Uncle Tom's Cabin*. Poetry contains Shakespeare, Milton, Byron, Pope, and Bickersteth, and *Shakespeare and the Bible*; and Miscellanea may be judged by the *Popular Encyclopædia*, *Chambers' Tracts*, *Information for the People*, *Half-hours with Best Authors*, *Good Words*, *Boons and Blessings*, &c.

Library 'D,' under 200 books. In Religious works several editions of the Bible, and commentaries; *The Koran*, *Imitations of Christ*, *Pilgrim's Progress*, &c. Trade and Educational Works has *The Electric Telegraph*, *Chemistry*, *Alcohol*; good works on Arithmetic, Algebra, Mensuration, Gardening, &c. Biography is weak,

History strong. *England* (several authors), *Nations Around, Josephus, War with Russia, Central Africa, Book of Days, The Sea*. Fiction also finds a place here in such books as *Robinson Crusoe, Westward Ho! The Devil's Chain, Sir Gibbie, Dallon's Legatee, &c.*, and a few ordinary miscellaneous works.

All the four libraries above described contain a complete set of Whitaker's Almanacks. The whole of these men are justly proud of their possessions in other men's minds, which they have acquired with much self-denial, much thought, care, and diligence; and possibly with some mistakes. They are now surrounded by friends on whom they can rely, and they are pleased with them. I hope the examples given will be sufficient to indicate the stuff of which at least some of the working classes are made, and the character of the books which they choose for themselves. Of course I have not made a complete catalogue of my friends' books, but I feel sure they would provide a list, or show their libraries if it were necessary. I need hardly add that there are still some books they would like, and may yet purchase. I take their collections as I find them to-day.

It would act much to the prejudice of this paper, and of the class for whom I plead, if I did not mention a few of the obstacles to sustained study which handicap the working classes. In the first place, very few can afford a separate room for study, which has to be conducted with surroundings not at all conducive to clear and consecutive thought. Hood's *Parental Ode to My Son* well illustrates some of the difficulties; doubtless suggested practically to the poet. The next greatest hindrance is overtime work, in which employers pay the highest price for the worst article. It interferes with the regular course of study: if at classes, by preventing attendance; if at home, by rendering the man unfit even to read, at any rate serious matter. And if the men are anxious, as they should be, to become masters of their trade, they must devote some of their evenings to working out problems that have perplexed them during the day. But still further, they have depression of spirits consequent on being out of work, and the difficulty of obtaining a new engagement. To this you must add accidents, or illness, among the men or their families. All these drawbacks, and many more trials and troubles, must be kept in mind when we consider the working classes in their readings and their studies.

The space allowed to a paper necessarily contracts the field of investigation, and only allows a few specimen flowers from a very choice garden, where some very robust oaks have grown. I trust these few words, collected together at intervals in a very crowded and busy life, will at least provoke discussion, which will result in the working classes obtaining more friends. For this I could plead everyone's personal interest, and enter into social and political

arguments quite foreign to our present object. I much prefer to plead philanthropy, love of mankind.

Here is a field of labour open to all who have books. If you cannot spare them, set aside one evening a week, or one a month, to read to a class of working men. Some years ago I tried this in a tailor's shop; reading Macaulay's *Essays*, commencing with *Lord Clive* (which I read by request three times, each time to a larger audience). I have always looked back on this small effort with considerable pleasure. If you cannot do this, see that no spare book is wasted. Send it some working man, or workmen's club. But if unable to do this yourself, enlist some school teacher, induce him, or her, to lend the book to the children under them, to take home to read. My experience is that a borrowed book is read more than one presented. May I ask the librarians who are taking charge of our growing Free Libraries to occasionally invite the working classes to their libraries, say a few words to them about books, show some good specimens? Mr. George Bullen, Dr. Garnett at the British Museum, Mr. Douthwaite at Gray's Inn, Mr. Nicholson at Lincoln's Inn, the late Mr. Overall at Guildhall, and the present librarian, Mr. Charles Welch, have all done this, and I am pleased with this opportunity of testifying to its complete success.

From a life spent among the toilers, I can speak with confidence as to their gratitude when kindness is shown them. Often mistaken and misguided, sometimes appearing ungrateful, they have among them sterling, self-denying, generous hearts, open to do a kind act, and appreciate one done to them.

GEO. R. HUMPHERY.

THE LION KING OF SWEDEN

1710-13

SWEDEN, at the time of the accession of the youthful Charles the Twelfth, was in the zenith of her glory and power—she was the Queen of the North. The grand idea of Charles the Tenth to make of the Baltic a *Swedish lake* was in reality a *fait accompli*. From Falsterbo, the extreme point of Scania, right away to Mecklenburg on the opposite German shore, the coasts were mostly Swedish. Wismar had a Swedish garrison and a Swedish governor, whilst, through the relationship between the royal House of Wasa and the ducal House of Holstein, and still more through Holstein's naturally hostile attitude towards Denmark, this state was closely allied to Sweden. Indeed, its princely house boasted claims to the Swedish crown in case Charles the Twelfth should die without an heir. Even right away to the North Sea coast Sweden possessed continental domains, whose distant position rendered them of little use, although very expensive. Such possessions could not be retained without a strong fleet, and King Charles the Eleventh had formed a navy the like of which Sweden had not boasted since the days of King Erik the Fourteenth. The strength, readiness, and repute of this fleet had on several occasions contributed to preserve peace during the declining years of that statesmanlike ruler.

Scanning the southern political horizon—for in the east our neighbour was yet powerless in the Baltic—he had on the 10th of August 1680 founded the town of Carlsrona ('Charles's Crown') and made it the chief naval station. Formerly the chief stations had been Stockholm and Elfsnabben, so far distant and with so late open water that the Swedish navy could not compete with the Danish for the mastery of the Baltic. Nor could the fleet then protect sufficiently the new Swedish provinces, not yet quite incorporated with Sweden, from the shores of which it was possible to discern the masts of the Danish men-of-war in the port of Copenhagen. Carlsrona was far more favourably situated, besides being in case of invasion protected in the rear by the Swedish army corps stationed in Scania, and offering a dangerous point on the flank of any hostile army attempting to force its way up towards the province of Småland. It constituted

still more a powerful *point de sortie* as regards the connection between Pomerania and the rest of the Swedish provinces in Germany. Finally, if we look at the harbour of Carlscrona, almost without its equal in the world, being situated on islands connected with the mainland solely by a narrow isthmus, the stationing of the navy here must indeed be called a politically astute act of Charles the Eleventh. And during the first Danish war of Charles the Twelfth, which was really but a daring landing in the centre of the enemy's country, the value of Carlscrona and a Swedish Scania formerly Danish was clearly demonstrated.

It was with the new army, reorganised and moulded by the powerful arm of Charles the Eleventh, and by its incessant drill during twenty years of peace, that his son, 'the Lion King of the North,' accomplished his famous deeds. It was, too, with the large navy of Charles the Eleventh, built on the stocks at Carlscrona, that the Swedish army was carried to foreign shores under the yellow-blue flag, and by which the connection between the mother-country and its continental possessions was also maintained throughout that long era when Swedish steel cut deep into the hearts of hostile nations. It should never be forgotten that it was the peaceful work of the *father* which made the *son*, and caused the fame of himself and his fine Carolingians to ring throughout the length and breadth of Europe.

But why—oh! why are we not able to make full and unmixed homage to the memory of this so thoroughly *Swedish* and noble king? Why are we not able to indulge in feelings of unmixed delight when the panorama of those times unfolds itself before our vision? This noble-minded and chivalrous monarch ruled a brave people, but he could not avert its disasters—its fall. As I have already essayed to show,¹ Charles the Twelfth was certainly a brilliant chieftain, surrounded by lieutenants and regiments unequalled in Europe for heroism and devotion to their king, but he was not a great chieftain in the highest sense of the word, for he was wanting in many of the characteristics that mark the *statesman*. Alas! he did not always understand how to subordinate his righteous but self-willed nature to the exigencies of statesmanship and the true interests of his country.

One Pultowa should have been a natural close to his too far-reaching campaign. This unhappy day, disastrous internally as well as externally, had already long been feared by some of Charles's most far-seeing lieutenants. The defeat afforded vent to the discontent that had been long smouldering in his deserted and oppressed country. The battle was like the fall of the roof of a burning house: the terrible crash smothered the flames for a while, but they broke out anew with redoubled energy.

The general history of Sweden in that era has been skilfully delineated by many a gifted pen, and there is no intention of mine to

¹ *Nineteenth Century*, May-July 1890.

reiterate it here. My object simply is, in the present paper, to contribute a few leaves to the military history of Sweden during the long absence of Charles in Turkey, *i.e.* during the expeditions to Pomerania, in 1711–12, and the gallant but disastrous campaign during the winter of 1712 and 1713. In so doing I have adhered to facts and drawn from sources of information that have hitherto been, I believe, a closed book to historians. I do not lay claim to having presented a *complete* history of these campaigns; mine are but 'stray leaves,' which I place in the hands of more able historians to deal with, in the hope, that from them may be woven a wreath that may be fittingly laid on the altar of the history of the Swedish nation.

The state of our country at the period under consideration was in many respects pitiful. Within—discontent, want, famine, and pestilence, with a Council and administration that lacked unity and strength; without—the flames of war blazing high, threatening the destruction of a brave and gallant nation, whose king was lingering far away from his people in Bender, with but a few hundred followers, the sorry remnants of his splendid army defeated at Pultowa and taken prisoner on the strand of the Djenepcr—such, in fact, was briefly the state of Sweden in 1711.

As soon as the defeat at Pultowa became known in Western Europe, King Augustus broke the Treaty of Altranstadt, pleading ostensibly that the treaty had been unlawfully concluded, but in reality to obtain relief from an oppressive compact, which he seized the first opportunity to tear asunder. King Frederick the Fourth of Denmark, who had also great losses to avenge, likewise declared war upon Sweden, which he believed to be incapable of defence. As his reason, trifles were advanced of the most flimsy nature. There were, however, those who warned the Danish king against this step, urging that Sweden was far from being so weak as was asserted. It is believed that among them was even the Danish envoy in Stockholm, Grüner. But the Danish king listened to no counsel. Russia, which, after the battle of Pultowa, had obtained freer hands, began to point her sword at the as yet non-conquered Swedish Baltic Provinces and Finland, and began seriously to act as a *power* in the Baltic. England and Holland, the guarantors of the Treaties of Traventhal and Altranstadt, were called upon to support Sweden by force of arms, but unfortunately they hesitated, partly fearing to break with the German States, whose auxiliaries swelled their armies during the Spanish War of Succession, then in progress against France, and partly fearing the power of Sweden in the Baltic, besides complaining of Swedish seizures and the blockade of Baltic ports. Erroneous was nevertheless the belief that Sweden, immediately after the battle of Pultowa, could not obtain a fair peace as well as allies for a last effort against its only really dangerous foe. Prussia, which at this period led the way among the States of Europe,

began to fear the growing power of Czár Peter. Likewise King Augustus: the Russian troops quartered in Germany were a nuisance. But every idea of reconciliation and peace was wrecked upon the obstinacy of the king, who, far away on the shores of the Danube, insisted upon single-handed guiding the destinies of his country. For the renunciation of the crown of Poland by King Augustus was a *sine qua non* to all negotiations on the part of Charles, and on this rock stranded, as is well known, all negotiations for peace. We must indeed ask, why did the king insist so emphatically on this particular condition, and thereby bring upon Sweden the terrible disasters that were to follow? Was it simply a whim, or was it prompted by personal dislike alone? We can hardly believe either, in spite of Charles's well-known self-willed nature.

In 'Tessin and Tessiania,' by the way, there is a somewhat remarkable delineation of the character of Charles in French, the author being none less than King Gustavus the Third. Gustavus, who, be it said, in this essay, otherwise renders full justice to the extraordinary character of Charles, says: 'He had (at that time) every appearance of a lunatic prompted by blind despair or an obstinacy unworthy of any sensible being, but unpardonable in a great man.' But, I ask, may we always be justified in judging by 'mere appearances'? May we not, in the then political state of Turkey and its importance in Europe, see an excuse or, at all events, an explanation of the lingering of Charles the Twelfth in Bender? Why, had not a mercenary Grand Vizir at Pruth been dazzled by the jewels of the Czarina Catherine, what would the consequences have been? And in *that* case what would the verdict of posterity have been on Charles the Twelfth?

Charles the Twelfth, exactly as Charles the Tenth, committed the great mistake of weakening Poland by war; but that he saw the great advantages of an alliance between Poland and Sweden against Russia is shown clearly by his untiring efforts to raise to the Polish throne and maintain there the noblest son of Poland, Stanislaus. His idea was to found a *native* dynasty, which, better than the unreliable foreign princes, in a country where the Swedes had become accustomed to find but false friends, would guard the interests of Poland conjointly with those of Sweden. This, Charles's idea, was a grand and a correct one. He did not succeed in its realisation—maybe he did choose the right means, maybe he maintained it too long out of sheer wilfulness or defiance. Perhaps, too, Poland was, through preceding well-known events and internal divisions, in such a chaos, that the country was unable to maintain its assigned position in the community of Europe. Indeed, the subsequent unhappy fate of the Polish nation justifies the latter assumption. But if that be so, Charles the Twelfth and his age should not singly bear the whole blame. He may be pitied, he may be blamed for errors committed,

but he should not be recklessly *condemned*. The affection and veneration of the nation for the name of Charles the Twelfth, which has made it forget its terrible sufferings, raise a voice of warning against passing too severe a judgment upon that noble ruler.

When the king in 1709 marched against Russia, he left in Poland for the maintenance of Stanislaus on the throne a division under General Crassow. It consisted of some 8,000 men, mostly German recruits. After the defeat at Pultowa the position of this corps became more and more precarious. Even Stanislaus soon fled from his revolted subjects into its ranks, as his only place of safety, although, curiously enough, it seems that Crassow was his personal enemy. Pestilence and want arose, the numbers of the enemy increased, and soon it became clear that the only way of escape was retreat. This was effected. Crassow, having absorbed various small Swedish garrisons, arrived in Pomerania with only 6,000 men, and these not in the best of condition. Still, in 1710 this was the only Swedish army on the continent of Europe. True, it was small, but such a dread still prevailed in Europe of the Swedish arms that negotiations were several times opened with the Council in Stockholm, partly for taking the army into the pay of the allied Powers against France, partly for the neutrality of the army and Swedish Pomerania. Meanwhile, England and Holland with the Roman Emperor concluded at the Hague a treaty of neutrality on the 29th of March, 1710, which, on the whole, was far from unfavourable to Sweden.

However, the proposals referred to were rejected by Charles, who would not renounce the plan of a new Swedish army entering Poland from Pomerania to join hands with him and a Turkish army which he hoped to bring thither. Stanislaus followed Crassow's weak army to the Baltic shore, and sought later (in 1711) shelter in the land to whose deep sufferings and disaster he had been the chief, although innocent, contributor. He travelled first to Carlscrona and Christianstad, then to Stockholm, where he took part in the deliberations of the Senate, and finally settled, for the time, in Christianstad.

In November 1709 the Danish king with a numerous and well-equipped army landed in the province of Scania. The few Swedish troops there were impotent to offer any resistance. They fell back upon the provinces of Småland and Blekinge. The whole of Scania was in the hands of the enemy. Carlshamn was taken, Carlscrona threatened—the outlook was desperate in the extreme. Fortunately Sweden possessed a man of remarkable character, one of the most gifted personalities of the age, military as well as political. This man was General Count Magnus Stenbock.

We shall not tarry here to enlarge upon the history of this extraordinary man, his memory having already been perpetuated to the Swedish nation for all times by Loenbom (1757–65). Suffice it to

say that after superhuman efforts and difficulties, but faithfully supported by the Council, he *succeeded in raising a fresh army*. True, it was mostly composed of raw recruits belonging to the reserves raised under the new military organisation, but they had at all events two advantages—capable officers and faith in their leader. By his knowledge of Scania, where he had been Governor-General for some years after he left the king's army on the conclusion of the peace at Altranstadt, by the affection gained by him in the province, and by his great skill as a strategist, Stenbock, by degrees, succeeded in driving back the Danish army, which had then already almost reached the border of the province of Småland, and commenced laying siege to Carlsrona. The immortal victory at Helsingborg, on the 28th of February, 1710, for ever freed Sweden from foreign invasion. The nation beheld the remnants of the last Danish army which ever invaded the country.

The warlike movements which followed on the southern and western borders were insignificant. Several times the Danes threatened landing, and that they effected none is due to the great strategic skill displayed by Stenbock. But alas! *Sweden* was not saved, although *Scania* was cleared of the enemy for the time. The king, whose immediate return to his country seemed its only salvation, would not hear of returning except on *meeting a Swedish army in Poland*. He would not again set foot in the land which he had left at the head of one of the finest armies ever raised in Europe. No doubt, too, he had hoped for an alliance with Turkey as soon as a Swedish army again appeared in Germany and Poland, and that other Powers at the sight of it would become more favourably disposed towards Sweden. In short, he *commanded* the Council, in an order from Bender, which arrived in June 1710, to send 10,000 men to Pomerania, who were to raise the siege of Stralsund, join the garrison there under Lieutenant-General Dücker, and meet the king in Poland, whither he would march at the head of a strong Turkish force. However, with the increasing want and poverty which then prevailed in Sweden, this command, it may well be understood, was easier given than carried out. In the Council many voices were raised against it, and really with very good reasons. The deliberations were both protracted and lively, even bitter, but in the end the Council had no other escape but to obey the king's peremptory demands and set to work to carry them out. Nevertheless, nothing came of the matter that year, to the great indignation of the king. Money and men were wanting. The Danes threatened a renewed invasion of Scania and Bohuslän, and the plan had to be deferred to 1711. The Governor-General, Count Magnus Stenbock, had, after the battle of Helsingborg, been made a member of the Council of Regency, and was therefore at the commencement of April 1711 summoned to Arboga, where the Council then assembled through fear of the plague, in order

to take the oath and deliberate upon the defences of the land. Thither all the generals were also summoned.

Again the king's order to transfer an army to Pomerania was deliberated upon. The difficulties of carrying it out appeared not to have been lessened, and Stenbock, as defender of Scania, was not the slowest to perceive the danger of exposing the coast; and, in the defective state of the navy, to entrust to it the last Swedish army. Admiral Count Hans Wachtmeister, who had travelled from Carlsrona in order to raise funds for the navy, further confirmed the anxieties of the Council by truthfully explaining the state of the dockyards, the fleet, and the crews, of which more anon. It seemed as if the expedition was to be postponed for a second time. But the king was not a man to be shaken in a resolution once formed. He saw in the immediate relief of Pomerania the only means of *returning to his country*, and believed that the Turks, by the bare fact of his Carolingians having invaded Poland, would be moved to begin serious operations against Russia. He therefore despatched another peremptory order to the Council. This interesting memorial of twelve clauses, and dated Bender, March 13, 1711, is extant in the state archives, and contains, among others, the following commands:—

1. The navy must at all costs be put into a state to sweep the seas.

2. At first open water as many vessels as possible must put to sea for the blocking of the coasts of Liffland and Ingermanland, whilst others are to cruise off the Danish coasts, as last year, to seize and bring up the provisions and crews which the Danes are fetching for their navy.

4. It should always be borne in mind that above all things the orders that are issued herefrom must be most severely obeyed, and no objections will be tolerated. The difficulties are well known enough, but they *ought*, and may, be overcome by perseverance and skill.

9. The regiments ordered for service must be sent over in perfectly good condition and complete, with a full supply of guns, ammunition, and uniforms. They should carry with them sufficient dry bread and other necessaries for at least three months on German soil. The bread must be calculated at one and a half mark of good dry bread *per diem*.

10. In transferring the expedition every precaution must be taken so that no disaster happen, the sea being first swept so that the enemy get no opportunity of injuring the transport.

In other respects the memorial deals with the exchange of prisoners and the encouragement of prize seizures in the North Sea and the Baltic.

The dilemma of the Council upon the receipt of this serious re-script may be better imagined than described. Several councillors are reported to have openly expressed their annoyance. In the heat of the

moment some even refused to obey, but the so-called 'King's party' in the Council prevented an open breach with the king. To this party Stenbock belonged. The expedition was, therefore, decided upon, although unfortunately quite too late to be ready in the desired time. Justice demands, however, that it should be stated that as soon as it was once decided upon the members of the Council generally did all in their power to raise the funds required with praiseworthy patriotism and zeal. In fact they even borrowed large sums of money in their own names, and although Charles's brilliant anticipation had been dashed to the ground long before the expedition started, the zeal of the Government did not abate. Nevertheless, referring to the same, Stenbock in one of his bitter moods complains greatly of the delay, 'drifting into the winter,' but it should be remembered that the king's orders were not received till the middle of the summer.

Moreover, in order to carry them out, several circumstances, not generally considered sufficiently, had to be taken into account, viz. the moving southwards of the Danish king when the neutrality negotiations had come to nothing, in conjunction with the Polish and Russian attacks on the Swedish possessions in Germany in order to bar the way for Charles. Secondly, the impossibility of King Frederick again invading Scania, owing to the want prevailing in Denmark and the dissatisfaction with the war and its unhappy issue, and finally the arrival in Sweden of King Stanislaus with a letter from Charles, urging the Council to hasten his behests without delay. Count Stenbock and several other councillors expressed the opinion that the troops should be despatched forthwith in order to facilitate the king's plans. But the force ought to have been much stronger. As it was, it became weaker than intended, and served only to defend our last strongholds in Pomerania. To take the offensive was out of the question. Nevertheless this assistance was of very great importance, and I purpose now to give some particulars of this interesting expedition, its equipment, and transport, having first given a passing review of the means at disposal for its conveyance, viz. the Swedish navy.

It was a fundamental trait in the character of Charles the Eleventh that, having once formed a resolution, he carried it out expeditiously and energetically. These peculiarities were not wanting in his cares for the navy and the newly established naval port of Carlsrona. The work was favoured by twenty years of peace, and carried out by the most skilled officers in the Swedish navy of that day. And still a generation did not suffice for the completion of such a great undertaking. At the death of Charles the Eleventh, the new naval station was far from being perfected, the engineering difficulties being very great, so that, even after his death, there was some talk of again moving the fleet to Stockholm. But finally a royal commission determined that Carlsrona should be the chief naval station.

Already, in the time of Charles the Eleventh, several forts had been constructed, with trenches, &c., and this work was now again actively prosecuted. The first line-of-battle ship launched at Carlscrona was named the 'Götha,' and was floated on the 14th of September, 1686. She carried seventy-eight guns, was 153 feet in length, and 39 feet in breadth, with a draught of water of eighteen English feet. The builder was the indefatigable Charles Sheldon, an Englishman. Another ship of fifty-six guns, the 'Pommern,' was also built from his designs. In 1692 Carlscrona was able to send to sea thirty battle-ships, armed with from fifty to ninety guns; and in 1694 the largest warship built in Sweden left the stocks, being named 'Konung Carolus,' and carrying 110 guns. This vessel was, according to the ideas of the time, a model first-class line-of-battle ship, all the guns being, for instance, of bronze or gun-metal, whilst she was also otherwise splendidly equipped and decorated. There were four decks, and the designer was again the renowned Sheldon.

By degrees the navy increased, so that in 1700, when Denmark was invaded, the Swedish fleet mustered thirty-eight battle-ships of rank, carrying 2,510 guns, and manned by over 14,000 sailors and between 2,000 and 3,000 men-at-arms. Truly such a navy was worthy of a king like Charles the Eleventh. Nor should it be forgotten that during the first nine happy years of the reign of Charles the Twelfth he assiduously continued the work originated by his father, Charles the Twelfth in that time adding no less than thirteen vessels of more than fifty guns. This was an enormous progress in one generation, and, what is more, this fleet was better equipped as regards ammunition and stores than any that had ever flown the yellow-blue flag. The brothers Charles and Francis Sheldon, by the way, had, with the keen insight wherewith Charles the Eleventh was endowed, been summoned from England in order to construct the new Swedish navy; and these excellent builders were loyally supported by the chief of the navy, Admiral Hans Wachtmeister, already referred to. Great friendship is said to have existed between these able men, it being mentioned, too, that Charles Sheldon once saved the admiral's life at great personal risk, thus establishing a tie between them for ever.

All drawings for the new vessels were prepared by the Sheldons until about 1710, when they retired and their place was taken by another able English shipbuilder, Chapman. The models and drawings from these times which we still possess are of great interest to naval men.

Even as regards the calibre of the guns the Swedish navy ranked high, according to the ideas of that age. For instance, in 1712, of the 1,764 guns carried, 456, or over one-fourth, threw above 24lb. and upwards of 36lb. shots.

In 1796 a very large sum of money was apportioned for the navy, at the head of which Wachtmeister continued throughout the

period under review in spite of his then seventy years. This patriotic and earnest man justly deserves a place in the Pantheon of Swedish history. And beside him stood a host of able captains.

The care which Charles the Eleventh had bestowed upon the training of naval officers had not been spent in vain. The *personnel* of his fleet was far superior to that of any previous Swedish navy, and many officers had served in foreign navies. Rarely was a naval appointment given to a military or civil officer, as had hitherto been the case in the Swedish as well as other navies. True the Swedish navy sustained defeats under Charles the Twelfth, but, allowing for the exhausted state of its resources by the prolonged wars, it acted its part with every credit to the flag.

There were at the time, too, various foreign naval officers of high rank serving in the Swedish navy. The crews were organised in three classes, a kind of naval militia, partly drawn by conscription and partly volunteers, among the latter being many merchant sailors of Swedish as well as foreign birth.

Such then was the splendid naval power with which Charles the Twelfth entered upon his long, disastrous campaigns, and upon which fell the onerous duty of 'sweeping the sea,' *i.e.* the Baltic, protecting the straggling Swedish possessions along its shores, and keeping up communication with the ruling country. But alas! what became of that magnificent fleet of sea-gulls which in those years carried the yellow-blue flag? It went, like everything else in the country during those terrible years, to 'rack and ruin.' During the last years of Charles's wars there were only a dozen vessels capable of putting to sea, and these were undermanned and badly equipped. It seemed indeed that the weight of the unhappy country's misfortunes also fell upon the navy and crushed it. The restoration of peace, and the zeal animating a body of able men hardened in service and adversity, would soon have restored the navy to its former splendour, but party warfare and jealousies destroyed all prospects of harmony, and the two divisions of the naval service rose in arms against each other. The navy sank deeper and deeper, not only from want, but through the service being rotted to the core by dissension and envy. It was not until 1772, with the advent of a new dynasty, that another morning dawned upon the Swedish navy, but to depict that bright picture is not within our present scope.

We have to turn to a less attractive but noble one, *viz.* that of a body of brave men, weakened by disease and want, hastening during those dark cold December days across the turbulent waves of the Baltic to the relief of their hard-pressed comrades in arms. A fatal doom loomed over Sweden. But it is a lesson to look calmly back upon misfortune: it is truly elevating when it can be done with feelings of pride and content.

As soon as the relief expedition to Pomérania had been decided

upon and the equipment was being carried out 'with all speed,' to quote the official order, the question naturally arose: 'Who was most fitted to take command?' Wachtmeister, himself old and ailing, proposed that Stenbock, with whom he seemed then to be on good terms, should act as his lieutenant. But the Council, although approving of the choice, hesitated from fear of incurring the king's displeasure by removing Stenbock from his important command at home. Wachtmeister continued to urge the appointment of Stenbock, and General Düker, who had succeeded General Crassow in Pomerania, demanded urgent aid.² The King of Denmark, too, directed all his efforts to an attack on Sweden's German possessions, and also caused in August an attack to be made from Norway, then united with Denmark, but which was repulsed. In Scania at the same time the garrison was troubled by frequent landings of the Danes and nocturnal ravages. At the request of Wachtmeister, Stenbock sent his military secretary, Roland, to Carlsrona, the more readily as he was now convinced that the Government favoured his appointment as head of the navy, and at Carlsrona King Stanislaus had also just arrived, finding his refuge in Pomerania becoming daily more precarious. His Majesty, who had for a long time been acquainted with Stenbock, had several times by letter urged the latter most earnestly to hasten to the relief of Stralsund, and he came now in person to emphasise his request. But Stenbock was very careful first to obtain the express commands of the Senate for this step, 'so that His Majesty may not be persuaded that I have deserted my command of the army.' In the same spirit he replied to Wachtmeister's entreaties.

Meanwhile he displayed the greatest zeal in accelerating the embarkation of the troops, although his own province, Scania, thereby was further denuded of troops. Then came the order from the Council for him to accompany the expeditionary force, he being relieved in Scania by Lieutenant-General Taube. King Stanislaus had, in a brief visit to Stockholm, greatly contributed to this decision. When the exiled monarch upon his return to Christianstad received information of Stenbock's appointment, he, in ecstasy at seeing his ardent wishes realised, sent him the following message:—

My dearest Count,—I have received your letter so full of zeal and good intentions. I have nothing to add, as now matters are left in your hands, and I am convinced they will not be neglected. I only pray to God that it may not be *post festum*. I tremble at the very idea, but console myself by reflecting that God has appointed *you* to this task, a deed that will cause Sweden and Poland to have to thank you for their salvation. I respond for Poland; for Sweden I ought and may respond. This cannot be denied you, provided I shall not have the opportunity to do proper homage to your great services. Only hasten to set sail, I implore you.

This letter was written in French.

² He had only with him some six thousand men.

From other quarters Stenbock also received congratulatory messages, including those of several councillors. Meanwhile he learnt that the Danish fleet was cruising slowly up the Sound, that the crews were ravaged by the plague, and that fortunately this scourge, too, was retarding the action of the besieging army around Stralsund.

Carlscrona was wisely selected as the place of embarkation at the suggestion of Wachtmeister. However, there was a great dearth of sailors, so that 6,000 troops had to be pressed into the naval service, chiefly from the regiments under Stenbock, commanded by Major-General Baron Hamilton and Colonel Sinclair, then stationed in Scania, and which were ordered to Carlscrona. All cavalry had to be left behind, as there were no proper means at disposal for their conveyance, in spite of Düker's urgent demand for cavalry. In such a kind and fatherly manner did Stenbock provide for the welfare of his men, that he soon became the idol of the entire army.

On the 18th of October Stenbock himself arrived at the port of embarkation, and things began to move more swiftly still. Both naval and military commanders worked with a will, with the most serious obstacles in their way; but at the end of the month the fleet and some of the transports were nevertheless ready for sea.

The fleet was composed of three squadrons; the first, under Wachtmeister, being composed of eight vessels and carrying 552 guns, the second and third having each the same number of vessels, with a total of 712 guns. In addition there were six detached frigates for scouting and cruising service, having in all 172 guns. The number of transports was seven. Thus the entire fleet, which had cost so much anxiety, labour, time, and money to equip, numbered twenty-four warships of rank and six frigates, carrying in all 1,768 guns. Unfortunately neither the complement of the crews nor their ability were equal to their number, and the year had entered upon its eleventh month. Several transports with stores, too, did not arrive in time, being delayed by stress of weather. The fighting strength of the expeditionary force embarked numbered 82 officers, 122 non-commissioned officers, and 2,489 rank and file.

At length, on the 30th of October, the expeditionary force was embarked, but in what a state? Food, boots, and clothing were wanting, some of the men being even in rags and bootless. I mention this simply to give an idea of the manly and patriotic ardour that fired our defenders in that age. Indeed, so great was the want, that, in a letter dated on board 'Kung Carl' November 17, the head of the commissariat, Malberg, writes: 'Want and poverty weigh us down on all sides. The provisions are obtained on credit; the treasury empty. God only knows when money will come.' However, at the eleventh hour some of the delayed transports arrived with stores and grain, which were hastily taken on board anyhow.

But, as if the difficulties enumerated were not enough to retard

the relief of Pomerania, a strong and continuous southerly wind kept the fleet weather-bound for another three weeks, during which Wachtmeister and Stenbock, impatient enough themselves, received the most urgent messages from the Council and General Düker to sail. This delay was the more dangerous, as the terrible plague was spreading fast among the crews and soldiers, whilst the scanty provisions were consumed to no purpose.

At length on the 4th of December the wind became favourable, and the entire fleet put to sea. Meanwhile the inferior Danish fleet had retired to the Sound. The sea was clear, and the next day anchor was cast off the island of Rügen. After several conferences with General Düker it was decided that offensive operations with the small and badly equipped force at disposal were impossible, and that the army should only act on the defensive. The general undertook to hold his position with the force now at his disposal, about 12,000 men, until the following summer, when more reliefs might be sent over. Under the protection of the guns of the besieging army lay five Danish frigates in shallow water, which Düker urged the naval commanders to attack; but the latter refused, pleading that they did not dare to risk their small craft, as they were all they had for the landing of this and any further expeditionary forces. This faint-hearted decision appears to have angered the general very much, who at once sent a courier to the king in Bender complaining of the action. To excuse themselves, the naval commanders took a similar course.

The aid now received by Düker was of considerable consequence. The fortress of Stralsund, hotly pressed on all sides, could not be bombarded, as the enemy wanted siege-guns, nor could it be stormed from want of infantry, as the regiments promised by the Czar did not arrive. The Danish fleet which was to bring heavy artillery was scattered by a storm, and the Saxon-siege guns could not be brought up owing to the heavy roads. However, after much delay these guns arrived, but although the allied sovereigns decided not to desist until the fortress was taken, little injury was done, and the siege became but a long internment. Stralsund was capitally defended. Moreover, the troops of the besieging army died 'like flies' from scurvy and other disease.

On the 19th of December the Swedish fleet again cast anchor at Carlscrona, its task having been successfully effected. Meanwhile a great disaster befell the garrison at Wismar, as during a nocturnal sortie of the whole garrison it was repulsed by the vigilant Danish army, losing all its artillery, 500 men killed, and 1,500 taken prisoners. Had the Danish general followed up his successes, Wismar would certainly have been taken.

Again, on the 10th of January, the Swedish fleet left Carlscrona with about a thousand men, who were successfully landed outside Wismar. The Baltic was now free from Danish warships. Wismar

having thus been so unexpectedly relieved, the disappointed army of siege retired for the winter to Holstein.

In this manner Sweden's German possessions were, through the united action of army and navy, and thanks to two able and patriotic men, saved for the time. To Charles, dallying in the far east, the road home was then open, and the unhappy Swedish nation gazed longingly southwards for the return of their beloved king. But he came not.

Only in the Council a few hostile persons viewed this event with fear and trembling, and in consequence conceived an intense hatred of the loyal Stenbock.

The activity displayed over the expedition of 1711 was not manifest over the more important one for the following year, and it was only by Stenbock assuming a kind of dictatorship and by his great genius and indomitable pluck that it was carried out at all. Charles fully appreciated this, although the expedition of 1711 had not realised his hopes, and he writes, still refusing to come to the rescue of his oppressed and beset country, that 'Your Excellency must on no account discard the *lur's trousers*.' However, Stenbock was not allowed long service with the navy, as an order came from Charles, dated Bender, August 21, 1711, ordering him to proceed at once to the Norwegian frontier to repel the Danish attack on that side. He left the equipment of the fleet and the cares respecting the next expeditionary force to the German provinces to Wachtmeister, but upon reaching the province of Bohus another royal order recalled him to far more important duties, the nature of which caused him and the Council the greatest anxiety.

Before proceeding to describe these and the result, a few words on the army with which Charles accomplished his famous historical deeds.

The Swedish army was reorganised on the lines laid down by Gustavus Adolphus. Its strength was fixed at eighty native regiments of cavalry and twenty infantry. The regiments took their names from the provinces in which they were raised and quartered; but the Crown also maintained a large army of hired troops. It may *en passant* be of interest to mention that in the days of Gustavus every regiment had its uniform, but the statesmanlike Charles the Eleventh decided that only certain colours must be used for all regiments, and that, in order to encourage native manufacture, all cloth should be taken at home. This ordinance naturally fell into disuse during the long wars, but it was revived during the subsequent so-called 'period of liberty.' The uniform of Charles's cavalry (his chief arm) consisted of a well-shaped hat with cords or braid indicating the wearer's rank, a short coat or jacket of blue cloth with large flat brass buttons and so-called 'Swedish' facings, lined with material in the colours of the regiment or province. This jacket was drawn over a kind of leather cuirass of elk-skin, and were such

not obtainable bullock's-skin was used. These under-jackets extended halfway down the thigh. Round the neck a black cravat was worn, which it seems the men provided themselves. Over the whole a metal cuirass was worn. The breeches were of yellow leather, tanned reindeer or goat's skin, with jack-boots and spurs. Cloak of blue cloth, with cape; long tanned gloves; broad leather sword-belts, with belt for the carabine of the same kind. The colours were uniformly yellow-blue. But many details on this point that would be of great interest to the student of military history would fall outside the scope of this essay.

Charles the Eleventh was his own minister of war—he never had one. But when Charles the Twelfth left his country for an undefined period, he deemed it advisable to leave the management of the army in the hands of a 'Commission of Defence,' though Charles *never abstained from imposing his direct and absolute veto*. We find, indeed, that, although himself practically an *exile*, he, at the time of the rehabilitation of the army in 1709 and following years, interfered directly in all details, insisting upon his personal views being carried out. Generally they were followed, often to the injury of the cause. Sometimes they were disregarded when they ought to have been followed. Naturally distance weakened the force of the powerful arm.

The fatal day at Pultowa, the 28th of June, 1709, the immediate loss of the entire army captured at Perewolatschna scattered many hopes of those that guided the country, and crushed thousands, plunging households innumerable into grief and misery. But that terrible day of misfortune did not trouble the iron will of Charles. Indeed, it is a matter of the utmost astonishment to find in his first letter to the Commission of Defence after the defeat, dated Ossow, July 11, 1709,—*i.e.* only ten days after the annihilation of his splendid army—such an unruffled confidence, such a sanguine calm as that evinced by the beaten monarch. Among other things the king says: 'The loss is great enough, but we are considering means whereby the enemy may not gain the upper hand, or the least advantage. But the highest necessity demands that the army may again be made capable of meeting the enemy's further inroads. To this purpose we send you our gracious desire and command with all zeal and as quickly as possible to recruit anew at home the foot provincial regiments [militia] that have served before in the field, making preparations to furnish them with uniforms, arms, standards, bands, tents, and all other accoutrements, such as they before possessed. The cavalry, too, has suffered severely, but as the result is not certain, it would be as well that the *Rusthållare* [recruiting service] should be ready for fresh recruiting, especially the East Gothia cavalry, which must be entirely raised anew.'

'It is absolutely necessary not to lose our spirits, nor to leave the

task half done, but to take it in hand with all energy, to bring it on the old footing, in order that, in a short space of time, it may be brought to a satisfactory end; and it is our opinion that, in spite of this loss, the enemy will shortly be forced to yield what we demand.'³

In this strain, then, wrote Charles—an exile, without an army, with but a handful of followers, seeking shelter in Turkey, separated from his people by hundreds of miles of hostile country!

To raise a fresh army in a land exhausted through a nine years' war was no easy matter, and increased the anxiety of the situation. At home there remained but a few regiments of horse and foot of the standing army, and a few hired garrisons in Scania. In the German provinces there was only a limited number of troops, hardly sufficient for defence, whilst in the Baltic provinces the garrisons steadily melted away through the continued attacks of the superior Russian hordes. In Finland there remained only eleven weak battalions of the standing army for the protection of that country. Thus the army required had to be created wholly anew. In a message dated the 13th of September, 1709, the king again urges the Commission of Defence to hasten the recruiting of the new army and lay down a series of detailed instructions for that purpose. Still, in spite of all these enormous obstacles, Stenbock had under his command at the battle of Helsingborg, 28th of February, 1710, only six months after Charles's defeat at Pultowa, in which the Danes were driven for ever from Swedish soil, nearly 14,000 troops, of which 6,000 were cavalry. The troops were raw and badly equipped, wanting often clothes and food; but that able general, nevertheless, succeeded in a few months, by unspeakable exertions and incessant drill, in transforming them into a respectable and really formidable army.

It was upon this that the salvation of Sweden's German possessions now depended, and on the latter again depended the hope of the king's *return* and the important question of a rapid and lasting peace. No sacrifice could be considered too great, no means ought to be left untried to attain that end. The expedition of the previous year had been decided on too late to have the effect required. True, it relieved two hardly pressed garrisons, but they admitted of no offensive operations, or of the opening up of the road for the King's return *via* Pomerania and Wismar.

During the long winter that followed, circumstances did not improve. Supplies got scarce, and disease, as is generally the case with besieged garrisons, broke out. Several times Düker thought of a sortie 'to get air,' but he wisely abstained with his weak garrison. We had at that time in Pomerania only 9,000 or 10,000 healthy troops.

Meanwhile Charles sent message upon message from Bender urging the Council to hasten the equipment of the fleet and the despatch to

³ This letter concludes with an imperative demand to guard carefully the Russian prisoners with a view to a quicker exchange of the Swedish.

the continent of as many regiments as possible. These letters, which reached the Council in the early part of 1712, are not always couched in the most gracious words, and created in the minds of several councillors a fear of a terrible reckoning whenever the king returned. This fear, unhappily, weakened the effectiveness of the rulers, and indeed caused their ardour to cool. What should have been taken in hand immediately upon the return of the fleet in December 1711, was only begun in January and February, and progressed but slowly and after many conferences in which mutual distrust and envy were manifest. There was unfortunately in that Council not a single person who commanded special respect or who might with dictatorial power seize the helm of the ship of state and decide the counsellings of the others. Everyone shrank from the weight of the task and the *great responsibility that would ensue before the despotic king*. The only one perhaps who possessed the right courage and ability was Magnus Stenbock, but he was only able to take part in the council occasionally, and envious and hostile *confrères* had free play whilst he was absent fighting the enemies of the country. But in all the good that *was* done Stenbock had a share. Of this the protocols of the Council bear ample testimony.

The first and greatest difficulty was the want of money. The treasury was inundated with drafts, but there were no funds to meet them. The keeping of the national accounts, too, was in the greatest confusion, further increasing the difficulties. State loans were almost unknown in those days, and besides who would have lent money to a state which was, it seemed, on the brink of destruction? Certainly a few small loans were obtained in Hamburg and Bremen, but were of course soon swallowed up. Charles at this time even offered 10 per cent. interest. Still nobody came forward to lend. Indeed the situation was so desperate that one of the councillors, Count Frölich, gravely made the astonishing suggestion that all available bullion in circulation should secretly be recoined for double its value! The compulsory 'tokens' afterwards issued by Görtz were at all events a voucher redeemable by the State.

In this dilemma the Council decided, without directly disobeying the king's commands, to equip the *whole* fleet 'as quickly as possible,' but to get ready for sea 'immediately' only *twelve ships*. The annual 'Russian' squadron was also to be got ready at once. But all the deliberations and decisions of the Council bear distinct signs of great weakness and vacillation. However, Stenbock drew up a lengthy memorial respecting the campaign for the year, the relief of Pommerania and Wismar, and the protection of the frontiers. From this interesting document we learn that the country's defensive forces were larger than might be supposed after the long and exhaustive wars. This able general proposed that the expeditionary force to the continent should consist of eight regiments of foot, making

altogether 8,400 men, and eight regiments of horse, of 7,700 men, and for completing the crews of the fleet $3\frac{1}{2}$ regiments of foot, a total of 3,500 men. For home garrisons and frontier defence he proposed to leave eleven regiments of foot and nine of horse, with a total of 16,900 men. Therefore he proposed that the entire forces available for the year should be no less than 40,700 men. The fleet was, before the despatch of the foreign force, to sweep the Danish warships from the Baltic. Transport-vessels, &c., were to be obtained at home and in Hamburg. And at that moment, these proposals being practically accepted, the Bank of Sweden was 'induced' to advance a large sum of money, which was sent to the naval station for the equipment of the fleet and to hasten the expedition.

The important question now arose again: 'Who was to take command of the foreign army?' Naturally all eyes were directed towards Stenbock, but again the Council drew back, from fear of Charles's anger, who had the year before from Bender appointed him to a certain post referred to. So nothing was done. Deeply it must be regretted that the despotic head of the State then was still detained in a distant land. However, to 'do something,' the Council requested Stenbock to supervise the *equipment* of the fleet. He arrived at Carlsrona to find things in a very deplorable state. Four huge ships stood still on the stocks unfinished, and others required thorough overhauling. Added to this he received intelligence that a Danish fleet of twelve vessels was getting ready for sea. Stenbock then decided at once to hasten the despatch of the flotilla intended for Stralsund, and presently these vessels put to sea, reached their destination in safety, and brought Düker timely aid and stores. Indeed, Stenbock succeeded in sending similar reliefs to Wismar. But the despatch of the main fleet was delayed, as the naval authorities strongly protested against putting to sea with less than twelve ships of rank. Denmark, on the other hand, although its treasury was empty, raised funds for its fleet by imposing a capitation tax, so that already in the beginning of May a fleet of twelve ships appeared in the Sound, whilst the rest of the navy was in a forward state. May became far advanced, and still the Swedish fleet was not ready, there being a total absence of funds, and all resources exhausted. Moreover, the Council hesitated to take any decisive action from fear of the monarch, whilst mutual distrust and envy also increased the disasters which a noble but misguided despotic king had brought upon the country.

Then; as matters thus stood, unexpected news arrived which would seem to have turned events in a different direction, and with accelerated speed. For by the newly established postal service *via* Siebenbürgen came several important despatches in cipher, some for the Council, others to Stenbock. The despatch of the 7th of March to the Council, received only on the 20th of May, commanded it to send immediately

an army to Pomerania for the relief of Düker, and to meet the king; but, curiously, there were no *distinct* orders as to who was to be the leader. Only indirectly Stenbock was hinted at. This preference caused envy in the Council, but the imperative orders from their sovereign, so terrible when opposed or not obeyed, left no choice. Stenbock was ordered to hasten the despatch and to take command of the expeditionary force. In two letters in cipher sent direct to Stenbock the king expresses his wishes more distinctly; but although commanded to take upon himself the immediate equipment and despatch of the desired relief army, he was to 'place himself in everything, and particularly as regards the military operations, at the orders of King Stanislaus, who will, no doubt, follow the army.'

To show Charles's grasp of detail, although absent so long, it may be mentioned that here follows a list of the regiments which he requests to be sent over, foot and horse.

Acting upon these orders, although beset on all sides by jealousy, intrigue, and even hatred, Stenbock set to work with redoubled vigour, his first step being to get the fleet ready for sea. But there were the old fatal obstacles to overcome—want of funds and sailors. As regards obtaining the latter, pressgang appears to have been resorted to.

At this period the Council, envious of Stenbock's commanding position, decided upon the sly course of *appealing direct to King Stanislaus* in accordance with Charles's instructions to Stenbock, and sent two envoys to His Majesty at Vadstena, whither the general was also summoned. Formerly the Council had almost ignored the king. Still Stanislaus stood by Stenbock, although urging a landing of the army nearer Poland in the hope of a rising in his favour, but he gave way upon the latter's protestations. Both the king and the general prepared memorials almost identical for the Council, bitterly complaining of its slow and indifferent action, and suggesting in decided terms the course to be taken as regards the army and its despatch, as well as the raising of the funds required. These proposals were met with 'general approbation.' The noble and all-powerful Stenbock was requested by the Senate to call a meeting of the magistracy and burghers of Stockholm and the Estate of the Nobles in order to obtain advances upon the revenues for 1713, in order to ensure the carrying out of the warlike operations entrusted to him by the king, and by his patriotic speeches and unflagging exertions he succeeded in raising 100,000*l.*, a fabulous sum considering the extreme poverty of the country. In addition, too, there being great want of transport, he succeeded in hiring nine huge merchantmen in Stockholm harbour, so-called 'Spain-traders,' affording ample accommodation for the troops. The expeditionary army was furnished with supplies for three months, whilst King Stanislaus posted to Carlscrena with a considerable sum of money to hasten the equipment of the fleet.

Stenbock, too, had urgent reasons for hastening the departure, viz. the increasing impatience of Charles, the state of Poland, where the party-leader Grudzinsky fought in despair against the Russian soldiers and the adherents of King Augustus, every moment threatened with annihilation, and finally the precarious state of Pomerania, where the allies in July, having received large reinforcements, including 20,000 Russian troops under Prince Menschikoff, were gathering all their forces for an attack on Stralsund and Stettin. Rügen, too, was threatened, and it now wanted but the arrival of the Danish army and siege artillery, and Stralsund with the whole of Pomerania would pass from Swedish hands for ever. Indeed presently a Danish squadron of nine warships of rank, and 210 heavy guns appeared before New Deep, attacked and forced back the Swedish flotilla there to Palmerat, being thus master of the so-called 'Binnen Wasser,' doubling the danger besetting Stralsund and Rügen.

Meanwhile Stenbock on the 27th of July delivered a splendid farewell speech in the Senate, never to return, and on the 4th of August set out for Carlscrona under enormous popular enthusiasm and wishes of success from the lips of thousands. For he it was who should restore the happiness of the nation and give it back its long lost and still beloved king!

The plans of the naval authorities were first to force the Danish fleet back under the guns of Copenhagen and to blockade the sea between the island of Möen and Falsterbo, i.e. close the Sound, and then for the valuable transport to hasten across the Baltic. On the 20th of August all the vessels in the harbour of Carlscrona hoisted the yellow-blue and the pennants of their captains ready for sea, the admiral being old Wachtmeister aboard the three-decker 'Konung Carl,' of 120 guns. They numbered twenty 'combatants' of rank and three detached frigates. A magnificent sight this in the year 1712! King Stanislaus had his own yacht, 'Sophia.' The ships carried 1,746 guns in all, with crews numbering 11,130 men. The latter were, however, not complete nor very efficient; neither were some of the vessels in the best condition. These circumstances undoubtedly contributed to the uneven and bad sailing powers of the fleet, which again unfortunately had the most direful consequences.

On the morning of the 23rd of August the fleet stood out to sea to search for the enemy. The Danish fleet had last been seen off the island of Bornholm, having previously been cruising off the Pomeranian coast, where the admiral, Gyldenlöwe, had actually been visited by Czar Peter himself.

Stenbock meanwhile superintended the embarkation of the army at Carlshamn, where he left three days later on board the frigate 'Phoenix,' in order to overtake the flagship, which was effected in the afternoon. At dawn the next morning the entire Danish fleet was espied off Bornholm, and orders were at once given to clear for action.

But the Danish fleet, composed of twenty-two ships, fourteen being battle-ships, immediately fled, chased by the Swedish fleet. The chase continued all the day, but the Danish vessels being some three nautical miles ahead, the Swedish fleet did not succeed in coming up with them, though some smaller ships lagging behind were bombarded but escaped.⁴ Thus, when night set in, the Danish fleet had escaped under the island of Möen and into Kjöge Bay, off which the Swedish also cast anchor. The Swedish admiral then decided to attack, but the Danish fleet succeeded, in spite of the calm weather, in getting into shelter under the guns of Copenhagen. The Swedish admiral then decided to stand about with his vessels and await the enemy should it venture out between Bornholm and Scania. A Danish frigate was, however, captured.

Thus the Danish fleet had unfortunately escaped. This was, no doubt, due to the unequal sailing of the Swedish ships, Wachtmeister having to wait all the morning of the 25th of August for the slower vessels.

In deciding upon leaving his splendid point of vantage, the Swedish admiral committed a terrible and unpardonable blunder, and the great disaster that was to follow is entirely due to this course of action. Had he remained between Möen and Falsterbo with his twenty fighting-ships, the inferior Danish fleet would have been completely shut up at Copenhagen, and the expedition could never have failed. But instead he leaves this excellent position from fear of a few Danish cruisers in the South Baltic attacking the transports, which were amply protected by several equal war-vessels. And not only that, but he withdraws even right down to Bornholm, close to the route to be taken by the transports. Thus the Danish fleet, with the favourable south-west winds at that season generally blowing from the Sound, was enabled to swoop down upon the heavily laden transports at any moment.

Meanwhile Stenbock had landed in Rügen in order to prepare for the embarkation of the army, and his commanding presence at Stralsund and his bags of money for the troops cheered all hearts.

On the 13th of September the expeditionary army was at length despatched, and on the following day it reached Rügen. The disembarkation at once commenced, and in forty-eight hours everyone, horses and train, were ashore. Nevertheless, there lay the valuable stores, the corn for the horses, and part of the army's clothing in the transports in the open harbour, and to land *them* was no easy matter. To make matters worse, the grain had been shipped in bulk to avoid delay.* A regiment was ordered to protect the unloading of all this valuable war *matériel*, and the rest of the army, 'to avoid a crowd,' sent to Stralsund, and thither also went the general with his staff

* The Danish admiral in his report to his king says that the delay caused by this engagement nearly cost His Majesty 'his entire fleet.'

and the treasury chest. The prospects never seemed more promising, but we shall presently see what followed.

Meanwhile, on the 16th of September, the entire Swedish fleet stood out into the Baltic to meet the Danish one. But what had the latter been doing these two important weeks? It seems that disputes had arisen among the admirals, that some vessels had to be repaired; but worst of all, so says some Danish historian bluntly, the admiral in command was *afraid to go to sea*.⁵ This we advance in no other spirit than to show that, had the Swedish admiral taken the offensive and seized the opportunity that stared him in the face, the issue would and must have been different.

However, on the 16th of September, with a fair north-west wind, the Danish fleet stood out by the island of Möen, and at two in the afternoon the Swedish fleet hove in sight, they at once forming in line of battle steering northwards. Both fleets cleared for action, but it was not to be. The wind changed, preventing any encounter that day. After a hazy morn, at 10.30 A.M. the fleets were again in sight of each other, the Swedish three miles to the leeward; but neither on the following day could the Swedish fleet get to close quarters with the enemy, whose tactics were solely to act on the defensive and at the first opportunity swoop down upon the transport fleet. Another dark night, and the Swedish fleet lay 'midwaters' between Sweden, Möen, and Rügen, whilst the Danish was at least three miles further under Möen, and the wind was veering W.S.W. to S.W. (*i.e.* adverse to the Swedish fleet). Only late the haze lifted from the crests of the waves: it would seem as if the sun lingered to shine on that day of disaster. When the rays broke forth at last, lo! there lay the whole Swedish transport fleet, between Darßerort and Donebusch. It was instantly sighted from the flagship, and the whole fleet stood shorewards. At 4 P.M. the ships were only two nautical miles from the shore, when Gyldenlöwe gave orders for seven vessels to instantly attack, burn and 'destroy all that came to hand.' At that moment our fleet lay half a mile to the leeward, straining every canvas and rope to come to the aid of the transports. At 5.30 a raking fire was opened upon the defenceless and crowded transports, some of which, however, managed to set sail, and creeping inshore got away at night. And, curiously enough, these vessels at once shaped their course for Swedish ports, whence news of the terrible disaster spread like wildfire over the entire country, blasting all hopes and striking dismay and sorrow into everybody's heart. For the nation had staked, so to speak, its last able-bodied son, its last silver *daler*, on this card.

The valuable transport fleet was utterly destroyed, with stores of every kind. The army was inland, and poor old Admiral Wachtmeister had to suffer the terrible sorrow and intense pain of seeing

the flames of the burning vessels leap skywards all the night without being able to render the slightest aid to the valuable vessels that had been entrusted to him. Oh! what a terrible position of a patriotic sailor!

It would seem that the vessels taken and destroyed numbered about fifty, but Danish recorders put them at very nearly a hundred. All were loaded with every kind of goods requisite for carrying on the campaign.

For two days the fleets lay in sight of each other, but the wind was all the while in favour of the Danish admiral, and it was evident that he had no desire for an engagement now that his object had been accomplished. On the other hand, it should be said that Wachtmeister was neither over-anxious to engage in a doubtful battle now that the transports had been destroyed, and there was every reason to spare the fleet for the protection of another expedition.

On the 20th of September the fleets were hardly in sight of each other, and Wachtmeister then shaped course for Carlscrona, in the port of which he anchored the next day, broken down with grief, never to fly his flag again in the Baltic. The Danish fleet retired to the Sound.

Thus, then, ended this naval expedition which had cost so much money and labour, and upon which so much hope had been centred. True, Stenbock stood unscathed with some 10,000 troops on German soil, but in an exhausted country, deprived of supplies of every kind, and with enemies on all sides, and with but little prospect of aid again from home. Naturally he was at the first moment crushed by the disaster that had, with one fell blow, destroyed all his hopes and exertions, as his letter to his sovereign testifies; but his heroic soul soon rose anew, and the deeds that he accomplished under enormous difficulties during the following winter campaign stand forth as some of the most honourable in our military history.

To conclude, the enemies of Sweden were jubilant, but there were those who nobly defended us. Sweden had, in course of the wars, gained an influential party on the Continent, and it was in the interests of France to support our nation.

I shall venture, at no very distant date, to call upon the reader who has followed me with indulgence up to the present critical point in our military history during the reign of the Great Charles, to accompany me also through the warlike operations of the following year, viz. the breaking up of the Swedish army from Pomerania, the glorious but fatal battle of Gadebusch, and the sad capitulation of Stenbock at Tönningen.

OSCAR FREDRIK.

THE
NINETEENTH
CENTURY

NO. CXCIV—MAY 1893

THE UNION

I

THREE in one, but one in three,
God, who girt her with the sea,
Bade our Commonweal to be :

Nought, if now not one.
Though fraud and fear would sever
The bond assured for ever,
Their shameful strength shall never
Undo what heaven has done.

II

South and North and West and East
Watch the ravens flock to feast,
Dense as round some death-struck beast,
Black as night is black.

Stand fast as faith together
In stress of treacherous weather
When hounds and wolves break tether
And Treason guides the pack.

III

Lovelier than thy seas are strong,
Glorious Ireland, sword and song
Gird and crown thee : none may wrong,
Save thy sons alone.
The sea that laughs around us
Hath sundered not but bound us :
The sun's first rising found us
Throned on its equal throne.

IV

North and South and East and West,
All true hearts that wish thee best
Beat one tune and own one quest,
Staunch and sure as steel.
God guard from dark disunion
Our threefold State's communion,
God save the loyal Union,
The royal Commonwealth !

THE INVASION OF INDIA BY RUSSIA

[THE following article purports to be a memorandum written by a Russian officer for the information of his own Government. The author has adopted this expedient as affording scope for a freer treatment than could otherwise be obtained of the great strategic problem which will some day have to be solved by England and Russia. The supposed officer is assumed to have had access to such information as is in the possession of the War Minister at St. Petersburg, besides having read such English books as bear on the subject.—Ed. *Nineteenth Century*.]

I APPROACH my task with some alacrity, for without doubt the work before me is a thousand times easier than that undertaken even by our great General Skoboleff, and certainly infinitely easier than the problem which lay before the Emperors Paul and Napoleon. To invade India from the shores of the Caspian is one thing, to invade it from our present frontier in Asia is an entirely different and a very much simpler undertaking. Moreover, I have before me as a guide the plans of Kauffman and Khruleffs, of Duhamets and Kourapatkin, besides that of Skoboleff. Many English books, too, written both by soldiers and private individuals, have been of assistance to me, notably the recent works of Mr. George Curzon.

This great campaign, probably the greatest the world is destined to see, which, according to M. Lehautcourt,¹ will have effects it is impossible to foresee on the history of the world, will, it is anticipated, be peculiarly pregnant with political complications which may to some extent cloud the clear military conception of the problem. Let us glance at these, avoiding for the moment any mention of possible European combinations and complications, and dealing with the question from a purely Asiatic point of view. To Russia the first and most important political factor is the attitude of Persia, for the domains of the Shah flank throughout her main line of communications. Persia may be considered, and probably is, beneath contempt as a military power; but we must not forget the fact that much excellent military material exists in the country, and more especially so in Khorassan, and that this material in the hands of British officers might become a very serious danger. Many argue that the Shah, with the fear of the awful vengeance which would be exacted from

¹ *La Russie et l'Invasion de l'Inde*, par Pierre Lehautcourt.

him by our Imperial master if he sided openly with our enemies, or even allowed his neutrality to be violated by them, would thereby be sufficiently deterred from siding even indirectly with the English. Perhaps so, but nevertheless the chance of Persia siding against us must not be ignored. As an ally she would be invaluable to us, a buffer State; protecting, though perhaps more geographically than actively, our only exposed flank. Next to Persia the attitude of Affghanistan towards us is a matter of the *most* importance. To carry on a campaign in a country where the peasantry are not only passively unfriendly but violently and even aggressively hostile, sufficiently complicates the difficulties to be overcome. I am no great believer in the bond of friendship which binds together the English and the Affghans, but at the same time I think it would be wiser to sever that reputed friendship if possible before the war begins, and at any rate every effort should be used to transfer the interested affections of these eminently mercenary and treacherous people as early in the campaign as possible. To some it would seem better to have an open enemy in place of a treacherous friend. In so far as the employment of Affghans in a military capacity is concerned, I am in accord here. But in the matter of supplies it would very possibly make a vast difference to us if the ruler and people of the land were even nominally favourable to us.

Beyond the Affghans we come to what the English call the border tribes, that is the succession of small principalities whose dominions lie distributed through the mountain districts that divide India from Affghanistan. In the event of our penetrating as far as this mountain barrier, the attitude of these tribes will be a matter of considerable importance. Though indifferently armed and practically unorganised, they are possessed of many useful martial qualities, and are probably unrivalled in all the woodcraft of guerilla warfare. If we can carry these tribes with us we shall not only remove a stumbling-block from our own paths, for every pass into India is held by these bandits, but turn loose a veritable horde of marauders upon our enemies.

As to the English, probably the matter of the first importance politically from their point of view, is the attitude of Affghanistan. For in this question is bound up most intimately one equally great, and that is the attitude of the princes and people of India. An offensive and defensive alliance with Affghanistan, not only precludes the contingency of a Russo-Affghan alliance, but also gives the English the opportunity of removing the theatre of war beyond the borders of India, under the plausible pretext of upholding the integrity of the Amir's dominions: I say pretext, for Russia now holds such a position that it is entirely out of the power of England to uphold directly, or probably indirectly, the integrity of one half of the Affghan dominions. The removal of the war to Affghan soil, would not only save the inhabitants of India from the horrors of war in their own

land, but would also unostentatiously effect the removal of much dangerously inflammable material, in the shape of the organised troops of independent Indian chiefs, to a safe distance.

Persia and the Persian question is not of such immediate importance to England as to Russia, though it is quite possible that the fate of a long campaign may be settled on Persian ground. The battle of Meshed may be destined to take its place amongst the decisive battles of the world.

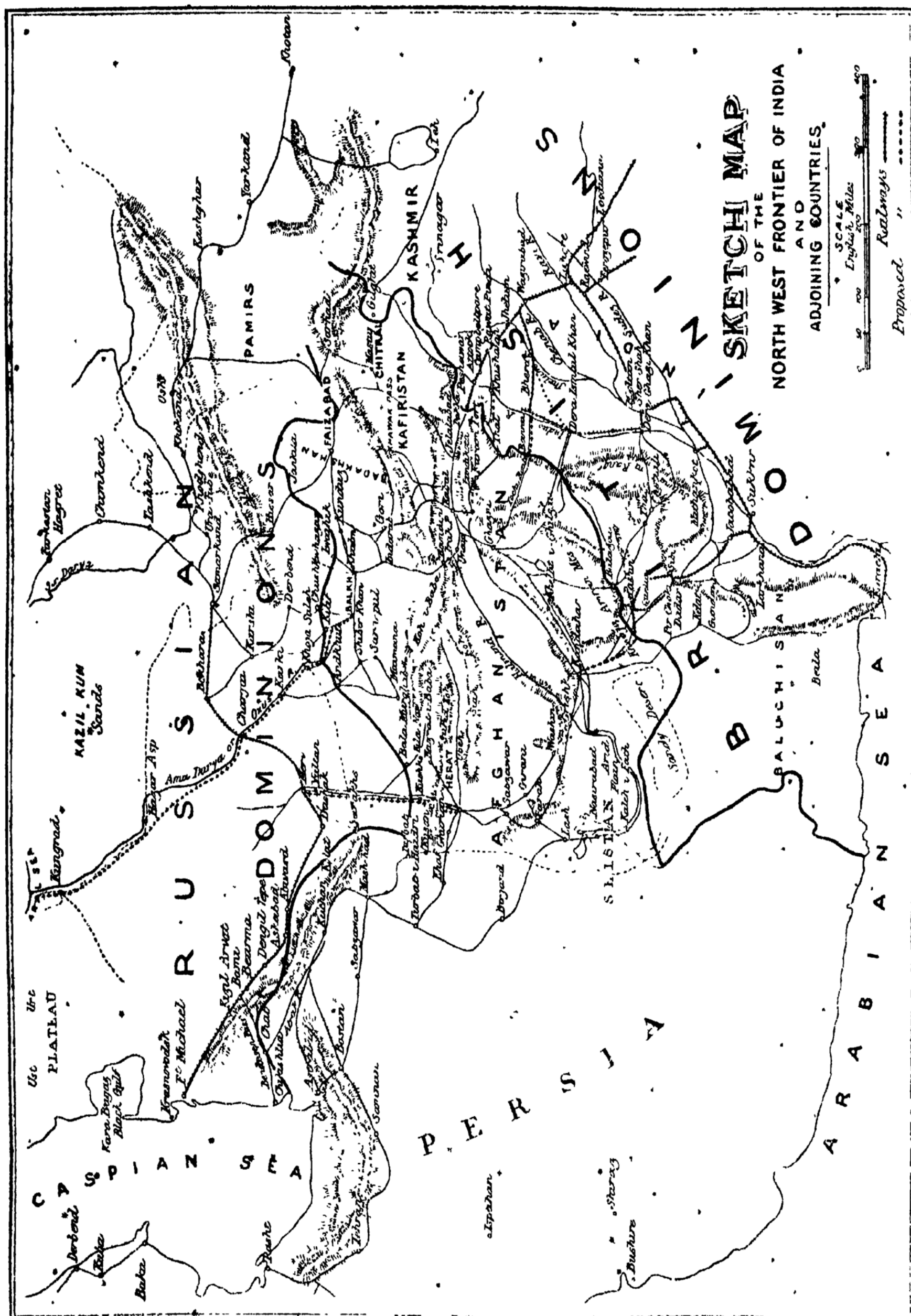
One of the greatest complications with which the English have to deal is the more than doubtful allegiance which the border tribes pay to either India or Affghanistan. From Chitral in the far north, through Swat and Buner, through the country of the Afridis and the home of the Waziris, we meet with but one reiterated story. A story of broken faith, of cold-blooded treachery, of wild fanaticism, of open hostility. No reliance can be laid on the stability of a single one of these tribes for a single day.

I have purposely left to the last a very grave problem which will confront the English. I refer to the fidelity of the native army which furnishes two-thirds of the defensive strength of India. I have examined closely this matter, and my opinion is that the native tribes, except in the case of Sikhs and Goorkhas, have been so carefully mixed in the various regiments, that anything like a spontaneous desertion of the British cause is impossible. I consider the Sikhs, and above all the Goorkhas, beyond suspicion; but not so the Pathans, or Punjabi Mahomedans. These have much of the typical Frenchman in their composition: they are full of *élan*; but defeat, they being mercenaries, will not impossibly mean defection. Therein, I think, lies the whole case; if the god of battles sides with the British, they will be able to count on the support of every native in India. If defeat lowers their standards, that portion of the Indian population which does not place belief in the never-setting star of British dominion, will hasten to make friends with the new nation of masters, advancing majestically from the far North.

The attitude of Europe I again refrain from touching on, partly because I am doubtful of the efficacy from an English point of view of dislocating the theatre of operations, and partly because the system of allowing party politics to influence Imperial policy makes the course of England so devious and uncertain that it is conjecture thrown away to enter into the arena of possible combinations.

Let us next look at the relative positions of the two frontiers. The accompanying map will show us exactly how these lie at the present day, and it will be noticed that these rival frontiers are, generally speaking, like two rivers which rise near the same spot and, gradually diverging, flow into opposite seas. Thus, between the British frontier near Gilghit and the nearest point on the Russian frontier is a distance of barely 120 miles in a direct line. Whilst

Quetta is 550 miles as the crow flies from the Russian frontier at its nearest point. But though this configuration and these figures may at first sight seem to demonstrate that one end of this vast frontier is



more within striking distance, and more open to sudden attack, than the other, yet such is not the case, for whereas the country towards the Gilgit frontier is encrusted with some of the mightiest moun-

tains and the highest and most difficult passes in the world: the plain which lies between Herat and Quetta is such that a man might drive a coach the whole way, or what is perhaps more to the point, a battery of heavy siege guns. As far, therefore, as actual safety from sudden attack is concerned, the Indian frontier may be said to be of about equal strength throughout its length. The intervening space between these frontiers is filled up partly by the kingdom of Affghanistan, and partly by a large number of semi-independent tribes and principalities. Of this intervening country, England is desirous of forming what is called in English a 'buffer'—that is to say, a kind of outer line of defence which will break the force and impetus of a Russian onslaught. This territory it is in fact hoped will be to the glacis of the Indian line of defence, what well-arranged obstacles are to the glacis of a fort. But whereas the obstacle in this case is not only material but also physical, Russia, on her side, hopes to turn this would-be 'buffer' into a battering-ram, which will precede, or at least accompany, her advance. We have here, therefore, a problem to solve which is somewhat different to that which has usually exercised the ingenuity of strategists in Europe. I will explain. If Russia were to declare war against Germany, their frontiers being conterminous, the theatre of war would, at any rate at the commencement of hostilities, be transferred to the territory of that Power whose inferior aptitude for mobilisation forfeited to its opponent the advantage of taking the initiative. In other words, the first to be ready would be the invader. Again, taking a different case, in a war between Russia and France, their frontiers not being conterminous but separated by the territories of neutral powers, Germany and Austria, it becomes imperative for one belligerent or the other to use the sea as a highway to invasion; as did in fact the French in the Crimean War.

At first sight, the situation in Asia would seem to be somewhat analogous to this latter, for between the Russian and British frontiers lie the neutral kingdom of Affghanistan and the principalities before alluded to; but, as a matter of fact, there is a great difference between the two problems. For neutrality is a possibility only to the powerful: to be a neutral and to have that neutrality respected, it is necessary to be either strong in war or to have, owing to geographical or strategical position, a preponderating influence over the movements of one or both of the belligerents. Persia, for instance, if she were a strong military power, would exercise some such influence in Asia as Austria from her position did in the Russo-Turkish War of 1877. But neither Persia nor Affghanistan are of themselves strong enough to vindicate their neutrality, and therefore we may at once cease to regard them as neutrals in the strict meaning of the term, and we may be prepared to see their territories overrun at pleasure by Russians, by English, or by both. It comes to this, then, that

instead of Affghanistan being a broad belt of country which is an impassable barrier to both belligerents, this country is merely an extensive battle field whereon will be fought the battles for the dominion of Asia. I have before alluded to the English aspiration, I can hardly call it an expectation, that Affghanistan should be to India an outer line of military obstacles. We Russians hope far otherwise. The Affghans have always hated the English, though they are paid heavily to keep up a respectable show of friendship. Before England can intervene we shall have already seized a large slice of Affghanistan, and the most the English can then promise to their allies is a tardy assistance in helping them to recover it. Whereas we can not only promise them their own kingdom, but the valley of Peshawur up to their ancient frontiers in addition, and also a share in the rich loot of India. Who can compare the value of these rival bribes. Some think that the Affghans are bound by past favours to side with the English. But what nation has ever been so bound, and more especially what Asiatic nation?

It may not be out of place here to put down in plain figures the numbers and distribution of the Affghan army, the 'buffer' or the 'battering-ram,' as the case may be.

The Amir professes to have now 36,800 regular soldiers, horse and foot, and 186 guns of various calibres. These are armed with Martini-Henri, Snider, and Enfield rifles. Ammunition for these is manufactured at Kabul, whilst heavy grants of the same are from time to time made by the British Government. Including presents and purchases the Amir has sixty pieces of ordnance of European manufacture, and 40,310 rifles and carbines, mostly Sniders and Martini-Henris, but amongst them a few Berdans. He has also 20,000,000 rounds of S. H. ammunition, and 23,000 rounds of gun ammunition of European manufacture.

His irregular troops are said to number 23,000, armed for the most part with the primitive weapons of their forefathers—long-barrelled, clumsy-made flintlock guns, swords, and heavy knives. Of this number some 10,000 are mounted on various descriptions of horses and ponies, and may be looked upon merely as mounted marauders, though of a most effective type.

We have seen that the actual configuration of the frontiers of the two belligerents does not in this case primarily affect the problem. The object of each, in the first place, will, therefore, be the seizure of such points, either strategic or political, in the theatre of war as may be best calculated to lead to ultimate success. In any such calculations, however, it would be unwise entirely to ignore the Affghan army, regular or irregular.

There is little doubt, I think, that our first move will be on to the strategic line Herat, Balkh, and Faizabad, and in this view I am

borne out by General Kourapatkin. Let us see what troops we have ready for this undertaking, and in how short a time it could be accomplished. Herat, perhaps as much from sentimental as political or strategic importance, is undoubtedly the most important point in this line, and, therefore, though all three columns should advance simultaneously, special regard will, at first at any rate, be given to the Herat column.

There are at Merve 2 rifle battalions supported by 4 battalions at Askabad, and covered by 2 battalions at Sarakhs and Sari-yazi respectively—in all, some 7,680 infantry. There are also 1 regiment of Cossack cavalry at Askabad, and 1 regiment at Merve, covered by small parties of Turcoman militia cavalry along the frontier. The artillery immediately available consists of 1 field battery and 1 mountain battery at Askabad; 1 field battery at Merve, and a Cossack horse artillery battery at Kakha—in all, 30 guns; for, unlike other European nations, our batteries, with the exception of the horse artillery, have 8 guns per battery. The force immediately menacing Herat, therefore, consists of 7,680 infantry, 1,500 cavalry, and 30 guns.

On the other hand, the garrison of Herat consists of 6,000 Afghan infantry, 1,200 cavalry, and 72 guns. The place has been fortified in accordance with the designs of, and under the superintendence of, an English Engineer officer. Of the ordnance, six 18-pounder smooth-bores, ten 8-inch howitzers, and twelve 24-pounder howitzers, with 14,000 rounds of ammunition, are presents from the British Government.

On examining the map the first thing that will strike the observer is the comparative isolation of Herat; whilst, on the other hand, the Russian movements are closely supported by the Trans-Caspian Railway. Perhaps a few figures will demonstrate my meaning.

From Herat to Kabul *viâ* Daolatyar is 500 miles by a road not in all parts passable for artillery. From Herat to Kandahar is 389 miles, and to the British position at Quetta, 533 miles. Moving at the very rapid average of fifteen English miles per diem, it would take thirty-four days for reinforcements to reach Herat from Kabul, and thirty-six days to reach Herat from Quetta, even supposing that every unit is mobilised and ready to march at a moment's notice. As Kabul itself would be threatened, it is improbable that reinforcements would be sent from there, and, therefore, thirty-six days may be considered the shortest period in which a relieving force could arrive.

Now let us see what our Trans-Caspian troops could accomplish in thirty-six days. From our outposts at Penjdeh and Zulfikar, Herat is distant only 133 miles, whilst from Merve to Herat is 273 miles. Askabad is distant 250 miles from Merve by rail: the station of Dushak lying half way between them. In dealing with Asiatics,

it is allowed that anything which looks like hesitation is to be avoided. Therefore most probably an immediate advance will be made without in the first instance waiting for reinforcements. In this way the 2 regiments of infantry and 1 regiment of cavalry at Merve² marching at once would pick up the regiment at Sari-yazi and be ready to cross the frontier at Penjdeh on the tenth day. In the same way the Askabad battalions³ de-training at Dushak and proceeding *viâ* Sarakhs to Zulfikar would be ready on the frontier on the twelfth day. That is, 2,880 infantry, 600 cavalry, and 8 guns would advance from Penjdeh by the Baba Pass, whilst 4,800 infantry, 1,000 cavalry, including Turcoman militia, and 22 guns advanced from Zulfikar, either turning the Paropamisus range by the Zulfikar-Kusan-Ghorian road or moving more directly by the Afzal Pass. Allowing for some slight delays which may be occasioned by the enemy's outposts, I consider that our force of 7,680 infantry, 1,500 cavalry, and 30 guns should be concentrated in the Herat Valley on the twenty-second day after the commencement of the operation. This would leave us fourteen clear days to deal with the Herat garrison before reinforcements could reach it.

I think that, without flattering Russian prowess, the odds are much in favour of 9,180 Russians being more than a match for 7,200 Affghans, even though the latter are fighting behind ramparts. In this remark I am borne out by the experience of the English, who have never failed when boldly attacking, to drive out the Affghans from even the strongest positions. Perhaps it will occur to some that I have taken too favourable a view of the situation, and have purposely suppressed the difficulties which Russia has to overcome. Let us therefore discuss the Herat question a little more fully. We Russians have perhaps rather allowed our imaginations to be led away by English writers on the subject, and have come to look upon Herat with the same enhanced view that seems to obtain with our opponents. Now, if Persia were a strong neutral, or even a moderately strong ally of ours, the position of Herat would leave nothing to be desired, but as it is we may find many weak points in it. Look, for instance, at the road from Dushak on the railway to Zulfikar *viâ* Sarakhs and so on to Herat. Could anything be more insecure? The parallel road from Merve to Herat is only made less insecure by its distance from the Persian frontier. Look again at the onward march of a Russian force from Herat towards Kandahar, it is nothing but a prolonged flank march within striking distance of a possibly hostile frontier. Taking a step further on this line, the Russian column will find the English in a prepared position on the Helmand. Victory here would be of vital importance to us, but it would only

² Merve to Penjdeh, 133 miles.

³ Askabad to Dushak, 125 miles by rail. Dushak to Sarakhs, 90 miles. Dushak to Zulfikar, 150 miles. Penjdeh to Herat, 140 miles.

open the way to more serious obstacles, at Kandahar and Quetta. Defeat, on the other hand, would mean annihilation. From a strategic point of view, Kabul is in many ways superior to Herat. Why then should we strive for the latter? It is because in Asia 'dramatic effect,' if I may use such a term, is often a most potent assistant to military operations. Herat may, or may not be an important point from a purely strategic point of view, but there is not a doubt that its capture by us would enormously increase Russian prestige in Asia. Similarly, an unsuccessful assault, or even an expulsion after capture, would seriously injure that prestige. As far as we are concerned, the die is cast: we shall certainly advance on Herat. But with the English the matter is somewhat different. With them the political exigencies of the case must come in more direct conflict with the strategical, and the preponderating influence on either side will direct their operations. If the political has the preponderance, then, throwing all strategical considerations to the wind, they will make the retention or the recapture of Herat the test by which their power in Asia shall be gauged. If safer and purely military measures are taken, Herat will be left to her fate and the English will fight a more sound, if less enticing, campaign nearer their own frontier. There occurs to me, however, a middle course which may be followed by the English with regard to Herat, a contingency which may make our task in capturing Herat more formidable; and that is, if the English succeed in throwing into that city a party of British officers to conduct the siege. Such a party, moving with the utmost expedition, with all preparations made for them, and horses provided beforehand, could probably make the journey from Quetta to Herat in ten days; that being an average of over fifty miles a day.

Twelve clear days would then be left to organise the defence before the Russian troops reached the Herat Valley. Against a garrison so officered it would be unwise to advance until our preparations were more perfect and our numbers considerably augmented. I am inclined, however, on purely military grounds, to doubt the probability of British officers being sent to Herat, for this reason, that if their defence were even moderately successful, the English would feel bound to advance 500 miles to the succour of the garrison, thereby entering on an undertaking of considerable danger and not to be commended from a strategic point of view. Exclusive of the possibility of British officers being thrown into Herat, I think that we are not too sanguine if we consider that Herat will fall an easy prey to us, partly owing to our close proximity to it and partly owing to the non-interference of the English.

The second objective point in our strategic front, Herat-Balkh-Faizabad, is Balkh. We may anticipate little difficulty in effecting this advance: but to be the more convincing, let us enter again into a few figures. The Russian troops which are ready on the spot to

advance by this line are as follows :—At Samarkand and Katty Kurgan are 5 battalions ; at Kerki 3 battalions ; and at Charjui 1 battalion. These are supported by 2 battalions at Petro-Alexandrovsk. At Samarkand are also 1 regiment of Cossacks and two field batteries, 1 mountain battery, and 1 Cossack horse artillery battery. At Kerki are 1 field battery and 2 squadrons of Cossacks. In addition are small parties of local troops at various points. In a few words, 8,640 infantry, 900 cavalry, and 38 guns would be concentrated before Balkh on the twenty-fifth day after the commencement of operations.

Let us see what the Amir can oppose to this. He has in the Turkestan province of which Balkh is the centre, 6,800 regular troops, including cavalry, and 30 guns. Also 2,000 irregular cavalry and 3,500 irregular infantry. In all, some 12,000 troops, who could be ready concentrated at Balkh in time to meet us. But Kabul is only 330 miles from Balkh ; therefore we may have to count on reinforcements arriving almost as soon as our most advanced troops. The garrison of Kabul probably consists of some 10,000 regulars, with 60 guns and 4,500 irregulars ; but it is doubtful whether the Amir would send these troops so far as Balkh ; more probably he will be content to despatch some 5,000 men to Bamian to hold the passes covering Kabul ; for the capital is a hot-bed of sedition and cannot be denuded of troops.

The battle, then, will be between 9,500 Russians with 38 guns, and 12,000 Affghans, partly irregulars, with 30 guns. The result can be hardly doubtful. But if it is decided not to risk defeat ; there is not the same urgency for advance on this line as on that first mentioned ; this column might well wait for reinforcements, or until the news from Herat had had time to dispirit the Affghans, whilst arousing the enthusiasm of our own soldiers.

There remains the Badakshan column to be dealt with, whose objective is Faizabad. The Russian troops available for this theatre of the campaign are :—At Tashkent, 6 battalions, $\frac{1}{2}$ battalion engineer, 1 regiment Cossacks, 1 field battery = 6,360 men, 8 guns. At Margelan, 4 battalions, 1 regiment Cossacks, 1 field battery, 1 horse artillery mountain battery = 4,490 men, 14 guns. At Andijah, 1 battalion = 960 men. At Kokand, 1 battalion = 960 men.

These troops can be reinforced from the Omsk military district, which is composed of 7 battalions, 4 cavalry regiments, 5 batteries and 1 company of sappers. And also by a reserve *cadre* of 4 battalions and 8 Cossack cavalry regiments from Siberia.

Of this number, 10,000 men would move on Faizabad, whilst a small column, consisting of 2 battalions, 1 mountain battery, and 1 squadron of Cossacks, would demonstrate later from the region of the Pamirs.

The distances from Tashkent are as follows :—Tashkent to

Samarkand, 187 miles; Samarkand to Jankila (on the Oxus), 270 miles; Jankila to Faizabad, 90 miles. Total, 547 miles.

To march 547 miles, inclusive of unavoidable delays, would take at least forty-six days continuous marching. In fact, we cannot count on this column reaching Faizabad before the fifty-second day.

The opposition to be expected from the Amir may be gauged from the following table of troops available:—Regular troops in Badakshan, 4 battalions, 2 cavalry regiments, 3 batteries; or about 3,200 men and 18 guns; irregulars, 1,300. Total, 4,500 men, and 18 guns.

So far only passing mention has been made of reserves. The available troops having been pushed on at once, it becomes necessary not only to support them, but also to arrange for the garrisons in rear. It is clear at once that the Herat column depends on the Trans-Caspian Railway for its supplies and supports; that the Balkh column similarly depends upon the Oxus flotilla, aided by the same railway; and that the Faizabad column, in the first instance, depends upon the Turkestan district and Bokhara for supplies, and the Omsk military district for supports; later transferring its base to depôts on the Oxus.

Kourapatkin, whilst placing some 40,000 men in the first line, advocates a reserve of almost equal strength, making a total of about 77,000 men.

Skoboleff makes a lower estimate. He considers the invasion of India possible, but risky, with 18,000 men; but with 50,000 men, he considers the undertaking perfectly safe and feasible. But then Skoboleff himself was worth 20,000 men to us.

English writers, on the contrary, amongst whom may be mentioned the late Sir Charles Macgregor, seem to be of the general opinion that not less than 100,000 men are required for the undertaking.

Probably this last estimate will be considered the safest, for though we have shown that the first steps in the campaign may be taken with few troops, yet India is not to be conquered in a day, as the further development of this scheme will show.

It may be convenient here to recapitulate the Russian position, and we will then proceed to see what answer the English will probably make. Russians: 9,180 men and 30 guns at Herat on the twenty-second day; 9,500 men and 38 guns at Balkh on the twenty-fifth day; 10,000 men (if necessary) and 16 guns at Faizabad on the fifty-second day.

In endeavouring to gauge the intentions of the English, I am at once confronted by the question as to whether political or military exigencies will be allowed to sway their counsels, or whether there will be a wise blending of both. I will give another instance besides that already quoted of Herat; I refer to Kabul.

From a purely strategical aspect, and taken merely as a point in

the plan of defence of the given frontier, it will probably occur to most people to concur with the English strategist, Sir Edward Hamley, in deprecating such a forward position on this line. It is 180 miles from the railway head at Peshawur; the line of retreat from it is virtually one long defile held by questionable friends, not to speak of very possible enemies. Through this defile the Kabul force would be dependent for its supports and supplies, at any moment liable to interruption, not only by the tribesmen, but more seriously by a Russian demonstration from Faizabad through Chitral. The only military consideration in favour of Kabul from an English view is its very strong tactical position. With a little labour and by fortifying the surrounding hills, it is estimated that an impregnable entrenched camp for a garrison of from 30,000 to 40,000 men would be formed. But I am doubtful, and future figures will perhaps corroborate me, whether this number of men, even with Affghan assistance, would be forthcoming. So much for the purely military side of the question; but now comes the political. England, according to many of her statesmen, is bound, at all costs, to uphold the integrity of Affghanistan. Let us hope from our point of view that England will be in the hands of these statesmen when the war commences. For once the English start off on wild errands to the uttermost parts of Affghanistan to uphold her integrity, the ultimate result of the campaign will no longer be doubtful. When England recognises the fact that Russia can at any moment, and at half-a-dozen points, infringe that integrity, and discards absolutely chimerical and even quixotic notions regarding her obligations to a double-faced Amir and a people steeped to the eyes in treachery, and settles down to a plain and businesslike plan of defence; then, and then only, may she consider herself safe. As to Kabul this very sentimentalism exists. The English have bolstered up the Amir, they have poured money into his treasury, rifles and cannon into his arsenals. 'How then,' they say, 'can we leave his capital defenceless?' In other words, these people are bent on clouding over the main question at issue, which is the defence of India, with side issues wherein matters of sentiment predominate over more serious considerations. With Herat, Balkh, and Faizabad in Russian hands the integrity of Affghanistan is irrevocably infringed, and the committal of a strategic blunder in occupying Kabul will in no way help to restore that integrity.

In working out later the English plans it will therefore be necessary to calculate on the contingency of the occupation of Kabul.

The first answer of the English to a Russian advance will certainly be the occupation of Kandahar, and the completion of the railway to that point.

Here further, or rather simultaneous, plans in other parts are more problematical. They embrace the possible occupation of Ghazni, of Kabul, or at least Jellalabad, and of Chitral.

Or, taking a more backward line, she will construct entrenched camps at Bannu and Peshawur to seal the issues from the passes.

Or, thirdly, a combination or modification of both plans may be decided upon.

Ghazni will assuredly be held, for it is central, within striking distance of Kabul, not beyond supporting distance from Kandahar. Its front is covered by an impassable obstacle in the Hazara Mountains and it is securely based on the fort of Bannu (shortly to be the head of the railway). Next to Kandahar it is probably the strongest strategic point open to the English.

Kabul may or may not be held by British troops, but it will certainly be occupied by the Amir's army.

The occupation and possible entrenching of Jellalabad or Gundamuk will be probably imperative, for it will form a supporting pivot to Kabul, whilst completely protecting the Affghan force there from being taken in rear from Chitral.

Peshawur, with an entrenched camp ready for occupation, will be a further support on this side.

As to Chitral I am in some doubt. It is manifestly a strong point strategically, but the English have no direct line of communication with it, owing to the opposition of the intervening tribes, and therefore, in a military sense, its occupation is very unsafe. An English force at Chitral would cover nothing, and if defeated its retreat must be on Gilghit, throwing open the roads to Jellalabad and Peshawur. The tribes between Chitral and India being thus, through their own short-sighted policy, left unprotected, will probably compound with the invaders and help to swell our small force in its descent on the Peshawur Valley.

Let us now proceed to examine the railway facilities on either side, concluding with a forecast in the direction of probable extensions.

Looking generally at the latest development of the Russian Trans-Caspian Railway—that is, the extension from Askabad to Samarkand—it will be noticed that it runs nearly parallel with the Indian strategic railway which follows the course of the Indus. But whereas the Russian railway is fed only by one line, that from Uzun Ada on the Caspian, the Indus Railway is supported by the Lahore-Peshawur line, with its branch lines from Rawul Pindi to Kushal Gur, and Wazirabad to Kalabagh; by the Lahore-Mooltan line, and by the sea route to Kurrachee.

The most effective form of strategic railway is one which runs parallel to the front to be occupied, not too far to the front, for here it would be open to the enemy's enterprise, nor too far to the rear; but in the middle distance, so to speak, and if possible protected throughout its length by some such natural obstacle as a high range of mountains or a deep and impassable river. Such a railway furnishes in its best and most effective sense lateral communication

to the various parts of an army. But to make this railway perfect in a strategic sense, it is necessary that not only shall it have numerous and safe feeders from the rear, but also short lines leaving it at right angles towards the front at one, two, or more points. Such short extensions, being the continuations of through lines from the rear, would be of great value to the constructors, but of little or none to their adversaries in case of defeat; for the greater part of the rolling stock would retire with the defeated, and, moreover, short lengths of railways do not, to an appreciable extent, facilitate the march of large bodies of troops.

On these data let us compare the Russian and Indian railway systems. As before mentioned, the Russian strategic front is supported by one line of rails only, that from the Caspian to Dushak, and it will be noticed that throughout its length this line runs parallel to a possibly hostile frontier, that of Persia. The portion from Dushak to Samarkand is strategically well placed, but open to interruption by the breakage of the somewhat rickety bridge at Charjui. It lacks, too, at present advanced feelers towards the theatre of possible hostilities. To make the Russian system perfect, branches are needed from (1) Dushak (or Merve) to the frontier at Zulfikar (or Penjdeh); (2) Charjui to Kilif; (3) Samarkand to Jankila; though the latter of these would be a very costly undertaking. The river service from the Aral to Charjui should also be supplemented by a railway. Extensions would eventually be made to Herat, Balkh, and Faizabad. With such improvements the Russian railway system would, from a strategic point, meet all requirements.

On the English side it will be noticed that though throughout the greater part of its length the Indus Railway is protected by the river, yet from Sukkur to the sea, for some reason, it is placed on the other bank of the river. An arrangement which, it is apparent, makes the railway bridge at Sukkur a point of vast importance: the loss of which would mean the loss of the seaport of Kurrachee. A portion of this line, too, has not yet been completed between Attock and Kalabagh.

To perfect the English system, extensions are required from (1) Chaman to Kandahar; (2) from the Indus to Bannu, and perhaps on to Ghazni; (3) from Peshawur to Jellalabad (or Gundamuk).

With these improvements both sides may be considered as ready as railways can make them in the regions referred to.

One side issue suggests itself, however, at the initiative of Mr. Curzon, and that is with reference to railways in Persia. It is advocated that the English should use their influence in South Persia to construct a line from Chaman through Seistan and so on to the head of the Persian Gulf or the Karun River; this main line to have branches running south to Gwadur, or some other port on the Indian Ocean; and northwards towards Birjand and Meshed. The successful construction of such a railway would so completely alter the strategic

problem before us at this moment that perhaps it would be wiser not to confuse ourselves by entering into such a vast field of what at present can only be called conjecture.

It seems to Russian eyes that the best plan of campaign the English can adopt is somewhat on the following lines: Kandahar to be occupied; the Quetta railway extended to it; and a first-class fortress, or at least a very strong entrenched camp, to be constructed here. But the English will not, I imagine, halt at Kandahar; they will advance to the Helmund, and there take up a prepared position, with a view to fighting an offensive-defensive battle, sanctified by history as the most favourable form of tactics open to a British army; for from Agincourt and Poitiers down to the Peninsular War and Waterloo these tactics have invariably prevailed. Their cavalry will meanwhile push on till they touch ours at some point between the Helmund and Herat. Simultaneous advances will be made by two other columns, one on Ghazni from Bannu, and one on Kabul from Peshawur.

Let us see what troops will be available for this undertaking. It has been calculated by many authorities, both English and Russian, that after providing for the internal safety of India there will be available about 100,000 men for the defence of the North-West frontier. A brief examination of the latest Indian Army List will show that this estimate is not exaggerated. We Russians are so accustomed to look upon the English army as a diminutive factor that it comes as somewhat of a surprise to us to find that England can place as many, if not more, troops on her North-West frontier of India than we can to attack that frontier.

In the following list we take only the troops which may be considered the best fighting material in the Anglo-Indian army, leaving a portion of the Bengal and Bombay armies and the greater part of the Madras army for garrison duty in India and Burmah. The contingents of Imperial service troops, to simplify our calculations, we will consider to be taken up entirely in line-of-communication work; though most probably, from reasons of policy, they will be employed well to the front.

There are then available for an offensive-defensive campaign:—At Quetta, including troops from Rajanpur and Dera Ghazi Khan, 9,500 infantry, 3,000 cavalry, 24 guns, 1 company of sappers; at Bannu, including troops from Kohat and Dera Ismail Khan, 6,300 infantry, 1,200 cavalry, 30 guns; at Peshawur, including Nowshera and Hôti-Murda, 7,500 infantry, 1,500 cavalry, 6 guns.

These may be considered the nuclei of the three advanced portions of the three main columns which will be employed by the English. In support of these we find a string of strong garrisons reaching down into the heart of Bengal—so strung out from reasons of policy, remembering the fact that India is held by the sword. These

garrisons are as follows: The Rawul Pindi division, including Abbottabad, 10,000 infantry, 3,000 cavalry, 60 guns; the Lahore division, including Mooltan, Ferozepore, Amritsar, Bakloh, and Dharmasala, 14,000 infantry, 2,400 cavalry, 30 guns.

The Rawul Pindi division is in close support of the Peshawur column, and will also be within six hours rail of the Bannu column on completion of the railway.

The Lahore division, though somewhat distant, is in direct railway communication with Quetta, and may be considered a support to it.

Glancing down the main line from Lahore to Calcutta, we find the following additional troops:—The Umballa district, 5,000 infantry, 1,200 cavalry, 12 guns; Meerut division, 6,000 infantry, 1,200 cavalry, 48 guns, 1 company sappers, and head-quarters of 5 companies; Lucknow district, including Rohilcund, 17,500 infantry, 3,500 cavalry, 30 guns; Allahabad division, including Agra and Jhansi, 11,000 infantry, 1,500 cavalry, 42 guns, making a grand total of 105,000 men and 282 guns available for the English campaign.

It may seem that we have ignored Kurrachee and the reinforcements from England; but the evidence given before Lord Wantage's Committee makes it apparent that England has no troops to spare for an Indian campaign, and has clearly made India understand that she must fight or fall on her own resources as far as men are concerned. This, I imagine, only refers to whole units, and does not infer that the English regiments already in India will not be kept up to war strength. Such drafts would naturally arrive at Kurrachee, and thence proceed by rail to their destinations. The reserves for the native troops are well organised and close at hand. In distributing for defence these 100,000 men, I am inclined to think that as a first move, the English will favour the Quetta-Kandahar side, and we may expect that at least 40,000 men, with a proper proportion of guns, will be allotted to this line. My conclusion is arrived at for the following reasons:—(1) This side alone is favourable for the movement of great armies and for the fighting of great battles. (2) The men for the garrisons of the entrenched camp near Quetta and of Kandahar have to be provided. (3) Troops at Kandahar are not irrevocably consigned to one line, but can with entire security support the other columns either directly by road, or indirectly by railway. These 40,000 men may, for convenience' sake, be made up of 12,500 men in and about Quetta; 16,400 men from Lahore district; 6,200 men from Umballa district; 7,200 men from Meerut district. Total, 42,300.

A few rough calculations as to time will demonstrate near enough for our purpose the probable date on which this force could be at its destination, assuming that about 30,000 are concentrated at Kandahar,

whilst about 10,000 hold the Quetta position. The Quetta troops (with the exception of those from Dera Ghazi Khan and Rajanpur) would reach Kandahar on the sixth day after the commencement of operations, Chaman to Kandahar being 60 miles, Quetta to Chaman about 40 miles by rail.

According to the estimate of Mr. David Ross, a great Indian railway authority, troops could be railed from Lahore to Quetta (or Chaman) at the rate of twelve trains per diem, or say 2,160 men of all arms, with followers, horses, and guns. At this rate the troops in the Lahore command, already concentrated as they probably would be, and numbering 16,400 men, could be transported to the front in about eight days, each unit, regiment, battalion, or battery as it detrained marching direct to Kandahar. In this manner, allowing three days for the railway journey, on the seventeenth day 28,900 men, including their complement of cavalry and artillery, would be concentrated at Kandahar and ready to move on to the battle ground on the Helmund. The troops from Umballa, 6,200, would take ten days to reach Chaman, and, the journey of each train occupying three days and a half, would be the twenty-second day before they had all reached Chaman, and the twenty-eighth day would see this force at Kandahar, of which place it would probably form the garrison.

The Meerut troops, 7,200, would probably be converted into the garrison of the defensive works before Quetta, at which place they would be concentrated on the thirty-second day.

So far for the English plans on the Kandahar side.

The next English column, looking northwards, is the Ghazni column.

It will be remembered that we have already accounted for 42,300, including their complement of cavalry and artillery, on the Kandahar line. There remain 63,000 Anglo-Indian troops for operations on the Ghazni and Kabul lines and to form a reserve.

I am inclined to think that the distribution will be on these lines: 10,000 men for the Ghazni column; 10,000 men for the Kabul column; 10,000 men in reserve at Rawul Pindi; 33,000 men in reserve at Lahore.

The strength of the Ghazni column will, it is concluded, be made up of the troops already within marching distance of Bannu, viz. 7,500 men, including cavalry and artillery, supplemented by 2,500 men from Rawul Pindi.

Ten to twelve days would see this force concentrated at Bannu, and another twelve days would see it at Ghazni. However, there is no need to hurry this column, and as long as it is at Ghazni by the end of the month it will serve its purpose well enough, its object being to threaten in flank a Russian advance from Balkh and Bamian on Kabul, whilst, if necessity required its presence, it might edge off nearer to Kandahar and remain within supporting distance of it.

The front of this force, as before mentioned, is absolutely secure by reason of the Hazara Mountains, and it can with safety make, what at first sight might appear dangerous, flank marches in either the Kabul or Kandahar directions.

The Kabul column, made up of 9,000 men, including its complement of cavalry and guns, drawn from Peshawur and its environs, with 1,000 men from Rawul Pindi, would either occupy an entrenched camp at Peshawur, or more probably would advance to Jellalabad or Kabul, and there await the development of the campaign. But this column would also be required to keep an eye on the direction of Chitral; and here I see a weak point which, in the further development of my scheme, I hope to turn to some advantage.

Briefly, then, the position of affairs at the end of the first brief epoch of the great campaign will be as follows:—*Russians*: (1) 9,180 at Herat on twenty-second day; (2) 9,500 at Balkh on twenty-fifth day; (3) 10,000 at Faizabad on fifty-second day. Reserves to the number of 72,000 moving up to Merve and Charjui, at the rate of about 2,160 per diem, would take from fifty-eight to sixty days to reach their destinations. The destination of these reserves has up to the present been left purposely undecided, for reasons that will appear later. *English*: 28,900 men at Kandahar on seventeenth day; 6,200 at Chaman on twenty-eighth day; 7,200 at Quetta on thirty-second day; 10,000 at Ghazni on twenty-second day; 10,000 at Jellalabad on twelfth day; local levies at Chitral under British officers (say, 1,000). Reserves: 10,000 at Rawul Pindi, 33,000 at Lahore.

We Russians being the invaders, I will describe our next steps. It has been apparent for some years that the English have been expecting our main attack from the direction of Herat, this being the only country suitable for the manœuvring of large bodies of troops on a broad front. They have in consequence constructed an entrenched position near Quetta, which is stated to be impregnable. They have extended the railway from Sibi to Chaman, and at its head lies the material for the extension to Kandahar. A position on the Helmund has been selected, and the sites of works with their profile decided upon. Schemes for the fortification of Kandahar are ready prepared, and can be immediately put into execution. Moreover Anglo-Persian co-operation from Seistan is a possibility not to be ignored. These things being so, is it wise of us to put our head, so to speak, into the lion's mouth? I am one of those who incline to think not, but rather is it advocated that we should demonstrate only on this side, using for the purpose Turcoman cavalry, Cossacks, and a few infantry, hoping through their agency to ingraft still further on the English imagination the near approach of a formidable army. The effect of this would be to hold fast the bulk of the English army, whilst our real strength was thrown on another and safer side. General Kourapatkin proposes using 10,000 cavalry, of whom 8,000

would be Turcomans, on this side, but at present we have only about 300 Turcoman militia, and I do not know where 7,700 would come from at a moment's notice. Any way, an undisciplined body of such magnitude would probably be of more harm than good to us. However, the principle is good, for without doubt this is the side on which to use cavalry extensively; and no doubt the English will have the majority of their cavalry here. In this contingency I would prophesy a series of cavalry duels, which may, if we are worsted, end at Herat, or if victorious, more fortunately on the Helmund, according to the ability and leadership shown by either side. But all this, as far as we are concerned, will be merely to cause delay and uncertainty; we shall protract matters as much as possible, with a view to disguising our real intentions till the last moment.

But our first serious advance should, I think, be on Kabul. True, the English can even from their present frontier reach Kabul long before we can; for from Balkh to Kabul is 330 miles, with the passage of the Hindu Kush intervening, whilst Peshawur is only 180 miles from Kabul and a good road connects the two. From a still more advanced station, such as Jellalabad or Gundamuk, the distance is diminished by more than half. We may expect, therefore, to find Kabul strongly held and supported, both directly from Peshawur and indirectly from the direction of Ghazni. And now I would propose to justify the presence of what may have seemed a preponderating force directed through Badakshan on Chitral. I am aware that Chitral is a poor country and little able to support 10,000 troops, and know too that the country is difficult, and at present impassable for cavalry and guns. But against every disadvantage I would urge the commanding strategic position of Chitral. Though Chitral may be poor, Badakshan is rich in supplies. The Dorah Pass, defended by local levies even under British officers, could not long withstand our assaults. The Anglo-Chitral force, once defeated, has no direct line of retreat on India, owing to the curious line of policy which allows petty border tribes to pose as independent principalities; and the roads to Jellalabad and Peshawur lie open to a Russian advance. Chitral itself I would turn into an advanced base stored with supplies drawn from Badakshan; and from this point the roads towards Jellalabad down the Kunar valley and towards Peshawur by the Lahori Pass and Dir would be made rapidly passable for guns. At the same time political agents would rally the tribes to our standards. Am I too sanguine in calculating that such a dominant position would go far towards compelling the evacuation of forward positions on the Kabul line by the English? The blow would be unexpected, for though ready at other points our opponents are not at present ready here. It would be safe, for in case of reverse we cover our line of retreat on Badakshan and the Oxus.

With a force of from 40,000 to 50,000 facing them at Kabul,

10,000 threatening their rear from Chitral, and no Russian movement developing on the Helmund, where the bulk of their defensive forces were first concentrated, we may expect a movement of the English from left to right, probably taking the form of a strong reinforcement of the Ghazni column for offensive operations; whilst Jellalabad and Peshawur are entrenched and garrisoned to check an advance from Chitral.

I consider that this would be a not unfavourable moment for opening up negotiations for peace on the basis that Russia should hold Herat, Balkh, and Faizabad, whilst England held Kandahar, Ghazni, Kabul, and Chitral—the partition of Affghanistan, in fact, with the line of the Hindu Kush as a frontier. I need hardly say that it is not contemplated to make the peace an enduring one, but merely an interval for rest and recuperation. With the enlightened assistance of some great English statesmen, I have little doubt but that a peace on these terms will be eagerly accepted.

I prefer, however, to think that our direct assault on Kabul, aided by the menace from Chitral, would have been successful before the English could throw a preponderating weight on this side, and an English writer of note, Sir Henry Rawlinson, supplies me with an additional argument in favour of my view. He says, speaking of a British occupation of Kabul, ‘Cabul is probably as awkward a place to hold and govern as any in Asia. In the first place, the capital and its neighbourhood are inhabited by a fanatical and disorderly population, who yield a very doubtful obedience to their own sovereign, and who would, of course, be much more unmanageable under any attempt at British coercion.’ In fact, treason from within would aid our battalions from without.

With Kabul in Russian hands the English will probably content themselves by holding the issues from the Jugdulluk Pass at or about Gundamuk; whilst the Ghazni column is again strongly reinforced, and possibly an attempt to retake Kabul by a combined advance may be made.

Hitherto I have barely glanced at the possible openings for English reprisals in other parts which would directly affect the campaign. In this connection the attitude of Persia, as before noted, is of some importance, for through Persia alone can a blow be struck which is near enough to the seat of war to be materially and politically effective. With the consent of the Shah, or even by violating his neutrality, the English would have a fair field for their enterprises in Seistan and Khorassan. No better organisers of irregular cavalry than British officers are to be found in any army. The supply of officers is practically unlimited, and three months would suffice for each of these officers to raise a very fairly effective regiment of irregular cavalry. To the daily attacks of this illusive foe would lie exposed the whole length of our sole railway line of communication

from the Caspian to Merve, from Merve to Herat. There are yet other forms of reprisal open to the English peculiarly suitable to their national proclivities. These would be entrusted to the navy, and in passing I may mention that probably the officers and sailors of no other nation would have the nerve to carry out such undertakings as will probably be attempted.

Supposing the English were successful in their enterprises, the evacuation of Kabul by the Russians might be the result, and a temporary peace, based on the policy of the division of Affghanistan, might be concluded. If, however, the English were unsuccessful, then, holding as we should at Kabul interior as against exterior lines, we might alternately throw our whole weight in turn first on the Ghazni column and then on the Khyber column, the latter already threatened from Chitral, and drive them both back on to Indian soil. As the English strategist puts it, 'we have here bodies widely apart, isolated by the first advance of the enemy, each with its own narrow pass to retire into, entering which it continues to be isolated from the others for weeks.' Now would have arrived a favourable time for a serious advance on Kandahar, and for this purpose the Herat column, augmented from the Caucasus to at least 40,000 men, would advance on the Helmund, whilst a combined movement might be made from the Kabul side, a containing force being placed before the mouth of the Tochi Pass, opposite Ghazni. Before hazarding a pitched battle in the neighbourhood of Kandahar this might not be an inconvenient moment for again throwing out offers of peace, but of course on more advanced lines—Kabul, Ghazni, Kandahar, and Jellalabad to go to Russia, and the line of the Suleiman and Himalayan Mountains to be the British frontier. It may seem that I show too much desire for peace, at too frequent intervals; but the truth is that the carrying out of such an immense campaign at such great distances from our base will try the Empire to its foundation, and respites of longer or shorter duration are imperative to recuperate our powers and consolidate each step of our advance. No nation has ever been hindered from going to war for want of money, but often the lack of the sinews of war in specie has brought it to an end prematurely.

Now, it depends entirely upon which political party holds the reins of power in England at any period whether our proposals are accepted or not. One party would take for England the safer line by fighting to the bitter end—a course of action entirely consonant with the national characteristics; for these islanders invariably show that dogged resistance and tenacity in defeat which eventually reaps its reward in victory. The gigantic struggle which England, aided and unaided, maintained for twenty years against the colossal military strength of France at the beginning of this century is a fitting example of her powers. The other party, on the other hand, would, at the first opportunity, conclude a peace which would be the eventual

salvation of Russia by giving her a more advanced frontier, time to breathe, and time to stir up discontent in Hindostan. Be sure that this would be an easy task in face of the lowered prestige of the English in the eyes of their vassals. Neither through affection, nor by policy, but by the sword, do the English maintain their hold on India.

Let us move on a step, and hoping that by treaty or by conquest Kandahar falls to us, we are faced in our next move by the chain of mountains which forms the present frontier between India and Affghanistan. Though of all frontiers, with the exception of a vast desert, perhaps a mountain frontier is the best suited for defence, yet history has repeated itself again and again in telling us that no mountain frontier has ever yet kept out an invader. Behind the range of mountains lies a second line of defence in the river Indus. But what does the great Napoleon say of a river frontier as a line of defence?

Jamais une rivière n'a été considérée comme un obstacle qui retardât de plus que quelques jours, et le passage n'en peut être défendu qu'en plaçant des troupes en force dans des têtes de pont sur l'autre rive, prêtes à reprendre l'offensive aussitôt que l'ennemi commencerait son passage. Mais voulant se borner à la défensive, il n'y a pas d'autre parti à prendre que de disposer ses troupes de manière à pouvoir les réunir en masse et tomber sur l'ennemi avant que le passage ne soit achevé. . . . Rien n'est plus dangereux que d'essayer de défendre sérieusement une rivière en bordant la rive opposée; car une fois que l'ennemi a surpris le passage—et il le surprend toujours—il trouve l'armée sur un ordre défensif très étendu et l'empêche de se rallier.⁴

But though mountain chains and deep and swift rivers may not form inviolable frontiers, the resuscitative power and the vast tenacity of purpose of the British nation will form an obstacle immeasurably more potent than mountains or rivers—national attributes which, sooner or later, will now, as in the past, turn the tide, and bring back victory to her standards. Some Russians point to America, and wish to demonstrate that as England quietly, and after a very half-hearted struggle, abandoned that vast continent, so will she do again when hard pressed in India. I beg to differ from this contention of my countrymen; the cases are not strictly analogous, for whereas in one case the struggle was between nations of the same blood, the same language, and the same common origin, and the cause of quarrel a purely domestic one, in the other it will be the savage, sustained, and unflinching conflict between two deadly antagonists, the prize being no less a one than the sovereignty of Asia. And here, striving to pierce the impenetrable mists of the future, we pass altogether out of the regions of Strategy into that infinite universe called the Destiny of Nations.

⁴ Napoleon I. to Eugène.

TURGOT IN LIMOUSIN.

IN the year 1761 Turgot, then in his thirty-fourth year, was appointed to the office of Intendant in the Generality of Limoges. There were three different divisions of France in the eighteenth century: first and oldest, the diocese or ecclesiastical circumscription; second, the province or military government; and third, the Generality, or a district defined for fiscal and administrative purposes. The Intendant in the government of the last century was very much what the Prefect is in the government of our own time. Perhaps, however, we understand Turgot's position in Limousin best, by comparing it to that of the Chief Commissioner of some great district in our Indian Empire. For example, the first task which Turgot had to perform was to execute a new land-assessment for purposes of imperial revenue. He had to construct roads, to build barracks, to administer justice, to deal with a famine, just as the English civilian has to do in Orissa or Behar. Much of his time was taken up in elaborate memorials to the central government, and the desk of the controller-general at Versailles was loaded with minutes and reports exactly like the voluminous papers which fill the mahogany boxes of the Members of Council and the Home Secretary at Calcutta. The fundamental conditions of the two systems of government were much alike; absolute political authority, and an elaborately centralized civil administration for keeping order and raising a revenue. The direct authority of an Intendant was not considerable. His chief functions were the settlement of detail in executing the general orders that he received from the minister; a provisional decision on certain kinds of minor affairs, and a power of judging some civil suits, subject to appeal to the Council. But though the Intendant was so strictly a subordinate, yet he was the man of the government, and thoroughly in its confidence. The government only saw with his eyes, and only acted on the faith of his reports, memorials, and requisitions; and this in a country where the government united in itself all forms of power, and was obliged to be incessantly active and to make itself felt at every point.

Of all the thirty-two great districts in which the authority of the Intendant stood between the common people and the authority of the minister at Versailles, the Generality of Limoges was the poorest, the rudest, the most backward, and the most miserable. To the eye of the traveller with a mind for the picturesque, there were parts of this central region of France whose smiling undulations, delicious water-scenes, deep glens extending into amphitheatres, and slopes hung with woods of chestnut, all seemed to make a lovelier picture

than the cheerful beauty of prosperous Normandy, or the olive-groves and orange-gardens of Provence. Arthur Young thought the Limousin the most beautiful part of France. Unhappily for the cultivator, these gracious conformations belonged to a harsh and churlish soil. For him the roll of the chalk and the massing of the granite would have been well exchanged for the fat loams of level Picardy. The soil of Limousin was declared by its inhabitants to be the most ungrateful in the whole kingdom, returning no more than four net for one of seed sown, while there was land in the vale of the Garonne that returned thirtyfold. The two conditions for raising tolerable crops were abundance of labour and abundance of manure. But misery drove the men away, and the stock were sold to pay the taxes. So the land lacked both the arms of the tiller, and the dressing whose generous chemistry would have transmuted the dull earth into fruitfulness and plenty.

The common food of the people was the chestnut, and to the great majority of them even the coarsest rye-bread was a luxury that they had never tasted. Maize and buckwheat were their chief cereals, and these, together with a coarse radish, took up hundreds of acres that might under a happier system have produced fine wheat and nourished fruit-trees. There had once been a certain export of cattle, but that had now come to an end, partly because the general decline of the district had impaired the quality of the beasts, and partly because the Parisian butchers, who were by much the greatest customers, had found the markets of Normandy more convenient. The more the trade went down, the heavier was the burden of the cattle-tax on the stock that remained. The stock-dealer was thus ruined from both sides at once. In the same way, the Limousin horses, whose breed had been famous all over France, had ceased to be an object of commerce, and the progressive increase of taxation had gradually extinguished the trade. Angoumois, which formed part of the Generality of Limoges, had previously boasted of producing the best and finest paper in the world, and it had found a market not only throughout France, but all over Europe. There had been a time when this manufacture supported sixty mills; at the death of Lewis XIV. their number had fallen from sixty to sixteen. An excise duty at the mill, a duty on exportation at the provincial frontier, a duty on the importation of rags over the provincial frontier,—all these vexations had succeeded in reducing the trade with Holland, one of France's best customers, to one-fourth of its previous dimensions. Nor were paper and cattle the only branches of trade that had been blighted by fiscal perversity. The same burden arrested the transport of saffron across the borders of the province, on its way to Hungary and Prussia and the other cold lands where saffron was the favourite condiment. Salt which came

up the Charente from the marshes by the coast, was stripped of all its profit, first by the duty paid on crossing from Limousin to Périgord and Auvergne, and next by the right possessed by certain of the great lords on the banks of the Charente to help themselves at one point and another to portions of the cargo. Iron was subject to a harassing excise in all those parts of the country that were beyond the jurisdiction of the parlement of Bordeaux. The effect of such positive hindrances as these to the transit of goods was further aided, to the destruction of trade, by the absence of roads. There were four roads in the province, but all of them so bad that the traveller knew not whether to curse more lustily the rocks or the swamps that interrupted his journey alternately. There were two rivers, the Vienne and the Vézère, and these might seem to an enthusiast for the famous argument from Design, as if Nature had intended them for the transport of timber from the immense forests that crowned the Limousin hills. Unluckily, their beds were so thickly bestrewn with rock that neither of them was navigable for any considerable part of its long course through the ill-starred province.

The inhabitants were as cheerless as the land on which they lived. They had none of the fiery energy, the eloquence, the mobility of the people of the south. Still less were they endowed with the apt intelligence, the ease, the social amiability, the openness, of their neighbours on the north. "The dwellers in Upper Limousin," said one who knew them, "are coarse and heavy, jealous, distrustful, avaricious." The dwellers in Lower Limousin had a less repulsive address, but they were at least as narrowly self-interested at heart, and they added a capacity for tenacious and vindictive hatred. The Limousins had the superstitious doctrines of other semi-barbarous populations, and they had their vices. They passed abruptly and without remorse from a penitential procession to the tavern and the brothel. Their Christianity was as superficial as that of the peasant of the Eifel in our own day, or of the Finnish converts of whom we are told that they are even now not beyond sacrificing a foal in honour of the Virgin Mary. Saint Martial and Saint Leonard were the patron saints of the country, and were the objects of an adoration in comparison with which the other saints, and even God himself, were thrust into a secondary place.

In short, the people of the Generality of Limoges represented the most unattractive type of peasantry. They were deeply superstitious, violent in their prejudices, obstinate withstanders of all novelty, rude, dull, stupid, perverse, and hardly redeeming a narrow and blinding covetousness by a stubborn and mechanical industry. Their country has been fixed upon as the cradle of Celtic nationality in France, and there are some who believe that here the old Gaulish blood kept itself purer from external admixture than was the case

anywhere else in the land. In our own day when an orator has occasion to pay a compliment to the townsmen of Limoges, he says that the genius of the people of the district has ever been faithful to its source; it has ever held the balance true between the Frank tradition of the north, and the Roman tradition of the south. This makes an excellent period for a rhetorician, but the fact which it conveys made Limousin all the severer a task for an administrator. Almost immediately after his appointment, Turgot had the chance of being removed to Rouen, and after that to Lyons. Either of these promotions would have had the advantages of a considerable increase of income, less laborious duties, and a much more agreeable residence. Turgot, with a high sense of duty that probably seemed quixotic enough to the Controller-General, declined the preferment, on the very ground of the difficulty and importance of the task that he had already undertaken. "*Poor peasants, poor kingdom!*" had been Quesnai's constant exclamation, and it had sunk deep into the spirit of his disciple. He could have little thought of high salary or personal ease, when he discerned an opportunity of improving the hard lot of the peasant and softening the misfortunes of the realm.

Turgot was one of the men to whom good government is a religion. It might be said to be the religion of all the best men of that century, and it was natural that it should be so. The decay of a theology that places our deepest solitudes in a sphere beyond this, is naturally accompanied by a transfer of these high solitudes to a nearer scene. But though the desire for good government, and a right sense of its cardinal importance, were common ideas of the time in all the best heads from Voltaire downwards, yet Turgot had a patience which in them was universally wanting. There are two sorts of mistaken people in the world: those who always think that something could and ought to have been done to prevent disaster, and those who always think that nothing could have been done. Turgot was very far removed indeed from the latter class, but, on the other side, he was too sagacious not to know that there are some evils of which we do well to bear a part, as the best means of mitigating the other part. Though he respected the writings of Rousseau and confessed his obligations to them, Turgot abhorred declamation. He had no hope of clearing government of the débris of ages at a stroke. Nor had he abstract standards of human bliss. The keyword to his political theory was not Pity nor Benevolence, but Justice. "We are sure to go wrong," he said once, when pressed to confer some advantage on the poor at the cost of the rich, "the moment we forget that *justice alone can keep the balance true among all rights and all interests.*" Let us proceed to watch this admirable principle actively applied in a field where it was grievously needed.

The introduction of the Corvée, in the sense in which we have to speak of it, dates no further back than the beginning of the eighteenth century. It was an encroachment and an innovation on the part of the bureaucracy, and the odd circumstance has been remarked that the first mention of the road corvées in any royal Act is the famous edict of 1776, which suppressed them. Until the Regency this famous word had described only the services owed by dependents to their lords. It meant so many days labour on the lord's lands, and so many offices of domestic duty. When, in the early part of the century, the advantages of a good system of high roads began to be perceived by the government, the convenient idea came into the heads of the more ingenious among the intendants of imposing, for the construction of the roads, a royal or public corvée analogous to that of private feudalism. Few more mischievous imposts have ever been devised. That undying class who are contented with the shallow presumptions of *a priori* reasoning in economic matters, did, it is true, find specious pleas even for the road corvée. There has never been an abuse in the history of the world, for which something good could not be said. If men earned money by labour and the use of their time, why not require from them time and labour instead of money? By the latter device, are we not assured against malversation of the funds? Those who substitute words for things, and verbal plausibilities for the observation of experience, could prolong these arguments indefinitely. The evils of the road corvée meanwhile remained patent and indisputable. In England at the same period, it is true, the country people were obliged to give six days in the year to the repair of the highways, under the management of the justices of the peace. And in England the business was performed without oppression. But then this only illustrates the unwisdom of arguing about economic arrangements in the abstract. All depends on the conditions by which the arrangement is surrounded, and a practice that in England was merely clumsy, was in France not only clumsy but a gross cruelty. There the burden united almost all the follies and iniquities with which a public service could be loaded. The French peasant had to give, not six, but twelve or fifteen days of labour every year for the construction and repair of the roads of his neighbourhood. If he had a horse and a cart, they too were pressed into the service. He could not choose the time, and he was constantly carried away at the moment when his own poor harvest needed his right arm and his supervision. He received no pay, and his days on the roads were days of hunger to himself and his family. He had the bitterness of knowing that the advantage of the high road was slight, indirect, and sometimes null to himself, while it was direct and great to the town merchants and the country gentlemen, who contributed not an hour nor a sou

to the work. It was exactly the most indigent upon whose backs this slavish load was placed. There were a hundred abuses of spite or partiality, of favouritism or vengeance, in the allotment of the work. The wretch was sent to the part of the road most distant from his own house ; or he was forced to work for a longer time than fell fairly to his share ; or he saw a neighbour allowed to escape on payment of a sum of money. And at the end of all, the roads were vile. The labourers, having little heart in work for which they had no wage, and weakened by want of food, did badly what they had to do. There was no scientific superintendence, no skilled direction, no system in the construction, no watchfulness as to the maintenance. The rains of winter and the storms of summer did damage that one man could have repaired by careful industry from day to day, and that for lack of this one man went on increasing, until the road fell into holes, the ditches got filled up, and deep pools of water stood permanently in the middle of the highway. The rich disdained to put a hand to the work ; the poor, aware that they would be forced to the hated task in the following autumn or spring, naturally attended to their own fields, and left the roads to fall to ruin.

It need not be said that this barbarous slovenliness and disorder meant an incredible waste of resources. It was calculated that a contractor would have provided and maintained fine roads for little more than one third of the cost at which the *corvée* furnished roads that were execrable. Condorcet was right in comparing the government in this matter to a senseless fellow, who indulges in all the more lavish riot, because by paying for nothing, and getting everything at a higher price on credit, he is never frightened into sense by being confronted with a budget of his prodigalities.

It takes fewer words to describe Turgot's way of dealing with this oriental mixture of extravagance, injustice, and squalor. The Intendant of Caen had already proposed to the inhabitants of that district the alternative plan of commuting the *corvée* into a money payment. Turgot adopted and perfected this great transformation. He substituted for personal service on the roads a yearly rate, proportional in amount to the *taille*. He instituted a systematic survey and direction of the roads, existing or required in the Generality, and he committed the execution of the approved plans to contractors on exact and business-like principles. The result of this change was not merely an immense relief to the unfortunate men who had been every year harassed to death and half-ruined by the old method of forced labour, but so remarkable an improvement both in the goodness and the extension of the roads that when Arthur Young went over them five and twenty years afterwards, he pronounced them by far the noblest public ways to be found anywhere in France.

Two very instructive facts may be mentioned in connection with the suppression of the *corvées* in Limousin. The first is that the central government assented to the changes proposed by the young Intendant, as promptly as if it had been a committee of the Convention, instead of being the nominee of an absolute king. The other is that the people in the country, when Turgot had his plans laid before them in their parish meetings held after mass on Sundays, listened with the keenest distrust and suspicion to what they insisted on regarding as a sinister design for exacting more money from them. Well might Condorcet say that very often it needs little courage to do men harm, for they constantly suffer harm tranquilly enough; but when you take it into your head to do them some service, then they revolt and accuse you of being an innovator. It is fair, however, to remember how many good grounds the French countryman had for distrusting the professions of any agent of the government. For even in the case of this very reform, though Turgot was able to make an addition to the *taille* in commutation of the work on the roads, he was not able to force a contribution either to the *taille* or any other impost from the privileged classes, the very persons who were best able to pay. This is only an illustration of what is now a well-understood fact, the revolution was made necessary less by despotism, than by privilege on the one side, and by intense political distrust on the other side.

Turgot was thoroughly awake to the necessity of penetrating public opinion. The first principle of the school of Economists was "an enlightened people." Nothing was to be done by them; everything was to be done for them, but they were to be trained to understand the grounds of the measures which a central authority conceived, shaped, and carried into practice. Rousseau was the only writer of the revolutionary school who had the modern democratic faith in the virtue and wisdom of the common people. Voltaire habitually spoke of their bigotry and prejudice with the natural bitterness of a cultivated man towards the incurable vices of ignorance. The Economists admitted Voltaire's view as true of an existing state of things, but they looked to education, meaning by that something more than primary instruction, to lead gradually to the development of sound political intelligence. Hence when Turgot came into full power as the minister of Lewis XVI., twelve years after he first went to his obscure duties in the Limousin, he introduced the method of prefacing his edicts by an elaborate statement of the reasons on which their policy rested. And on the same principle he now adopted the only means at his disposal for instructing and directing opinion. The book-press was at that moment doing tremendous work among the classes with education and leisure. But the newspaper press hardly existed, and even if it had existed, however many

official journals Turgot might have had under his inspiration, the people whose minds he wished to affect were unable to read. There was only one way of reaching them, and that was through the priests. Religious life among the Limousins was, as we have seen, not very pure, but it is a significant law of human nature that the less pure a religion is, the more important in it the place of the priest and his office. Turgot pressed the curés into friendly service. It is a remarkable fact, not without a parallel in other parts of modern history, that of the two great conservative corporations of society, the lawyers did all they could to thwart his projects, and the priests did all they could to advance them. In truth the priests are usually more or less sympathetic towards any form of centralized authority; it is only when the people take their own government into their own hands, that the clergy are sure to turn cold or antipathetic towards improvement. There is one other reservation, as Turgot found out in 1775, when he had been transferred to a greater post, and the clergy had joined his bitterest enemies. Then he touched the corporate spirit, and perceived that for authority to lay a hand on ecclesiastical privilege is to metamorphose goodwill into the most rancorous malignity. Meanwhile, the letters in which Turgot explained his views and wishes to the curés, by them to be imparted to their parishes, are masterpieces of the care, the patience, the interest, of a good ruler. Those impetuous and peremptory spirits who see in Frederick or Napoleon the only born rulers of men, might find in these letters, and in the acts to which they refer, the memorials of a far more admirable and beneficent type.

The corvée, vexatious as it was, yet excited less violent heats and inflicted less misery than the abuses of military service. There had been a militia in the country as far back as the time of the Merovingians, but the militia-service with which Turgot had to deal, only dated from 1726. Each parish was bound to supply its quota of men to this service, and the obligation was perhaps the most odious grievance, though not the most really mischievous, of all that then afflicted the realm. The hatred which it raised was due to no failure of the military spirit in the people. From Frederick the Great downwards, everybody was well aware that the disasters to France which had begun with the shameful defeat of Rossbach and ended with the loss of Canada in the west and the Indies in the east (1757—1763), were due to no want of valour in the common soldier. It was the generals, as Napoleon said fifty years afterwards, who were incapable and inept. And it was the ineptitude of the administrative chiefs that made the militia at once ineffective and abhorred. First, they allowed a great number of classified exemptions from the ballot. The noble, the tonsured clerk, the counsellor, the domestic

of noble, tonsured clerk, and counsellor, the eldest son of the lawyer and the farmer, the tax-collector, the schoolmaster, were all exempt. Hence the curse of service was embittered by a sense of injustice. This was one of the many springs in the old régime that fed the swelling and vehement stream of passion for social equality until, at length, when the day came, it made such short and furious work with the structure of envious partition between citizen and citizen.

Again, by a curious perversity of official pedantry, the government insisted on each man who drew the black ticket in the abhorred lottery, performing his service in person. It forbade substitution. Under a modern system of universal military service, this is perfectly intelligible and just. But, as we have seen, military service was only made obligatory on those who were already ground down by hardships. As a consequence of this prohibition, those who were liable to be drawn lived in despair, and as no worse thing than the black ticket could possibly befall them, they had every inducement to run away from their own homes and villages. At the approach of the commissary of the government they fled into the woods and marshes, as if they had been pursued by the plague. This was a signal for a civil war on a small scale. Those who were left behind, and whose chance of being drawn was thus increased, hastened to pursue the fugitives with such weapons as came to their hands. In Limousin the country was constantly the scene of murderous disorders of this kind. What was worse, was not only that the land was infested by vagabonds and bad characters, but that villages became half depopulated, and the soil lost its cultivators. Finally, as is uniformly the case in the history of bad government, an unjust method produced a worthless machine. The *milice* supplied as bad troops as the *corré* supplied bad roads. The force was recruited from the lowest class of the population, and as soon as its members had learned a little drill, they were discharged and their places taken by raw batches sent at random by blind lot.

Turgot proposed that a character both of permanence and locality should be given to the provincial force; that each parish or union of parishes should be required to raise a number of men; that these men should be left at home and in their own districts, and only called out for exercise for a certain time each year; and that they should be retained as a reserve force by a small payment. In this way, he argued that the government would secure a competent force, and by stimulating local pride and point of honour would make service popular instead of hateful. As the government was too weak and distracted to take up so important a scheme as this, Turgot was obliged to content himself by evading the existing regulations; and it is a curious illustration of the pliancy of Versailles, that he should have been allowed to do so openly and without official remonstrance. He permitted the victim of the ballot

to provide a voluntary substitute, and he permitted the parish to tempt substitutes by payment of a sum of money on enrolment. This may seem a very obvious course to follow; but no one who has tried to realise the strength and obstinacy of routine, will measure the service of a reformer by the originality of his ideas. In affairs of government, the priceless qualities are not merely originality of resource, but a sense for things that are going wrong and a sufficiently vigorous will to set them right.

One general expression serves to describe this most important group of Turgot's undertakings. The reader has probably already observed that what Turgot was doing, was to take that step which is one of the most decisive in the advance of a society to a highly organized industrial stage. He displaced imposts in kind, that rudest and most wasteful form of contribution to the public service, and established in their stead a system of money payments, and of having the work of the government done on commercial principles. Thus, as if it were not enough to tear the peasant away from the soil to serve in the militia, as if it were not enough to drag away the farmer and his cattle to the public highways, the reigning system struck a third blow at agriculture by requiring the people of the localities that happened to be traversed by a regiment on the march, to supply their waggons and horses and oxen for the purposes of military transport. In this case, it is true, a certain compensation in money was allowed, but how inadequate was this insignificant allowance, we may easily understand. The payment was only for one day, but the day's march was often of many miles, and the oxen, which in Limousin mostly did the work of horses, were constantly seen to drop down dead in the roads. There was not only the day's work. Often two, three, or five days were needed to reach the place of appointment, and for these days not even the paltry twenty sous were granted. Nor could any payment of this kind recompense the peasant for the absence of his beasts of burden on the great days when he wanted to plough his fields, to carry the grain to the barns, or to take his produce to market. The obvious remedy here, as in the *corvées*, was to have the transport effected by a contractor, and to pay him out of a rate levied on the persons liable. This was what Turgot ordered to be done.

Of one other burden of the same species he relieved the cultivator. This unfortunate being was liable to be called upon to collect, as well as to pay, the taxes. Once nominated, he became responsible for the amount at which his commune was assessed. If he did not produce the sum, he lost his liberty. If he advanced it from his own pocket, he lost at least the interest on the money. In collecting the money from his fellow taxpayers, he not only incurred bitter and incessant animosities, but, what was harder to bear, he lost the priceless time :

of which his own land was only too sorely in need. In Limousin the luckless creature had a special disadvantage, for here the collector of the *taille* had also to collect the *twentieths*, and the *twentieths* were a tax for which even the privileged classes were liable. They, as might be supposed, cavilled, disputed, and appealed. The appeal lay to a sort of county board, which was composed of people of their own kind; and before which they too easily made out a plausible case against a clumsy collector, who more often than not knew neither how to read nor to write. Turgot's reform of a system which was always harassing and often ruinous to an innocent individual, consisted in the creation of the task of collection into a distinct and permanent office, exercised over districts sufficiently large to make the poundage, out of which the collectors were paid, an inducement to persons of intelligence and spirit to undertake the office as a profession. However moderate and easy each of these reforms may seem by itself, yet anyone may see how the sum of them added to the prosperity of the land, increased the efficiency of the public service, and tended to lessen the grinding sense of injustice among the common people.

Before proceeding to the most difficult of all Turgot's administrative reforms, we may notice in passing his assiduity in watching for the smaller opportunities of making life easier to the people of his province. His private benevolence was incessant and marked. One case of its exercise carries our minds at a word into the very midst of the storm of fire which purified France of the evil and sordid elements, that now and for his life lay like a mountain of lead on all Turgot's aims and efforts. A certain forage contractor at Limoges was ruined by the famine of 1770. He had a clever son, whom Turgot charitably sent to school, and afterwards to college, in Paris. The youth grew up to be the most eloquent and dazzling of the Girondins, the high-souled Vergniaud. It was not, however, in good works of merely private distinction that Turgot mostly exercised himself. In 1767 the district was infested by wolves. The Intendant imposed a small tax for the purpose of providing rewards for the destruction of these tormentors, and in reading the minutes on the subject we are reminded of the fact, which was not without its significance when the peasants rose in vengeance on their lords two and twenty years later, that the dispersion of the hamlets and the solitude of the farms had made it customary for the people to go about with fire-arms. Besides encouraging the destruction of noxious beasts, Turgot did something for the preservation of beasts not noxious. The first veterinary school in France had been founded at Lyons in 1762. To this he sent pupils from his province, and eventually he founded a similar school at Limoges. He suppressed a tax on cattle, which acted

prejudicially on breeding and grazing; and he introduced clover into the grass-lands. The potato had been unknown in Limousin. It was not common in any part of France; and perhaps this is not astonishing when we remember that the first field crop even in agricultural Scotland is supposed only to have been sown in the fourth decade of that century. People would not touch it, though the experiment of persuading them to cultivate this root had been frequently tried. In Limousin the people were even more obstinate in their prejudice than elsewhere. But Turgot persevered, knowing how useful potatoes would be in a land where scarcity of grain was so common. The ordinary view was that they were hardly fit for pigs, and that in human beings they would certainly cause leprosy. Some of the English Puritans would not eat potatoes because they are not mentioned in the Bible, and that is perhaps no better a reason than the other. When, however, it was seen that the Intendant had the hated vegetable served every day at his own table, the opposition grew more faint; men were at last brought to consent to use potatoes for their cattle, and after a time even for themselves.

It need scarcely be said that among Turgot's efforts for agricultural improvement, was the foundation of an agricultural society. This was the time when the passion for provincial academics of all sorts was at its height. When we consider that Turgot's society was not practical but deliberative, and what themes he proposed for discussion by it, we may believe that it was one of the less useful of his works. What the farmers needed was something much more directly instructive in the methods of their business, than could come of discussions as to the effects of indirect taxation on the revenues of landowners, or the right manner of valuing the income of land in the different kinds of cultivation. "In that most unlucky path of French exertion," says Arthur Young, "this distinguished patriot was able to do nothing. This society does like other societies; they meet, converse, offer premiums, and publish nonsense. This is not of much consequence, for the people instead of reading their memoirs are not able to read at all. They can, however, see, and if a farm was established in that good cultivation which they ought to copy, something would be presented from which they *might* learn. I asked particularly if the members of this society had land in their own hands, and was assured that they had; but the conversation presently explained it. They had *métayers* round their country seats, and this was considered as farming their own lands, so that they assume something of a merit from the identical circumstance, which is the curse and ruin of the whole country."

The record of what Turgot did for manufacturing industry and commerce is naturally shorter than that of his efforts for the relief of the land and its cultivators. In the eyes of the modern economist,

with his horror of government encouragement to industry, no matter in what time, place, or circumstance, some of Turgot's actions will seem of doubtful wisdom. At Brives, for example, with all the authority of an Intendant, he urged the citizens to provide buildings for carrying on a certain manufacture which he and others thought would be profitable to the town; and as the money for the buildings did not come in very readily, he levied a rate both on the town and on the inhabitants of the suburbs. His argument was that the new works would prove indirectly beneficial to the whole neighbourhood. He was not long, however, in finding out, as the authors of such a policy generally find out, how difficult it is to reconcile the interests of aided manufacturers with those of the taxpayers. It is characteristic, by the way, of the want of public spirit in the great nobles, that one of Turgot's first difficulties in the affair was to defeat an unjust claim made by no less a personage than the Marshal de Noailles, to a piece of public land on which the proposed works were to be built. A more important industry in the history of Limoges sprang from the discovery, during Turgot's tenure of office, of the china clay which has now made the porcelain of Limoges only second among the French potteries to that of Sèvres itself. The modern pottery has been developed since the close of the Revolution, which checked the establishments and processes that had been directed, encouraged, and supervised by Turgot. To his superior enlightenment in another part of the commercial field we owe one of the most excellent of Turgot's pieces, his Memorial on Loans of Money. This plea for free trade in money has all the sense and liberality of the brightest side of the eighteenth century illumination. It was suggested by the following circumstance. At Angoulême four or five rogues associated together, and drew bills on one another. On these bills they borrowed money, the average rate of interest being from eight to ten per cent. When the bills fell due, instead of paying them, they laid informations against the lenders for taking more than the legal rate of interest. The lenders were ruined, persons who had money were afraid to make advances, bills were protested, commercial credit was broken, and the trade of the district was paralysed. Turgot prevailed upon the Council of State to withdraw the cases from the local jurisdiction; the proceedings against the lenders were annulled, and the institution of similar proceedings forbidden. This was a characteristic course. The royal government was generally willing in the latter half of the eighteenth century to redress a given case of abuse, but it never felt itself strong enough, or had leisure enough, to deal with the general source from which the particular grievance sprang. Turgot's Memorial is as cogent an exposure of the mischief of Usury Laws to the public prosperity, as the more renowned pages either of Bentham or J. B. Say

on the same subject, and it has the merit of containing an explanation at once singularly patient and singularly intelligent, of the origin of the popular feeling about usury and its adoption by the legislator.

After he had been eight years at his post, Turgot was called upon to deal with the harassing problems of a scarcity of food. In 1770 even the maize and black grain and the chestnuts on which the people supported life failed almost completely, and the failure extended over two years. The scarcity very speedily threatened to become a famine, and all its conditions were exasperated by the unwisdom of the authorities, and the selfish rapacity of the landlords. It needed all the firmness and all the circumspection of which Turgot was capable, to overcome the difficulties which the strong forces of ignorance, prejudice, and greediness raised up against him.

His first battle was on an issue which is painfully familiar to our own Indian administrators at the present time. In 1764, an edict had been promulgated decreeing free trade in grain, not with foreign countries, but among the different provinces of the kingdom. This edict had not made much way in the minds either of the local officials or of the people at large, and the presence of famine made the free and unregulated export of food seem no better than a cruel and outrageous paradox. The parlement of Bordeaux at once suspended the edict of 1764. They ordered that all dealers in grain, farmers of land, owners of land, of whatever rank, quality, or condition, should forthwith convey to the markets of their district "*a sufficient quantity*" of grain to provision the said markets. The same persons were forbidden to sell either by wholesale or retail any portion of the said grain at their own granaries. Turgot at once procured from the Council at Versailles the proper instrument for checking this impolitic interference with the free circulation of grain, and he contrived this instrument in such conciliatory terms as to avoid any breach with the parlement, whose motives, for that matter, were respectable enough. In spite, however, of the action of the government, popular feeling ran high against free markets. Tumultuous gatherings of famishing men and women menaced the unfortunate grain-dealers. Waggoners engaged in carrying grain away from a place where it was cheaper, to another place where it was dearer, were violently arrested in their business, and terrified from proceeding. Hunger prevented people from discerning the unanswerable force of the argument that if the grain commanded a higher price somewhere else, that was a sure sign of the need there being more dire. The local officials were as hostile as their humbler neighbours. At the town of Turenne, they forbade grain to be taken away, and forced the owners of it to sell it on the spot at the market rate. At the town of Angoulême the lieutenant of police took upon

himself to order that all the grain destined for Limousin should be unloaded and stored at Angoulême. Turgot brought a heavy hand to bear on those breakers of administrative discipline, and readily procured such sanction as his authority needed from the Council.

One of the most interesting of the measures to which Turgot resorted in meeting the destitution of the country was the establishment of the Charitable Workshops. Some of the advocates of the famous National Workshops of 1848 have appealed to this example of the austere patriot for a sanction to their own economic policy. It is not clear that the logic of the Socialist is here more remorseless than usual: if the State may set up workshops to aid people who are short of food because the harvest has failed, why should it not do the same when people are short of food because trade is bad, work scarce, and wages intolerably low? Of course Turgot's answer would have been that remorseless logic is the most improper instrument in the world for a business of rough expedients, such as government is. There is a vital difference in practice between opening a public workshop in the exceptional emergency of a famine, and keeping public workshops open as a normal interference with the free course of industrial activity. For the moment the principle may appear to be the same, but in reality the application of the principle means in the latter case the total disorganization of industry; in the former it means no more than a temporary breach of the existing principles of organization, with a view to its speedier revival. To invoke Turgot as a dabbler in Socialism because he opened *ateliers de charité*, is as unreasonable as it would be to make an English minister who should suspend the Bank Charter Act in a crisis, into the champion of an inconvertible paper currency. Turgot always regarded the sums paid in his works, not as wages, but as alms. All that he urged was that "the best and most useful kind of alms consists in providing means for earning them." To prevent the workers from earning aid with as little trouble to themselves as possible, he recommended payment by the piece and not by the day. To check workers from flocking in from their regular employments, he insisted on the wages being kept below the ordinary rate, and he urged the propriety of driving as sharp bargains as possible in fixing the price of the piece of work. To prevent the dissipation of earnings at the tavern, he paid not in money, but in leathern tokens, that were only current in exchange for provisions. All these regulations mark a wide gulf between the economist of 1770 and the Socialist of 1848. Nobody was sterner than Turgot against beggars, the inevitable scourge of every country where the evils of vicious economic arrangements are aggravated by the mischievous views of the Catholic clergy, first, as to the duties of promiscuous almsgiving, and second, as to the

virtue of improvident marriages. In 1614 the States General had been for hanging all mendicants, and Colbert had sent them to the galleys. Turgot was less rigorous than that, but he would not suffer his efforts for the economic restoration of his province to be thwarted by the influx of these devouring parasites, and he sent every beggar on whom hands could be laid to prison.

The story of the famine in Limousin brings to light some instructive facts as to the temper of the lords and rich proprietors on the eve of the changes that were to destroy them. Turgot had been specially anxious that as much as possible of what was necessary for the relief of distress should be done by private persons. He knew the straits of the government. He knew how hard it would be to extract from it the means of repairing a deficit in his own finances. Accordingly he invited the landowners, not merely to contribute sums of money in return for the public works carried on in their neighbourhood, but also by way of providing employment to their indigent neighbours, to undertake such works as they should find convenient on their own estates. The response was disappointing. "The districts," he wrote in 1772, "where I have works on foot, do not give me reason to hope for much help on the side of the generosity of the nobles and the rich landowners. The Prince de Soubise is so far the only person who has given anything for the works that have been executed in his duchy." Nor was abstinence from generosity the worst part of this failure in public spirit. The same nobles and landowners who refused to give, did not refuse to take away. Most of them proceeded at once to dismiss their *métayers*, the people who farmed their lands in consideration of a fixed proportion of the produce. Turgot, in an ordinance of admirable gravity, remonstrated against this harsh and impolitic proceeding. He pointed out that the unfortunate wretches thus stripped of every resource, would have to leave the district, abandoning their wives and children to the charity of villages that were already overburdened with the charge of their own people. To cast this additional load on the villages was all the more unjust, because the owners of land had been exempted from one-half of the taxes levied on the owners of other property, exactly because the former were expected to provide for their own peasants. It was a claim less of humanity than of bare justice, that the landowners should do something for men with whom their relations had been so close as to be almost domestic, and to whose hard toil their masters owed all that they possessed. As a mere matter of self-interest, moreover, apart alike from both justice and humanity, the death or flight of the labourers would leave the proprietors helpless when the next good season came, and for want of hands the land would be doomed to barrenness for years to come, to the grievous detriment no less of

the landowners than of the whole people of the realm. Accordingly, Turgot ordered all those who had dismissed their *métayers* to take them back again, and he enacted generally that all proprietors, of whatever quality or condition, and whether privileged or not, should be bound to keep and support until the next harvest all the labourers who had been on their land in the previous October, as well women and children as men.

Turgot's policy in this matter is more instructive as to the social state of France, than it may at first sight appear. At first sight we are astonished to find the austere economist travelling so far from the orthodox path of free contract as to order a landowner to furnish at his own cost subsistence for his impoverished tenants. But the truth is that the *métayer* was not a free tenant in the sense which we attach to the word. "*In Limousin*," says Arthur Young, "*the métayers are considered as little better than menial servants.*" And it is not going beyond the evidence to say that they were even something lower than menial servants; they were really a kind of serf-caste. They lived in the lowest misery. More than half of them were computed to be deeply in debt to the proprietors. In many cases they were even reduced every year to borrow from their landlord before the harvest came round such coarse bread of mixed rye and barley as he might choose to lend them. What Turgot therefore had in his mind was no relation of free contract, though it was that legally, but a relation which partly resembled that of a feudal lord to his retainers, and partly—as Sir Henry Maine has hinted—that of a planter to his negroes. It is less surprising, then, that he should have enforced some of the responsibilities of the lord and the planter.

The nobles had resort to a still more indefensible measure than the expulsion of their *métayers*. Most of the lands in the Generality of Limoges were charged with dues in kind payable to the lords. As the cultivators had for the most part no grain even for their own bread, they naturally had no grain for the lord's dues. The lords then insisted on payment in cash, and they insisted on estimating this payment at the famine price of the grain. Most of them were really as needy as they were idle and proud, and nothing is so inordinately grasping as the indigence of class-pride. The effect of their proceedings now was to increase their revenue fourfold and fivefold, out of public calamity and universal misery. And unfortunately the liability of the cultivators in a given manor was *solidaire*; they were jointly and severally responsible, and the effect of this was that even those who were in circumstances to pay the quadrupled dues, were ruined and destroyed without mercy in consequence of having also to pay the quadrupled dues of their beggared neighbours. Turgot arrested this odious process by means of an old and forgotten

decree, which he prevailed upon the parlement of Bordeaux to revive in good and due form, to the effect that the arrears of dues in kind for 1769 should be paid at the market price of grain when the dues were payable : that is, before the scarcity had declared itself.

When we consider the grinding and extortionate spirit thus shown in face of a common calamity, we may cease to wonder at the ferocity with which, when the hour struck, the people tore away privilege, distinction, and property itself from classes that had used all three only to ruin the land and crush its inhabitants into the dust. And the moment that the lord had thus transformed himself into a mere creditor, and a creditor for goods delivered centuries ago, and long since consumed and forgotten, then it was certain that, if political circumstances favoured the growing economic sentiment, there would be heard again the old cry of the Roman plebs for an agrarian law and *novæ tabulæ*. Nay, something was heard that is amazingly like the cry of the modern Irish peasant. In 1774 Turgot was promoted to be a minister at Versailles. In 1776 he had become hateful to the clergy, to the parlement of Paris, to the nobles, and to the Queen. He was displaced by a court intrigue, in which Marie Antoinette was the most active instrument. Just before his fall two noteworthy incidents happened. A certain Marquis de Vibraye threw into prison a peasant who refused to pay the *droit de cens*. Immediately between thirty and forty peasants came to the rescue, armed themselves, besieged the chateau, took it and sacked it, and drove the Marquis de Vibraye away in terror. Still more significant is the second incident, which happened shortly after. A relative of the Duke of Mortemart, shooting on his property, was attacked by peasants who insisted that he should cease his sport. They treated him with much brutality, and even threatened to fire at him and his attendants, “ *claiming to be free masters of their lands.*” Here was the main root of the great French Revolution. A fair consideration of the details of such an undertaking as Turgot’s administration of Limousin helps us to understand two things : first, that all the ideas necessary for the pacific transformation of French society were there in the midst of it ; second, that the system of privilege had fostered such a spirit in one class, and the reaction against the inconsiderate manifestation of that spirit was so violent in the other class, that good political ideas were vain and inapplicable.

EDITOR.

THE CHURCH CRISIS: A PARALLEL AND CONTRAST.

IN the year 1877 the Rev. Arthur Tooth, a clergyman of the Established Church of England, refused to obey the order of the Court of Arches with reference to religious services in his church at Hatcham, and was imprisoned in Horsemonger Lane Gaol.

In and before the year 1843, Dr. Candlish, Dr. Guthrie, and many other less known ministers and members of the Established Church of Scotland, repeatedly and publicly refused to obey the order of the Supreme Law Court in Scotland with reference to Church regulations in their own and other presbyteries; and, besides so becoming liable to imprisonment, they took what they confessed and proclaimed to be the first step to disestablishment of their Church.

Wherein are the two cases alike? And in what do they differ?

1. They were both cases of disobedience to the law, and we must throw aside in dealing with this the specialty that the Hatcham case and others arose upon a question of public worship and church services—postures, ceremonies, and symbols. Questions of this sort arose between Church and State in Scotland in the seventeenth century; but no such case occurred in the conflict before 1843. What happened then resulted almost exclusively from the right and alleged duty of the Church to choose and ordain its own ministers. No doubt this involved a religious service, but the service was perfectly valid with “maimed rites,” and elsewhere than in church. To Churchmen in Scotland the church in each parish was “the congregation of faithful men,” and if the orders of the civil court could have been confined to the ecclesiastical building they would willingly have abandoned that to its regulation. They would no doubt have considered the action of the court, even with regard to the church edifice, an outrage, but they would have held themselves as good citizens bound to submit to it. Great prominence is given to this in the Claim of Rights of the General Assembly laid before Parliament in 1842, but it was brought out, perhaps, even more effectively in a celebrated speech of Dr. Guthrie with reference to the Strathbogie interdict. In that case seven ministers who had avowed their intention to disregard the Act of Assembly of 1834, and to “intrude” a minister upon a protesting congregation, were suspended by the Assembly from their functions—not, of course, from their stipends. Such an extreme step made it necessary that provision should be made in the meantime for the exercise of spiritual functions in the

parishes by others, and ministers were authorised by the Church to preach and "dispense ordinances" there. In the usual case such a duty would have fallen to the other members of that remote presbytery, and to such assistants as they might procure. But it was known that the service might involve a danger to which it would be ungenerous to expose young and unknown men, and the Commission of Assembly deputed some of the foremost men in the Church to take the post of honour. When Mr. Guthrie went down to Strathbogie in February, 1840, he was met by an "extended interdict," forbidding the ministers sent down by the Commission from preaching, not merely, as had already been intimated to them, in the churches or churchyards, but in any building whatever, or even in the open air, within these parishes. "To that interdict," said Guthrie, "as regards civil matters, I gave implicit obedience;" but he did so by hurrying from one parish to another and preaching everywhere in the face of it.

"The interdict forbade me, under penalty of the Calton Hill Jail, to preach the gospel in the parish churches of Strathbogie. I said, the parish churches are stone and lime, and belong to the State; I will not intrude there. It forbade me to preach the gospel in the school-houses. I said, the school-houses are stone and lime, and belong to the State; I will not intrude there. It forbade me to preach in the churchyard; and I said, the dust of the dead is the State's, and I will not intrude there.¹ But when these lords of Session forbade me to preach my Master's blessed gospel and offer salvation to sinners anywhere in that district under the arch of heaven, I put the interdict under my feet, and I preached the gospel."²

Preaching the gospel in Strathbogie, however, was no part of Dr. Guthrie's duty, unless he had been specially appointed to it; but interdicts were launched also in abundance against the ordinary ordination and induction of ministers—some called from other Presbyterian communions, and some elected by the people, but not chosen by the patron—whose right as such had been sustained by the Church courts, but denied by the law. These orders were, as a rule, simply disobeyed. But an interdict is an order *not* to do a thing. Was the Scotch Church, like Mr. Tooth, held bound to do anything positively? The courts beyond the Tweed do not use the English *mandamus*, but in the most important of these cases they not only found the Church courts bound to admit to the holy ministry a patron's nominee, but they "decerned and ordained" them to do it. And these orders, too, were disobeyed. In both cases it was disobedience of the civil law, as uttered by its recognised interpreters. Sometimes it was statute law. In Mr Tooth's case the ecclesiastical details even of worship are

(1) Another distinction here. There never has been any Guibord case or Burial's Bill question in Scotland.

(2) "Autobiography and Memoir of Thomas Guthrie, D.D.," vol. ii. p. 18.

regulated by the Act of Uniformity and the amending Acts, explained now by the Judicial Committee of the Privy Council. In the Scotch Patronage cases, as the Lord Justice-Clerk put it, the matters of rule and discipline regulated by Parliament were "strictly ecclesiastical, and to be exercised by the Presbytery in their ecclesiastical capacity. Yet the obligation to perform the duty is statutory. Statute imposes the duty on the Church courts of the Establishment. Their refusal to perform the ecclesiastical duty is a violation of a statute—therefore a civil wrong to the parties injured—therefore cognisable by courts of law—therefore a wrong for which the ecclesiastical persons are answerable to law." In others the question, equally ecclesiastical, was held to be regulated by no particular statute, but by ancient and consuetudinary laws, or by the statutes establishing the Church. How far the Church consented to such statutes or law, and how far without its consent statute or civil law could be enforced in the Church region, came soon to be the great question which swallowed up every other. But in the meantime the orders of court proceeded upon the law declared to exist.

2. And in both cases the parties, by disobeying the orders of court, made themselves liable to the same punishment. It is true that in Scotland no one got actually into gaol. But that was owing to the leniency or prudence of the court. The leading case of enforcement is known as that of Lethendy. Here a presbytery had ordained a man according to the rule recently laid down by the Church, because he was the choice of the people, but contrary to the law as to patrons, still more recently affirmed by the Supreme Court. On the 14th of June, 1839, the eight members of presbytery were ordered to appear at the bar of the court. They did so, and attempted to explain that they had strictly limited themselves to matters spiritual or ecclesiastical. The court deliberated. Five of the judges, it is understood, voted for a sentence of imprisonment; six for the more lenient measure of a rebuke¹—the rebuke, of course, being recorded as a real though a merciful punishment. It was accordingly delivered to the eight culprits by the Lord President with great dignity and energy, but with no effect whatever upon the Church or the country; and as the ministers accused had borne themselves previously with much modesty and simplicity, and were confessedly supported by the superior Church courts, it was felt that the court could not wisely take a stronger step. Again, in the case of Strathbogie, formerly mentioned, Dr. Candlish, then a brilliant young preacher, had been among the delegates appointed

(1) Some of the six could scarcely do otherwise; they probably held that the clergy-men before them were in the right and the court in the wrong. Lords Cockburn, Jeffrey, Moncrieff, Fullerton, and Glenlee were on that side. See Cockburn's racy "Journal" (Edinburgh, 1874) on this subject, *passim*.

by the Church to preach, notwithstanding the interdict. Shortly after, the chair of Biblical Criticism in the University of Edinburgh having become vacant, he was nominated to it by the Government of Lord Melbourne. Lord Aberdeen, then in opposition, saw his opportunity, and rising in the House of Lords before the commission was issued, he pointed out that this honour was bestowed on one who was actually a violator of the law. Lord Normanby, on the part of the Government, yielded, and the appointment was quashed. No further penalty followed, Lord Aberdeen explaining that it was his own influence with the incumbents suspended by the Church, but protected by the court, that had prevented their applying for the enforcement of actual imprisonment. But the legal position was exactly expressed by Lord Aberdeen, when he said, in words which had an unfortunate effect in Edinburgh when the report came down there, but which were strictly true, "This reverend gentleman, this Professor of Biblical Criticism, if dealt with by the court in the same way as any other person, would be immediately sent to prison, and in the Calton Jail he would have leisure to compose his first syllabus of lectures!" But in a third case actual punishment was inflicted, and that in very peculiar circumstances. It was on the 26th May, 1843. The Disruption had already occurred. Nearly five hundred ministers had thrown up their benefices or positions, and were preparing with their families to "leave the manse." But before this happened several of them had been ordered to attend the court as interdict-breakers, and on this day they did so. Some of them were "*quoad sacra* ministers," charged with having sat in the previous General Assembly of 1842, against the orders of court, but in obedience to the ruling of that assembly itself; for the Scottish Assembly or Convocation (like the House of Commons) claimed the right of regulating its own membership. Against these ministers no complaint was insisted on. They had given up all the status and the hopes of establishment, and it was thought cruel to add even a small infliction to the loss of their worldly all. But another party did not so escape. These were some ministers and elders who had carried out the theory of popular election and the new Church orders in the parish of Marnoch, by settling a minister whom the people had called. They were now ordered to the bar, the nominee of the patron refusing, even at the desire of the court, to withdraw the complaint. Their explanation, Lord Cockburn says,¹ was that their ordination vows bound them in such matters to prefer obedience to the Church to obedience to the civil power, "but that in order to avoid the claims of inconsistent duties hereafter, they had withdrawn from the Establishment." Most of them were poor men; and the ministers were now utterly destitute; but the act they had

(1) "Journal," vol. ii. p. 29.

done was one conspicuously against the now victorious law. Lord Jeffrey was for a mere rebuke, and Lord Fullerton, a still greater lawyer than the brilliant Edinburgh Reviewer, agreed with him. But this was what had been sufficient on the first occasion of disobedience, and these judges had always favoured the Church view. The opinion of the chief of the court prevailed, and each of the culprits was fined £5, and ordered, with a "not unkind rebuke," to pay the expenses of the other side as well as their own.

3. But the great point of resemblance between the two cases lies in the fact that the parties disobeying the law founded alike upon the alleged independence of the Church on the State in spiritual matters, and claimed a right to be free from the orders of the secular courts not in extreme, but in all, "spiritual" cases. The question in Mr. Tooth's case became admittedly not one of ritual, or æsthetics, or symbols, or mere rites and ceremonies. The resolutions of the Church Union, published the day after Lord Penzance had pronounced the incumbent of St. James to be contumacious, founded upon the "constitutional independence of the Church of England in things spiritual;" the increasing encroachments upon that independence since 1849 by the Judicial Committee of the Privy Council being narrated rather as the occasion of falling back upon the constitutional ground, which is done in the following terms:—

"1. That the English Church Union, while it distinctly and expressly acknowledges the authority of all courts legally constituted in regard to all matters temporal, denies that the secular power has authority in matters purely spiritual.

"2. That any court which is bound to frame its decisions in accordance with the judgments of the Judicial Committee of the Privy Council, or any other secular court, does not possess any spiritual authority with respect to such decisions. That suspension *a sacris* being a purely spiritual act, the English Church Union is prepared to support any priest not guilty of a moral or canonical offence who refuses to recognise a suspension issued by such a court."

The first of these propositions is very much that maintained by the Church of Scotland before 1843, though it defined the "temporal" things abandoned to the civil court more explicitly, and probably enlarged their sphere. "As to all temporalities conferred by the State upon the Church, and as to all civil consequences attached by law to the decisions of Church courts in matters spiritual," says the Claim of Right of 1842, the great historical document on this subject,¹ "this Church hath ever admitted and doth admit the determinations of the secular tribunals to be exclusive and ultimate, as she hath ever given and inculcated implicit obedience

(1) It will be found published not only in the "Standards of the Free Church," but in the "Memoir of Dr. Chalmers," by Dr. Hanna (vol. iv.), and in the "Ten Years' Conflict," by Dr. Buchanan (vol. ii.).

thereto." But in matters purely spiritual, or even properly ecclesiastical, as distinguished from the above, the Scotch Church "claimed as of right" to be free from the "secular power." As to the second resolution of the Church Union, Scotland had of course nothing to do with the question whether the Privy Council or the Court of Arches is a secular court. In Scotland there were no ambiguities as to the nature of the courts. This matter therefore came up there far more simply. The question whether a confessedly purely ecclesiastical court, such as the General Assembly, was "bound to frame its decisions in accordance" with the judgments of a confessedly civil court—the Court of Session or the House of Lords—was the real cause of the disruption of 1843. But it was only in a certain class of cases that this claim either arose on the one hand, or was rejected on the other, in Scotland. The law courts in Scotland never perform spiritual acts themselves, and do not ordinarily interfere with the administration of Church matters. What the classes of cases were in which at that time they did exceptionally interfere is not very easy to state. They sometimes claimed a right to do so in all cases in which the civil rights of individuals were injured by the ecclesiastical procedure, and this was the line to which the party favourable to them within the Church committed themselves. But this would have warranted interference with every Church act whatever of which any one complained. They sometimes restricted it to cases where the law, whether statutory or consuetudinary, had regulated or restricted Church action. But to the last it was doubtful how far the Scotch civil courts would claim to interfere. What was not left doubtful—what they did unquestionably claim and enforce—was the general principle, that whenever they chose to take the unusual course of interfering, the ecclesiastical courts should be bound, even contrary to their own judgment as to what was right, to "frame their decisions in accordance" with the civil order or reversal, and to carry that out *in spiritualibus*. And this the Church point-blank refused to do. It was therefore in Scotland a constitutional rather than an administrative question, turning upon the right of the State to be obeyed by the Church when it chooses to interfere with Church matters, rather than on the amount of actual interference. But this is precisely the way in which it has been dealt with by Mr. Tooth, and in which it has been formulated by the Church Union.

So far the position of Mr. Tooth and his sympathizers is the same with that of the representatives of the Church of Scotland before 1843. Now for the differences.

The differences in detail, local, legal, historical, and ecclesiastical, are innumerable. It may be wise, therefore, to confine ourselves to

three, which, though not the most obvious or picturesque, are constitutionally and practically the most important.

1. The argument for the legal independence of the Church of England (in the sense claimed by the Church Union) is very much harder to maintain than was that for the independence in the same sense of the Church of Scotland. I do not say it is absolutely impossible or hopeless. But the difficulty, in comparison with the other, is enormous. Take only the question of the supremacy of the Crown over the Church. In Scotland, when Presbytery was abolished by Charles II., an act was passed asserting the royal supremacy in ecclesiastical causes. But in 1690, the first of the acts by which the Kirk was restored especially repealed it as inconsistent with the new arrangements. I need not recall the English statutes, Church articles, and resolutions of Convocation on the other side. But the distinction between the two countries plainly gave an immense advantage to those who, in Scotland, complained of encroachments by the civil courts. In a country where the sovereign has solemnly repudiated a claim to supremacy in causes ecclesiastical, it was not easy to see how any of his courts could possess it. In a country where such a claim is solemnly made by the sovereign and admitted by the Church, the difficulty rather is to see how any court in which the sovereign is supposed to preside, may not become the court in which he chooses to exercise his jurisdiction in causes ecclesiastical. The selection or creation of such a court may be an act of folly, or even of oppression. But it is hard to see how it can be outside the civil power, or fundamentally unconstitutional. In Scotland, again, such a court as the Court of Arches, with its mixture of powers, would be held to be at best a monster. There the courts of the Crown are purely civil and secular, though in 1843 it was decided that they have a certain authority over the courts of the Church, which, again, have no coercive power whatever. But they never enforced their judgments by supplanting the Church courts, or putting themselves into their place. They ordered the Church courts to obey, and enforced it partly by issuing interdicts guarded by fine and imprisonment, and by granting civil actions of damages; and partly by refusing to recognise them, so long as they disobeyed, as courts ecclesiastical at all. Of course this was, in a very important sense, an assertion and exercise of supremacy. But the word was avoided by the majority of the bench, except in the final necessities of argument. And a powerful minority of judges maintained to the last that, by the statutory constitution of the Kirk, the spiritual courts, elected by the Church, were equally judges in such matters with the civil courts, appointed by the Crown; that when they differed, neither was bound to obey the other, but while the judgments of the one controlled the

spiritualia, those of the other regulated all temporalities, until the dead-lock should be terminated by arrangement between Church and State. The High Church party in England is not likely to maintain a position like this—at least not in the courts of law. The view of Dr. Pusey and his friends seems rather to be that, while the Church did, rightly or wrongly, give in early days a certain supreme or supereminent authority to the king and his courts, it did so in different circumstances from the present. It received, or thought it received, guarantees that the supreme power, though perhaps a secular power in itself, should always be connected loyally with the Church. These guarantees, under the modern rule of Parliament, have come to nothing, and the alleged duty of the Church now is to strive for the independence which it has unfortunately lost. The position of the Kirk in Scotland was that its original independence, as guaranteed by ancient statutes, had never been lost. The position may have been right or wrong, but it made an enormous difference in the demerit of individual resistance and disobedience to the new (or newly declared) law.

2. A second equally important distinction is this. Mr. Tooth and the Scotch divines equally disobeyed the law. But in Scotland the refusal to obey was with the approval, and indeed under the express authority, of the Church. When the Perthshire Presbytery were threatened with imprisonment at the bar of the Edinburgh Court, their answer was, "We acted in obedience to the superior Church judicatories, to which, in matters spiritual, we are subordinate, and to which, at ordination, we vowed obedience." When Dr. Candlish and Dr. Guthrie broke the Strathbogie interdict, they did it under the direct orders of the Commission of the General Assembly. And when the Claim of Right of 1842 was laid before Parliament and the Crown, it was issued on behalf of the Church of Scotland by the General Assembly of that Church, gathering up the principles which, during a ten years' struggle, it had affirmed and inculcated upon its whole presbyteries and ministers, in response to those which were laid down for it by a majority of the court. The relation of the General Assembly of the Scotch Kirk to its ministers is not at all *more* authoritative, to say the least, than that of the bishop (especially on a High Church view of Episcopalianism) to the clergyman in his diocese. But Mr. Tooth is in this matter against his bishop, and therefore against his Church in so far as a bishop may represent it to a clergyman. And it is not supposed that the Bishop of Rochester occupies in this matter any exceptional position, or that the bishops in general are much more favourable than he to the claim made to be independent of the courts which at present adjudicate for the Church of England. Now this point of difference between Scotland and England is by no means to be confounded with the last. The original

constitution of the Church is one thing: its present and active authority another. Some High Churchmen maintain, with great courage and ability, that the Church of England never, at the Reformation or at any other time, gave up its independence into the hand of the State, or consented to the supremacy of statute or of secular tribunals. It is hard enough to maintain that as a matter of history and of antiquarianism. But it would be another and a more hopeless position to maintain at present that the Church, whether or not in 1530 it formally abandoned such rights, now positively claims them on behalf of its clergy, and interposes its authority between its ministers and the courts of law. The history of the Scottish Church has been such as to illustrate both positions. In the last century, while never formally abandoning its ancient Claim of Right, it practically lent itself to the usurpations of civil statute, and forced its own members to submit also. Many refused, and seceded not only from the State, but from the majority of the Church, protesting that they were really the party who adhered to its principles. In the year 1833 the case had wholly changed. The initiative in this case was taken by the General Assembly. The collision with the law followed directly upon regulations which it passed for carrying out what it held to be a "fundamental law" of the Church; and the actings of particular ministers and judicatories were not only founded upon this precedent, but were sustained and approved by general proclamations and particular orders issued from time to time by the Supreme Ecclesiastical Court. On the whole matter of Church authority the English case and the Scotch cases present not only a difference, but a contrast.

3. The third great point of difference is perhaps the most interesting, for it deals with the future policy as well as the present facts. Disobedience to the law in certain cases was preached as a right and duty of conscience. But it was never asserted as a permanent right on the part of an Established Church of Scotland. It was presented as an unfortunate temporary or intermediate necessity, justified by the fact that matters were in a revolutionary state and approaching a crisis. Some of Mr. Tooth's sympathizers and supporters seem rather to regard refusal to obey as the proper and regular means of remedying wrongs of administration which trench on Church rights. They contemplate a relation of the State to the Church which may almost be defined as despotism tempered by martyrdoms. The Kirk has also had its martyrdoms, but it has never allowed itself to regard despotism, even thus tempered, as a constitution under which it was admissible for it to exist. On the other hand, the Church's claim to independence of the State implied a capacity to exist in separation from the State, and that capacity of course carried with it a duty to separate from the State if a necessity in conscience should

arise. Disestablishment thus became for a Church the test in the last resort of spiritual independence. It was bound to be independent, if it could, even as an Established Church, and in connection with the State: but if that was impossible, it was bound to separate. And plainly, such a theory and constitution involved a duty on the part of the Church to its members. It could not suffer them to be brought one after another into collision with the law while it took no responsibility—least of all when the collision and suffering were produced by their individually asserting the rights of the Church as a whole. Matters must be brought to a point, and the whole question of independence in establishment finally decided. Accordingly, as early as 1838, the General Assembly, in response to declarations from the Bench that Parliament was the temporal Head of the Church, issued a “Declaration of Independence,” in which it pledged itself to its members to maintain its endangered rights. Now this was before any individual case of conflict or collision had occurred—before any interdict and any disobedience. Consequently every particular case as it came up afterwards was viewed as a branch of an already declared conflict between the Church and State (if the State should adopt the view laid down in its courts), and as an incident in a rapidly converging crisis. And in consequence of this no one thought of seceding from the Church, as in the previous century, or of the conflict terminating otherwise than by a settlement of the whole constitutional question. And that constitutional question was fast ripened by both parties. The Bench devoted themselves to it in a series of broadening judgments, prepared with the greatest deliberation and delivered with the greatest solemnity. The Church and its assemblies pleaded before them till the House of Lords, the Supreme Court of Appeal, rejected and violently resented their persistence. But when this was done, were they not bound to leave the Establishment? By no means, on Scotch principles. The question was a question between the Church and the State, not simply between the Church and the courts. The latter indeed did a great deal to precipitate the inevitable conclusion. President Hope, the head of the Supreme Court, had already said from the bench:—

“I wish to speak with all respect of the General Assembly, of which body I was for so long a period a member; but if any other body of men, or if any individuals had done what they have done, I should feel constrained to designate their conduct as profligate. The Presbytery of Auchterarder came to this court and pleaded here. Judgment went against them. The General Assembly sanctioned and directed an appeal to the House of Lords. . . . But the decision of the House of Lords affirmed the decision of this court, and then these same Church courts absolutely refuse to give obedience to the judgment. To conduct like this I have already given its appropriate designation. In point of candour and fairness it is no better than the old shuffle, ‘Odds I win, evens you lose.’”

The lash of these words fell upon some men who were making preparations to lose their benefices rather than comply with them, and upon others who were preparing to submit. But from the first the former class had contemplated that this was a question which could not be settled merely by the House of Lords or the Law Courts. These organs of the State had indeed pronounced decisions which both they and the Church recognised as founded upon a denial of its independence. But the State itself—the Legislature and the Crown—might choose to reverse these decisions. It might affirm that independence of the Church which its courts had denied—might do so, either by a declaratory statute as to the past, or by an enacting statute as to the future. In any case the Scotch Church held that in such a matter it could only transact with the supreme power of the State: accordingly the claim, declaration, and protest of the Church of Scotland, moved by Dr. Chalmers, was adopted by the Assembly. After an historical and argumentative preamble, it makes the following “Claim of Right:”—

“Therefore the General Assembly, while, as above set forth, they fully recognise the absolute jurisdiction of the civil courts in relation to all matters whatsoever of a civil nature, and especially in relation to all the temporalities conferred by the State upon the Church, and the civil consequences attached by law to the decisions, in matters spiritual, of the Church courts, do, in name and on behalf of this Church and of the nation and people of Scotland, and under the sanction of the several statutes and the Treaty of Union hereinbefore recited, claim, as of right, that she shall freely possess and enjoy her liberties, government, discipline, rights, and privileges according to law, especially for the defence of the spiritual liberties of her people; and that she shall be protected therein from the foresaid unconstitutional and illegal encroachments of the said Court of Session, and her people secured in their Christian and constitutional rights and liberties.

“And they declare that they cannot, in accordance with the Word of God, the authorized and ratified standards of this Church, and the dictates of their consciences, intrude ministers on reclaiming congregations, or carry on the government of Christ’s Church subject to the coercion attempted by the Court of Session as before set forth; and that, at the risk and hazard of suffering the loss of the secular benefits conferred by the State and the public advantages of an Establishment, they must, as by God’s grace they will, refuse so to do; for, highly as they estimate these, they cannot put them in competition with the inalienable liberties of a church of Christ.”

This document was at once laid before the Crown, through her Majesty’s ministers, and brought under the consideration of both Houses of Parliament. A shower of interdicts was in the meantime issued, but the duty of refusal to obey them, while the question of remaining in establishment was being decided, was of course plainer than before. But all hope of relief rapidly passed away. Sir Robert Peel had been placed in power by a Conservative reaction, and when pressed for some measure of immediate relief, he intimated that this

was precisely what must not be granted, and that all measures of relief must be postponed until the Church had first submitted, and so settled the constitutional question. The House of Lords and House of Commons took the same view. A letter from the Secretary of State confirmed it on the part of the Crown. The Assembly of 1843 drew on. Dr. Chalmers commenced his great sustentation-fund enterprise. All over Scotland, Church organization succeeded to polemics. The crisis came on the 18th May. The Royal Commissioner on that day had taken his seat on the throne. The Moderator of the last assembly turned to the Queen's representative, and protesting that no free assembly could, under present circumstances, be held (many ministers recognised by the Church having been forbidden by the court to take their seats), departed, with Scotland looking on. The central paragraph of the document thus left in his Grace's hands brings out more clearly than anything else the interim character of the disobedience of the Church :—

“Considering that, while heretofore, as members of church judicatories ratified by law and recognised by the constitution of the kingdom, we held ourselves entitled and bound to exercise and maintain the jurisdiction vested in these judicatories with the sanction of the constitution, notwithstanding the decrees as to matters spiritual and ecclesiastical of the civil courts, because we could not see that the State had required submission thereto as a condition of the Establishment, but on the contrary, were satisfied that the State by the Acts of the Parliament of Scotland, for ever and unalterably secured to this nation by the Treaty of Union, had repudiated any power in the civil courts to pronounce such decrees,

“We are now constrained to acknowledge it to be the mind and will of the State, as recently declared, that such submission should and does form a condition of the Establishment and of the possession of the benefits thereof; and that as we cannot, without committing what we believe to be sin—in opposition to God's law—in disregard of the honour and authority of Christ's crown, and in violation of our own solemn vows, comply with this condition, we cannot in conscience continue connected with it and retain the benefits of an establishment to which such condition is attached,” &c.

Here, then, is a third and very striking characteristic of the disobedience of the Scottish Churchmen—its relation to the question of Establishment.

What, then, would the party of independence in the Church of England have to do, in order to put themselves in the same position as the Scottish Kirk of 1843?

1. They would have to show that in the establishment of the Church of England there was a repudiation by the Crown of supremacy in ecclesiastical causes; and that (following upon this) there had been an exercise of jurisdiction by purely spiritual courts elected by the Church, such as to convince nearly half of Westminster Hall that these authorities were equal to and independent

of the courts of the Crown, each being conclusive in its own sphere. All this as a matter of history and constitutionalism.¹

2. They would have to get Convocation (probably both Houses of it), or some other ecclesiastical body acknowledged authoritatively to represent the Church of England, to affirm the independent government of the Church by itself or by its bishops, or other purely ecclesiastical functionaries, and to call upon all the clergy and lay members of the Church to maintain that independent government against any encroachment by the courts of the Crown.

3. They would then have, like Mr. Tooth, to disobey the mandates of the court—not merely of the Court of Arches, but of the Queen in Council, or the Supreme Court of Judicature—and that upon the ground of distinct enactments, passed by Convocation or issued by the bishop, professing in these things ecclesiastical to supersede all orders of a secular court.

4. After the question of jurisdiction had been settled against them in all the courts (upon a far more elaborate discussion of the fundamental conditions of establishment than has yet taken place in England), the Church, or Convocation for it, would have to make a final claim and protest to the Crown and the Legislature, demanding that its independence be respected, and otherwise pledging its members to abandon the Establishment.

5. At this and every stage of the contest, the Church of England would have to proclaim loudly a distinction between its benefices, emoluments, and temporalities of all kinds on the one hand, and its internal self-government on the other—admitting that the former, in Hatcham or throughout England, fell rightfully to be disposed of (justly or unjustly) by the State, while the latter pertained, with equally exclusive right, to the Church and its organs. The former they would still claim as their own, but would be ready to yield to the control of the civil court as a court of competent authority. Any attempt to interfere with the latter they would resist as incompetent, and would avoid by self-disestablishment.

It is a tremendous programme; and of course some things in it are in England historically impossible or now past praying for. Still, *mutatis mutandis*, there is upon its surface nothing with which organized courage and heroism might not cope. The difficulties lie below, between the lines and under the words which both religious

(1) Readers are entitled to put the question to a lawyer who reports such views:—Do you believe that the Church of Scotland was originally established on this footing? I remain of the opinion I expressed ten years ago, that it is a very doubtful question. The Scottish State never clearly committed itself to the Church's independence, and until the extraordinarily exhaustive discussion of 1843, the decision of the question so left open had been for centuries avoided.—("Law of Creeds in Scotland," Edinburgh, 1867.) What the view of the Church, on the other hand, was, and was authoritatively, from the earliest times, seems to me to admit of no doubt.

communities use to express their ideas. These ideas are not always the same. The "spirituality" of the English law has no exact counterpart in Scotland. The *spiritualia* of a Scotch Church, meaning the whole world of its functions as a religious society, is strange to English ears. But the great underlying difference between the two parties is in their use of the word and idea, Church. The independence of the Church in England has often been asserted, and has sometimes been claimed, as meaning the independence of the clergy as an order. But in Scotland the *Church* consists of all its members—a whole nation of laymen, governed in each congregation by a court composed of half-a-dozen laymen and one minister, and governed as a religious whole by Presbyteries and a General Assembly containing an equal number of both classes. And according to the complete practice of the party whose claim to independence we have considered, both the lay governors, or "elders," and the "ministers" are chosen by the mass of the Christian people. Theoretically therefore it is a self-governed lay society, claiming no doubt to be divinely instituted; while practically an enormous share of the power resides in the order, also held to be divinely instituted, of the ministry. But the whole organization forms a popular machine of extraordinary elasticity and energy. Can the Church Union fall back upon any similar organization or theory? No doubt Anglo-Catholicism claims the aid of the laity in various ways, and it specially affects the working man; while Catholicism in the West of Europe has been a marvel of organization. But our cold, slow, enthusiastic Northern race has not yet been tried from that side. We, too, are capable of Church enthusiasm, and of Church independence. Scotland is the proof of both. But these attainments have hitherto existed only on a basis of religious individuality strongly opposed to sacerdotalism. It is just possible that the attempt to transfer the passion for Church independence from Puritan Scotland to Ritualistic England may fail, not so much from difference of race as from some secret incompatibility of principle.

In any case, *fas est et ab hoste*. High Churchmen have of late frequently quoted the Scottish precedent of 1843, and it is well to understand what it is founded upon. It may be discouraging, or it may be inspiring, but it is at all events not un instructive.

ALEXANDER TAYLOR INNES.

HOME AND FOREIGN AFFAIRS.

THE movement of the Russian forces into the Principalities, accompanying the Imperial Manifesto and the Chancellor's Circular, though for so long seen to be inevitable, has sent a curious thrill through the country, now that it has at last really taken place. For a moment it was a sense of relief from the suspense of so many months; but we already find that the suspense of a straining peace is replaced by a direr suspense in actual war. If it had happened in August or September last, the feeling in England would have been one of very general, if not universal satisfaction. Unfortunately intense passion is as little to be trusted in masses of men, as it is in the average individual. The mood of the autumn was thoroughly right in its direction, but it was not sufficiently supported, as it is well capable of being, by a deliberate survey of the whole range of facts, of which the barbarities in Bulgaria were only an illustration. It is of little avail now to waste time in useless recriminations, or else we might perhaps ask how it is that the Liberal leaders in the Commons have not made an opportunity since the session began, of placing the whole case against Turkey in all its strength and breadth before the country. It was surely their business to find an expression in reason and policy for the attitude which was at first due to humane emotion. However, the time has gone by, and the chance is lost. The return of a ministerial candidate at Salford has frightened out of the front bench of the Opposition whatever inclination might have remained there, to place on the fullest and widest record an intelligible justification for the final abandonment of the old policy of Turkish aid and defence. As it is, no one can look at the prospect without the gravest anxiety. For the moment we have no doubt that the acquiescence of the country in the policy of the ministry is due to an assumption, that that policy means peace and non-intervention on the part of England. For the moment, the ideas of the time of the Crimean War are discredited. One or two journalists and public men, whose bias and rancour are too evident for their judgment to carry any weight, venture boldly to talk about repeating at once the Crimean policy. But it is impossible not to see the danger. The Ministry is strong in the country by the very virtue of its containing two semi-antagonistic sections. The presence of Lord Salisbury and Lord Carnarvon gives a certain confidence to those who think only of better government in the Turkish provinces. The tenacity of Lord Beaconsfield and the language of Mr. Hardy give a certain confidence to those who are sincerely and honestly alarmed at the alleged designs of Russia, as well as to those who have simply worked themselves up into a blind malignant frenzy in favour of Turkey. But the strength of the ministry as a whole turns to the profit of the anti-Russian part of it, because the latter are likely to have in their favour the vague pugnacity which is always stirred in this country by the spectacle of combat. The government is not at all likely to plunge us into war openly and immediately. The popular

feeling must be nearly unanimous to embolden any ministry in England to take such a course. But there are indirect ways of bringing us, before we have had time to know it, into antagonism to Russia. It is easy to see how readily the situation lends itself to the aims of those who are bent upon once more dragging us, by-and-by if not to-day, into a conflict on behalf of the same government for which we sacrificed men and money twenty years ago. Mr. Bright's position that the destiny of Turkey is no affair of ours, has again—it is not too much to say—been rejected by the nation almost as decisively in 1877 as it was in 1854, though as yet less emphatically. Mr. Gladstone's position is capable of easy misrepresentation, and it is commonly misrepresented. He has never avowed himself really any more a partisan of Russia than of Turkey; his censure of the ministry has turned, and justly, on the persistency with which they played the Russian game, and made it impossible for Russia to do otherwise than figure and act as the champion of humanity in South-Eastern Europe. But such a position now no longer hits the centre of public interest. The question for the immediate time is how the shifts and turns of the war will affect English sentiment. Mr. Hardy's vociferously applauded appeals to British interests point to where the dangerous point of the situation lies. If we could only be sure that no action would take place, except in accordance with British interests measured by calm and instructed sense, we should willingly admit that they may be taken in practical politics as the criterion of what we ought to do in presence of a distracting struggle. The peril is lest it should be taken for granted that British interests necessarily demand the continued maintenance of inevitably bad government in Turkey; and that they require that we should take up arms against the Power, that has undertaken a duty to civilisation in which we might have been her colleague, and even her director. There is no folly nor wrong in the history of our foreign policy from the French wars of the Edwards and Henries downwards, for which the cry of British interests was not raised, in one dialect or another. And it is the same in the history of other countries. British interests may mean something in the highest degree substantial and momentous, or they may mean the mere phantom of distinct prejudice. But phantoms are unfortunately real in their power and influences over men's minds, and nothing stirs the bugbears of international jealousy so effectually as the clash of arms.

Here, however, we have to deal with what has happened, rather than with what is to come, and we have to turn to the vain efforts of the past month to avert the catastrophe which has broken out within ten days of these efforts being consummated.

Scarcely had the journals begun to ascribe a "considerable diplomatic success" to Lord Derby, when it was found that the Protocol was an ultimatum, and not a door of retreat. Disappointment has naturally given rise to irritation, and the pro-Turkish newspapers have been quick to denounce the Protocol as an elaborate piece of Russian insincerity. Even Lord Derby, who is nothing if not passionless, has discovered by the querulous tone of his speech in the Lords the extent and bitterness of his

vexation. Lord Derby does well to be angry, but he ought to be angry with himself, not with Russia. Although the whole story of the negotiations has not yet been published, it is clear from the evidence already produced, that Russia played an open hand, and acted in perfect consistency with the views she has all along maintained. The Protocol reduces the irreducible minimum of the Conference, and marks the extreme limit of forbearance. It is only by forgetting the course of events and ignoring the diplomatic steps that led to the Protocol that it becomes possible to put upon it a construction unfavourable to Russian fairness.

The history of the negotiations has been one of deepening shadows, and of ever-widening possibilities of evil. Two years have scarcely elapsed since the first shot was fired in the Herzegovina. When the insurrection spread to Bosnia, and the Christians by thousands passed over into Austria and Servia, it was evident that a crisis had come that would try to the utmost the capacity of our statesmen. From the first unhappily, our Government was slow to appreciate the gravity of the situation. The consuls of the Powers were sent to the insurgent chiefs to tell them that Europe could give them no help, and thereby "to make them understand the hopelessness of engaging in a contest with the imperial troops." The irony of events is now stamped on the caution given to the consuls to "take the greatest pains to avoid everything that might have the appearance of united action." The advice of the consuls was not taken, and some of them narrowly escaped being murdered through the treachery of the Turks. Then came the Andrassy Note, which established the European concert. But this also failed to induce the insurgents to give up their arms; they refused to "trust to the mere promise of the Porte, which he has never been known to keep." "Unless Europe would guarantee their safety from the Agas and the authorities, and that the reforms promised would really be carried out, they dared not and would not lay down their arms." These fears the Porte hastened to justify. A few Christians returned, and were murdered by the Turks. Sir H. Elliot called upon the Porte to bring the murderers to justice, but, of course, nothing was done.

The failure of the Andrassy Note led to the Berlin Memorandum. It proposed "efficacious measures" to protect the Christians, but it destroyed the European concert. It was too strong for Lord Derby. He was quite ready to administer sermons or homilies to the Porte, but he would take no step that might lead to a practical application of his precepts. It required the Servian war and the imminence of a war between Turkey and Russia to revive the activity of the foreign secretary. The Conference assembled, and a step forward was taken. The European concert and the principle of external guarantees were combined. The Sultan repudiated both. The secret of his courage is not far to seek. He did not believe in the European concert, he believed the Powers were more afraid of each other than desirous of punishing him; in a word, he thought that the same jealousies and divisions among the Christian Powers which first allowed the crescent to be planted in Europe, still existed and promised him a long lease of power. Mr. Layard is at this moment reported to be

repeating the old counsels and remonstrances with new severity, but behind the words the Sultan still discerns what he has always discerned.

The failure of the Conference did not settle the Eastern Question. The refugees from Bosnia and Herzegovina did not return, peace was not made with Montenegro, the memory of Turkish crime in Bulgaria was still fresh. It was, therefore, expected on all hands that Russia would take the initiative in calling the attention of the European Cabinets to the situation. On the 5th of February the Russian Circular reached England. The foreign secretary characteristically decided not to answer the Circular "until events should have developed themselves." But on the 13th of March he received from the Russian Ambassador, in the form of a Protocol, the answer that Russia wished to obtain, and so moderate were its terms, that the English Cabinet at once accepted it in principle. It was hoped by means of the Protocol, to keep alive the European concert, and to prevent the Eastern Question from degenerating into a duel between Russia and Turkey. Nor did Russia for a moment conceal the advantages she proposed to gain by the Protocol. On the same day on which the suggestion of a Protocol was first communicated, Lord Derby was put in possession of the object of Russia. "After the sacrifices which Russia had imposed upon herself, the stagnation of her industry and of her commerce, and the enormous expenditure incurred by the mobilization of five hundred thousand men, she could not retire nor send back her troops without having obtained some tangible results in regard to the improvement of the condition of the Christian population of Turkey. The Emperor was sincerely desirous of peace, but not of peace at any price." We cannot but think that Lord Derby in the debate in the Lords forgot this statement, and was thus led to misrepresent the attitude of the Russian Government, when he said that they "came and told us that they wanted an *excuse* for disarmament." It is quite clear from Lord Derby's memory of his conversation with the Russian Ambassador, written at the time, that he confounded the attitude of Russia with his own. Russia from the first insisted upon some "tangible results in the better government of the Christians," as the condition of her demobilization; there is nothing to show that she went to the Courts of Europe for a form of sound words, as a pretext to betray the cause which, at so heavy a cost to herself, she had espoused.

* The Protocol in its final shape certainly exhibits the demands of Russia reduced to the extreme point of tenuity. It recites that the Signatory Powers "have undertaken in common the pacification of the East," and affirms afresh "the common interest which they take in the improvement of the condition of the Christian population of Turkey." It informs Turkey that "as regards Montenegro, the Powers consider the rectification of the frontiers and the free navigation of the Borana to be desirable." It invites the Porte to replace its armies on a peace footing, and to put in hand, with the least possible delay, the reforms necessary for the tranquillity and well-being of the Provinces. The only practical step proposed to be taken was to watch carefully by the ambassadors at Constantinople and the local agents the manner in which the Porte carried out its promises.

Finally, if the old disturbances should recur, the Protocol declares that such a state of affairs would be incompatible with the interests of Europe. This is in effect to say that Turkey is a common danger in Europe, but that she is to have one more chance, subject to consular supervision. It asserts a present right of inspection, and it holds over the Porte a vague threat of future interference. This vagueness, as might be expected, constituted the charm of the Protocol in Lord Derby's eyes. The Protocol, he assures us, was a mere nothing; all it means is "that if certain things were not done by the Turkish government—we being the judges of whether they were done or not, then at some time which was not fixed, we being the judges as to when that time had arrived—we should consider with certain other powers and say what we should then do." But though Lord Derby exults in thinking that the Protocol binds us to nothing, and elaborately exhausts the possibilities of emptiness, still lest perchance there should be something in it, he takes care to provide against the shadow of such a danger by annexing to the Protocol a condition that has made it void. It is to be binding only if Turkey and Russia agree to demobilize. Lord Derby states "that effective improvement in the condition of the Christian population is unanimously called for as indispensable to the tranquillity of Europe;" but he adds that he must not be held committed to that proposition unless Turkey is pleased to demobilize. There is a masterly inconsequence in the English declaration appended to the Protocol.

In truth, however, the Protocol is hardly so inane as Lord Derby appears to consider it. It was signed with full knowledge of the Russian Declaration. It gives another day of grace to Turkey, but Russia declares that this must be dependent on two conditions. Turkey must make peace with Montenegro, and send a special envoy to St. Petersburg to treat of disarmament. This step is to be taken as an assurance that the Porte accepts the advice of Europe, and is ready seriously to undertake the reforms mentioned in the Protocol. Nothing but a fanatical antipathy to Russia could represent these conditions as hard. The Powers of Europe unite to urge the Porte to concede new territory to Montenegro. Even Consul Holmes—the man whom the Porte delights to honour—long ago advised the Porte to concede the seaport of Spitz and certain districts on the frontier, on the express ground that "the cession of these districts would certainly be no real loss to Turkey." The other condition—the sending a special envoy—is as light as the circumstances of the case allow. The naked promise of the Porte is admitted to be worthless as a guarantee of reform. Without some guarantee the refugees will not return, and the pacification of Bosnia and the Herzegovina thus becomes impossible. Russia, however, does not insist upon the external guarantees recommended by the Conference; but she will be content with an act unequivocally attesting the sincerity of the Porte in its acceptance of the Protocol. The presence of a Turkish envoy at St. Petersburg would scarcely have been such "a tangible result in the improvement of the Christian population" as the Russian government desiderated, to justify it in scattering the vast army which after so many sacrifices it had assembled on the

frontiers of the Empire; but it would have been an earnest of better days for the provinces desolated by the Turks. Of course it would have been a humiliation for Turkey. It would have been a plea of guilty to the indictment brought by the European Conference against Turkey. It would have been a sign of repentance and a pledge of reform. It would, moreover, have shown that the Porte comprehends the conditions upon which alone the Ottoman power can be prolonged in Europe; and it would have enabled the Czar to disband his armies without betraying his people, and to give peace without surrendering the Christian subjects of the Porte to ruin and despair.

Too much attention has been given to the movements of Russia, and too little to the manner in which the Porte received not merely the conditions specified by Russia, but the vacuous Protocol, which, Lord Derby says, contained nothing "to which the Porte could reasonably object." Lord Derby repeated the old error, which has vitiated the entire course of the negotiations. He was thinking only how to thwart Russia, and he was checkmated by Turkey. Turkey has thrown back the Protocol in the teeth of the Powers. The document which Lord Derby flattered himself he had reduced to utter emptiness, is repelled by the Porte as an insolent aggression. Surely this ought to be a lesson to all who are not incapable of learning by experience. Europe has met in solemn conclave, and has heard the cry of the wronged peasants of Bosnia and Herzegovina; even England, the old friend of Turkey, has been moved to demand the punishment of the ruffians who desolated Bulgaria; the world is sick of the cruelties and misgovernment of the Turkish power. But of all this Turkey admits nothing. She absolutely refuses to confess that anything has been wrong in Bosnia, Herzegovina, or even in Bulgaria; she has the coolness to say that "Europe is convinced that the disturbances which have troubled the peace of the Provinces were due to foreign instigation," and "that the Imperial Government would not be held responsible for them." She ingenuously affirms that "the Imperial Government, in fact, is not aware how it can have deserved so ill of justice and civilisation;" and, therefore, "Turkey, in its quality as an independent state, could not acknowledge herself as being placed under any supervision, collective or otherwise." So far from sitting on the stool of repentance, the Porte mounts the pulpit and rates the Powers in a style which we hope they appreciate. "What indeed cannot be sufficiently regretted, is the small regard in which the Powers seem to hold both the great principles of equality and justice—the sway of which the Imperial Government has endeavoured to assure in its internal administration—and its right of independence and sovereignty." This is a specimen of "the indomitable pluck" which has won the heart of the first Lord of the Admiralty, and of that courage which "is one of the highest qualities a man could possibly show." The reply of the Porte comes at an opportune moment. People were beginning to think that the terrible experience of the last two years could not have gone for nothing, and that the golden promise of a new constitution might ripen into the fruit of decently good government. But the reply of the Porte shows that the Turks are now, as of old, inaccessible to evidence and the teachings of

experience. If the declaration of Russia attached to the Protocol required a justification, Turkey has been swift to supply it.

To complete the discomfiture of the Powers, the Turkish government makes free use of some very respectable phrases of international law. This is scarcely surprising when we remember the strange doctrines that are advocated by the sympathisers of the Porte in this country. Thus we are told by one authority that for any State to attempt to succour the Christian subjects of the Porte in Europe from the hordes of marauding Asiatics brought across to crush them, is "a contempt for international law and morality." Another lays down the axiom that "a State has no right to go to war unless its own interests are positively and directly injured." In this view the war of France against Austria for the liberation of Italy was most wicked, unless perhaps it may have been redeemed by the appropriation of Savoy and Nice. It is an odd travesty of the maxims of international morality to hold a war to be wicked if undertaken from a generous and disinterested motive, but to be sanctified by a purely selfish purpose. And surely of all cases in which to apply such a notion the strangest is that where the power attacked is, by the common consent of Europe, excluded from the rank of truly independent sovereign States. It is too systematically forgotten that Turkey does not possess independent sovereignty in the same sense as England, or France, or Russia, or any other civilised State in Europe or America. Turkey belongs to the same class as China, Japan, and the other semi-civilised States in which the right of internationality is rigorously maintained for Europeans. The essence of independent sovereignty is complete power over all the persons found within the territories of the sovereign. A Frenchman in England is subject to English law and to English tribunals. In like manner an Englishman leaving his own country to travel in Europe, comes under the law of each country through which he passes, until he comes to the Ottoman dominions. But the moment he enters Turkish territory he relapses under the law of his own country, and not under Turkish law. The feeblest State in Europe does not permit the meanest of her subjects to be exposed to the scourge which in Turkey takes the place of law and justice. Every Englishman, Frenchman, American, or Italian in Turkey carries with him the law of his own country, is subject to the jurisdiction only of his own consul, and owes not even a temporary allegiance to the Sultan. But for this how could a civilised European venture with his family into Turkish territory, or have the courage to entrust even himself to the impartiality of Turkish judges and the hired perjury of Mahometan witnesses? Why is it that the journals who resent any interference with the Sultan's prerogatives of abusing his Christian subjects, as a violation of his sovereign independence, do not prove their sincerity by asking their own government to abandon the capitulations and treaties which put Turkey on a level with the Chinese? It is evident that Turkey is not, and cannot be, an independent sovereign State in the same sense as the other European Powers, and to pretend that it is what it can never be, is to foster a mischievous delusion. The Turks have shown themselves apt pupils in taking the benefit of doctrines, which apply only to civilised States

capable of performing the duties that justify the exertion of sovereign rights.

The Protocol, however, belongs to the past, and our interest in it has already given way to anxiety as to the future. What will Russia do? How will she use the victory, which, it seems certain, is within her grasp? The uncertainty that must exist on this point shows us what we have lost by the destruction of the European concert. England agreed to a concert of words, but not of action. Every step that Russia takes will be watched by severe and jealous critics. But there is no occasion for alarm. Russia starts well. She moves forward in obedience to a profound national sympathy with the oppressed Slavs of Turkey. It is incredible that the Czar should have made up his mind to seize Constantinople. That would be to weaken his empire, and place Russia at the mercy of Germany, which as Fadœeff showed long ago could at any moment cut her in two. Meanwhile it is well to recall that Russia has been in Roumelia before. In 1829 she dictated a treaty from Adrianople; and her interference there is remembered by the emancipation of Greece. It is instructive to compare the language of the fanatical anti-Russians of the present day, with the comments of the Duke of Wellington on the events of 1829. "There is no doubt," he says, "it would have been more fortunate and better for the world if the treaty of peace [at Adrianople] had not been signed, and if the Russians had entered Constantinople, and if the Turkish Empire had been dissolved." This was written at the time the events occurred; and yet the Duke of Wellington was far from thinking that the right heir to Constantinople was Russia. "My opinion is," he said, "that the power which has Constantinople, and the Bosphorus, and the Dardanelles, ought to possess the mouth of the Danube; and that the sovereign of these two ought not to have the Crimea and the Russian Empire. We must reconstruct a Greek Empire . . . and no Power in Europe ought to take anything for herself, excepting the Emperor of Russia a sum for his expenses." If Greece were capable of rising to the height of the occasion, and putting more faith in the sword than in diplomatic promises, all might be well. The wave of Russian invasion may retire, leaving behind it a Byzantine kingdom on the Bosphorus and a South Slavonian Confederation on the Danube.

Amid the intense excitement of diplomatic negotiations on which such tremendous issues seemed to hang, and which changed their aspect from day to day with the vividness of a kaleidoscope, the nation half forgot to take an interest in the annual statement of its own money affairs. People felt a moderate curiosity as to whether the Chancellor of the Exchequer would increase the spirit duties, or raise the income-tax from threepence in the pound to fourpence. And when, after all, it appeared that the Chancellor was going to leave both spirit duties and income-tax where they were, the sigh of public gratitude and relief was hardly more than languid. There had been a rather general expectation of a deficit; it was therefore an agreeable surprise to find that we had really received nearly half a million (440,000*l.*) more than we spent in the financial year, 1876-7.

Assuming, then, that the outlay for the current year is not to be in excess of last year, and that the income of 1877 does not fall more than a certain small and measurable* sum below the income of 1876, then we shall again find ourselves with a modest excess of receipts over expenditure. The Chancellor estimates that we shall receive in 1877-8 the sum of 79,020,000*l.*, and that we shall spend 78,794,000*l.*, and if this anticipation be realised, he will next spring have 226,000*l.* to the good. It is the business of an Opposition to oppose, and the line of criticism adopted by Mr. Goschen and others is that the estimates of revenue are too sanguine. They point out that trade is severely depressed in almost every branch, and that the rate of falling off in the last two quarters of the financial year has been greater than is assumed for next year, and that we ought to look forward to a progressively increasing decline. This is a perfectly fair warning so far as it goes, but, on the other hand, the Chancellor of the Exchequer seems justified in his reply:—"We have now found that, notwithstanding the same kind of apprehensive croaking last year, yet the estimates of the Revenue department have come true. It is quite reasonable, therefore, that we should again take the word of gentlemen of whose caution, accuracy, and foresight we have just had such good experience."

We have heard less this year than usual in the way of remonstrance against the amount of the annual expenditure. We have not heard repeated the memorable sentence of an illustrious statesman, that it is a scandal and a disgrace to any government not to be able to carry on the administration of the country for less than seventy millions a year. Yet we are now not only at nothing less than seventy millions, but at a figure which just falls short of eighty millions. The truth is that there is not, and cannot be, a fixed and eternal limit beyond which the national outlay ought never under any circumstances to go. For one thing, we cannot remember too steadily that of our seventy-eight millions and three quarters, nearly thirty-two and a half millions are not expenditure at all in the ordinary sense. That is to say, twenty-eight millions are interest on debt with which our forefathers encumbered the national estates, and four millions and a half are the outlay necessary for carrying on the business of postal and telegraphic service,—a business on which the gross return is something like seven millions and a half. What the administration of the country therefore really costs is no more than forty-six millions, and perhaps of this a million ought to be set down to Indian account. But apart from such considerations as these, we contend that the national outlay must necessarily be expected to go up, as our population increases, as our standards of popular well-being are gradually raised, and as the field of state co-operation in social improvement is gradually widened. Take education, for example. In days when Retrenchment was an element in the triple motto of the Liberal Party, the sum annually devoted to this great object did not exceed a few thousand pounds. Yet nobody, except a stubborn little remnant of veterans of the days of cries that are now worn out and issues that are now exhausted, believes that the educational charges on the Consolidated Fund represent anything but a most wise and beneficent investment of public money. In the old days Retrenchment was a most just demand, because it meant cutting down

a quantity of offices that were superfluous and jobbed. We do not mean that all has been done that can be done in this direction, or that every pound of Sir Stafford Northcote's seventy-eight millions and three quarters is put to the best imaginable use. It is not likely that in an account of this magnitude there is no element of waste. But then this is for the specialists in each branch of the public service to find out, and to insist upon having set right. What we contend is, that the total outlay is not likely to diminish and ought not to diminish. What the nation wants—and this is more true than ever since the governing portion of the nation was increased by the legislation of 1867—is not that the expenditure shall be grudging and churlish, but that it shall be devoted to good uses, and that we get money's worth for our money. Of this the defeat of the economising party at the last election of the London School Board was a remarkable illustration. We believe that there is a generally spreading conviction that—as Mr. Chamberlain said in his vigorous and well-considered speech on Local Loans (April 23)—public indebtedness is a matter of congratulation, because it is not a debt in the ordinary sense of the word, but an investment of the whole community, returning large dividends in the shape of the health, happiness, comfort, and intelligence of the whole population.

April 25, 1877.

BOOKS OF THE MONTH.

Short Studies on Great Subjects. Third Series. By JAMES ANTHONY FROUDE. Longmans.

Contains an historical sketch of the abbey of St. Albans, and an essay on "the revival of Romanism," reprinted from American periodicals; with a disquisition on the deification of the Roman emperors, and notes of travel in South Africa not hitherto published. The remainder of the contents have mostly appeared in English magazines.

University Life in Ancient Athens, being the Substance of Four Oxford Lectures. By W. W. CAPES. Longmans.

Chiefly relating to the Athenian schools from the second to the fourth centuries, A.D.

Peru. Incidents of Travel and Exploration in the Land of the Incas. By E. G. SQUIER. Macmillan.

Principally ethnographical and archæological researches. The author holds Peruvian civilisation to be extremely ancient, and strictly indigenous.

The Cradle of the Blue Nile : a Visit to the Court of King John of Ethiopia. By E. A. DE COSSON. 2 vols. Murray.

Comprises the narrative of a journey from Masowah to Adinā ; a short residence at Kassa's court there ; a sporting excursion to Lake Tsana ; a visit to the ancient capital, Gondar ; and a return across the desert and down the Nile.

Africa and the Brussels Geographical Conference. By EMILE BANNING. Translated by R. H. MAJOR. Low and Marston.

A résumé of recent geographical discoveries in Africa, and an exposition of the project of the King of the Belgians.

The Eastern Question : its Facts and Fallacies. By MALCOLM MACCOLL. Longmans.

Takes by the throat "the circumcised dog."

History of Nepal. Edited by D. WRIGHT. Cambridge University Press.

A translation of a native work, with an introductory sketch by the editor.

The Connexion of the Physical Sciences. By MARY SOMERVILLE. Tenth Edition, corrected and revised by ARABELLA B. BUCKLEY. Murray.

Brought up to the present state of scientific knowledge, and thus substantially a new work.

Lectures on Welsh Philology. By JOHN RHY. Trubner.

With an appendix on early Welsh inscriptions, "the study of which cannot fail to form an era in Welsh Philology."

The Discourses of Epictetus, with the Encheiridion and Fragments. Translated, with notes, a life of Epictetus, and a view of his philosophy, by GEORGE LONG. George Bell and Sons.

Lectures on Poetry. Delivered at Oxford by SIR F. H. DOYLE, Bart. Smith, Elder & Co.

A selection from the author's discourses as Oxford Professor of Poetry, treating of Shakspeare, Scott, and Wordsworth.

Glan Alarch: his Silence and his Song. A Poem. By EMILY PFEIFFER. King & Co.

An epic on the conflict between the Saxons and the Ancient British.

Histoire de Florence. Par M. PERRENS. Tom. 1—3. Hachette; Barthès and Lowell.

Comes down to the time of Dante.

Le Comte de Cavour. Par M. CHARLES DE MAZADE. Plon; Barthès and Lowell.

Indirectly recommending Cavour as a model for French statesmen under present circumstances.

Toussaint Louverture. Par GRAGNOR-LACOSTE. Durand; Barthès and Lowell.

A new biography, founded on family and other unpublished papers.

Correspondance du Comte de Serre (1796—1824). Tom. 5, 6. Vaton; Barthès and Lowell.

A contribution to the political history of France under the Restoration, from a Legitimist point of view.

Placards de Marat, l'Ami du Peuple. Par F. CHEVREMONT. Chez l'auteur; Barthès and Lowell.

The first reprint of these exceedingly rare documents.

L'Attentat de Fieschi. Par MAXIME DU CAMP. Charpentier; Barthès and Lowell.

Considers Fieschi's plot in its connection with the secret societies of the period.

L'Alsace avant 1789. Par J. KRUG-BASSE. Sandoz and Fischbacher; Barthès and Lowell.

Treats especially of the period from the close of the Thirty Years' War to the Revolution.

Lettres d'Auguste Comte à John Stuart Mill. Leroux; Barthès and Lowell.

"For some years we were frequent correspondents, until our correspondence became controversial, and our zeal cooled."—*Mill's Autobiography*, p. 211. Forty-five letters, dating from 1841 to 1846.

La Réforme en Europe et le Salut en France. Par F. LE PLAY. Marne; Barthès and Lowell.

A manifesto of "L'Union de la Paix Sociale," a society formed in hostility to the principles of the revolution of 1789.

Préface au Conclave. Par LOUIS TESTE. Vaton; Barthès and Lowell.
Speculations on the anticipated Papal election.

La ville et l'acropole d'Athènes aux diverses époques. Par EMILE BURNOUR, ancien directeur de l'école d'Athènes. Maisonneuve; Barthès and Lowell.

A full discussion of controverted topographical questions, accompanied by plans.

Renaissance et Réforme. Par D. NISARD. 2 tom. Calmann-Lévy; Barthès and Lowell.

Essays on Erasmus, Sir Thomas More, and Melanchthon, regarded as types of the fusion of religion and culture in their age.

Essai sur la critique d'art. Par A. BOUÛOT. Hachette; Barthès and Lowell.

Essays on the history and method of art criticism, with a study on Raphael as representing the ideal of pictorial art.

Die Romisch-Katholische Kirche im Königreich der Niederlande. Von FREDERICH NIPPOLD. Weigel; Williams and Norgate.

The complement of the author's history of the Dutch Jansenist Church. Nearly half the volume consists of statistics and illustrations of contemporary Catholic sentiment in Holland.

Die Kirche der Thomaschristen. Von Dr. W. GERMANN. Bertelsmann; Williams and Norgate.

An exhaustive history of the Syro-Indian church, by a retired missionary long resident in Malabar.

Franz Déak. Von ANTON CSENGÉRY. *Autorisirte Deutsche Übersetzung* von GUSTAV HEINRICH. Duncker and Humblot; Nutt.

Restricted to an account of Déak's political career.

Friedrich Chopin; sein Leben, seine Werke und Briefe. Von MORITZ KARASOWSKI. 2 Bde. Ries; Nutt.

Copious in details respecting the early part of Chopin's life, but, owing to the destruction of documents, very meagre as concerns his later and more interesting period.



THE
FORTNIGHTLY REVIEW.

No. CXXVI. NEW SERIES.—JUNE 1, 1877.

GEORGE SAND.

THE months go round, and anniversaries return; on the ninth of June George Sand will have been dead just one year. She was born in 1804; she was almost seventy-two years old when she died. She came to Paris after the revolution of 1830, with her *Indiana* written, and began her life of independence, her life of authorship, her life as *George Sand*. She continued at work till she died. For forty-five years she was writing and publishing, and filled Europe with her name.

It seems to me but the other day that I saw her; yet it was in the August of 1846, more than thirty years ago. I saw her in her own Berry, at Nohant, where her childhood and youth were passed, where she returned to live after she became famous, where she died and has now her grave. There must be many who, after reading her books, have felt the same desire which in those days of my youth, in 1846, took me to Nohant—the desire to see the country and the places of which the books that so charmed us were full. Those old provinces of the centre of France, primitive and slumbering—Berry, La Marche, Bourbonnais; those sites and streams in them, of name once so indifferent to us, but to which George Sand gave such a music for our ear—La Châtre, Ste. Sévère, the *Vallée-Noire*, the Indre, the Creuse; how many a reader of George Sand must have desired, as I did, after frequenting them so much in thought, fairly to set eyes upon them. I had been reading *Jeanne*. I made up my mind to go and see Toulx Ste. Croix and Boussac, and the Druidical stones on Mont Barlot, the *Pierres Jaunâtres*. I remember looking out Toulx in Cassini's great map at the Bodleian Library. The railway through the centre of France went in those days no farther than Vierzon. From Vierzon to Châteauroux one travelled by an ordinary diligence, from Châteauroux to La Châtre by a humbler diligence, from La Châtre to Boussac by the humblest diligence of all. At Boussac diligence ended, and *patache* began. Between Châtea-

roux and La Châtre, a mile or two before reaching the latter place, the road passes by the village of Nohant. The Château of Nohant, in which Madame Sand lived, is a plain house by the road-side, with a walled garden. Down in the meadows, not far off, flows the Indre, bordered by trees. I passed Nohant without stopping, at La Châtre I dined and changed diligence, and went on by night up the valley of the Indre, the *Vallée-Noire*, past Ste. Sévère to Boussac. At Ste. Sévère the Indre is quite a small stream. In the darkness we quitted its valley, and when day broke we were in the wilder and barer country of La Marche, with Boussac before us and its high castle on a precipitous rock over the Little Creuse. That day and the next I wandered through a silent country of heathy and ferny *landes*, a region of granite-stones, holly, and broom, of copsewood and great chestnut-trees; a region of broad light, and fresh breezes, and wide horizons. I visited the *Pierres Jaunâtres*. I stood at sunset on the platform of Toulx Ste. Croix, by the scrawled and almost effaced stone lions—a relic, it is said, of the English rule—and gazed on the blue mountains of Auvergne filling the distance, and, south-eastward of them, in a still further and fainter distance, on what seemed to be the mountains over Le-Puy and the high valley of the Loire.

From Boussac I addressed to Madame Sand the sort of letter of which she must in her lifetime have had scores, a letter conveying to her, in bad French, the homage of a youthful and enthusiastic foreigner who had read her works with delight. She received the infliction good-naturedly, for on my return to La Châtre I found a message left at the inn by a servant from Nohant that Madame Sand would be glad to see me if I called. The midday breakfast at Nohant was not yet over when I reached the house, and I found a large party assembled. I entered with some trepidation, as well I might, considering how I had got there; but the simplicity of Madame Sand's manner put me at ease in a moment. She named some of those present; amongst them were her son and daughter, the Maurice and Solange so familiar to us from her books, and Chopin with his wonderful eyes. There was at that time nothing astonishing in Madame Sand's appearance. She was not in man's clothes, she wore a sort of costume not impossible, I should think (although on these matters I speak with hesitation), to members of the fair sex at this hour amongst ourselves, as an out-door dress for the country or for Scotland. She made me sit by her and poured out for me the insipid and depressing beverage, *boisson fade et mélancolique*, as Balzac called it, for which English people are thought abroad to be always thirsting—tea. She conversed of the country through which I had been wandering, of the Berry peasants and their mode of life, of Switzerland whither I was going; she touched politely, by a few questions and remarks, upon England and things and persons English—upon Oxford and Cambridge, Byron, Bulwer. As she

spoke, her eyes, head, bearing, were all of them striking; but the main impression she made was an impression of what I have already mentioned—an impression of *simplicity*, frank, cordial simplicity. After breakfast she led the way into the garden, asked me a few kind questions about myself and my plans, gathered a flower or two and gave them to me, shook hands heartily at the gate, and I saw her no more. In 1859 M. Michelet gave me a letter to her, which would have enabled me to present myself in more regular fashion. Madame Sand was then in Paris. But a day or two passed before I could call, and when I called, Madame Sand had left Paris and gone back to Nohant. The impression of 1846 has remained my single impression of her.

Of her gaze, form, and speech, that one impression is enough; better perhaps than a mixed impression from seeing her at sundry times and after successive changes. But as the first anniversary of her death draws near there arises again a desire which I felt when she died, the desire, not indeed to take a critical survey of her—very far from it. I feel no inclination at all to go regularly through her productions, to classify and value them one by one, to pick out from them what the English public may most like, or to present to that public, for the most part ignorant of George Sand and for the most part indifferent to her, a full history and a judicial estimate of the woman and of her writings. But I desire to recall to my own mind, before the occasion offered by her death passes quite away—to recall and collect the elements of that powerful total impression which, as a writer, she made upon me; to recall and collect them, to bring them distinctly into view, to feel them in all their depth and power once more. What I here attempt is not for the benefit of the indifferent; it is for my own satisfaction, it is for myself. But perhaps those for whom George Sand has been a friend and a power will find an interest in following me.

Yes; and it is *here* that one should speak of her, in this Review, not dominated by the past, not devoted to things established, not over-occupied with theology, but in search of some more free and wide conceptions of human life, and turned towards the future and the unrealised. George Sand felt the poetry of the past, she had no hatreds; the furies, the follies, the self-deceptions of secularist and revolutionist fanatics filled her in her latter years with pity, sometimes with dismay; but still her place is with the party and propaganda of organic change. For any party tied to the past, for any party, even, tied to the present, she is too new, too bold, too uncompromisingly sincere.

Le sentiment de la vie idéale, qui n'est autre que la vie normale telle que nous sommes appelés à la connaître—"the sentiment of the ideal

life, which is none other than man's normal life as we shall one day know it"—those words from one of her last publications give the ruling thought of George Sand, the ground-motive, as they say in music, of all her strain. It is as a personage inspired by this motive that she interests us. The English public conceives of her as of a novel-writer who wrote stories more or less interesting; the earlier ones objectionable and dangerous, the later ones, some of them, unexceptionable and fit to be put into the hands of the youth of both sexes. With such a conception of George Sand, a story of hers like *Consuelo* comes to be elevated in England into quite an undue relative importance, and to pass with very many people for her typical work, displaying all that is really valuable and significant in the author. *Consuelo* is a charming story. But George Sand is something more than a maker of charming stories, and only a portion of her is shown in *Consuelo*. She is more, likewise, than a creator of characters. She has created, with admirable truth to nature, characters most attractive and attaching, such as Edmée, Geneviève, Germain. But she is not adequately expressed by them. We do not know her unless we feel the spirit which goes through her work as a whole. In order to feel this spirit it is not, indeed, necessary to read all that she ever produced. Even three or four only out of her many books might suffice to show her to us, if they were well chosen; let us say, the *Lettres d'un Voyageur*, *Mauprat*, *François le Champi*, and a story which I was glad to see Mr. Myers, in his appreciative notice of Madame Sand, single out for praise—*Valvèdre*. In these may be found all the principal elements of their author's strain: the cry of agony and revolt, the trust in nature and beauty, the aspiration towards a purged and renewed human society. Of George Sand's strain, during forty years, these are the grand elements. Now it is one of them which appears most prominently, now it is another. The cry of agony and revolt is in her earlier work, and passes away in her later. But in the evolution of these three elements—the passion of agony and revolt, the consolation from nature and from beauty, the ideas of social renewal—in the evolution of these is George Sand and George Sand's life and power. Through their evolution her constant motive declares and unfolds itself, that motive which we set forth above: "the sentiment of the ideal life, which is none other, than man's normal life as we shall one day know it." This is the motive and through these elements is its evolution; an evolution pursued, moreover, with the most unfailing resolve, the most absolute sincerity.

The hour of agony and revolt passed away for George Sand, as it passed away for Goethe, as it passes away for their readers likewise. It passes away and does not return; yet those who, amid the agitations, more or less stormy, of their youth, betook themselves to

the early works of George Sand, may in later life cease to read them, indeed, but they can no more forget them than they can forget *Werther*. George Sand speaks somewhere of her "days of *Corinne*." Days of *Valentine*, many of us may in like manner say—days of *Valentine*, days of *Lélia*, days never to return! They are gone, we shall read the books no more, and yet how ineffaceable is their impression! How the sentences from George Sand's works of that period still linger in our memory and haunt the ear with their cadences! Grandiose and moving, they come, those cadences, like the sighing of the wind through the forest, like the breaking of the waves on the sea shore. *Lélia* in her cell on the mountain of the Camaldoli—

"Sibyl, Sibyl forsaken; spirit of the days of old, joined to a brain that rebels against the divine inspiration; broken lyre, mute instrument, whose tones the world of to-day, if it heard them, could not understand, but yet in whose depth the eternal harmony murmurs imprisoned; priestess of death, I, I who feel and know that before now I have been Pythia, have wept before now, before now have spoken, but who cannot recollect, alas, cannot utter the word of healing! Yes, yes; I remember the cavern of truth and the access of revelation; but the word of human destiny, I have forgotten it; but the talisman of deliverance, it is lost from my hand. And yet, indeed, much, much have I seen; and when suffering presses me sore, when indignation takes hold of me, when I feel Prometheus wake up in my heart and beat his puissant wings against the stone which confines him—oh! then, in prey to a frenzy without a name, to a despair without bounds; I invoke the unknown master and friend who might illumine my spirit and set free my tongue; but I grope in darkness, and my tired arms grasp nothing save delusive shadows. And for ten thousand years, as the sole answer to my cries, as the sole comfort in my agony, I hear astir, over this earth accurst, the despairing sob of impotent agony. For ten thousand years I have cried in infinite space, *Truth! Truth!* For ten thousand years infinite space keeps answering me, *Desire, desire.* O Sibyl forsaken! O mute Pythia! dash then thy head against the rocks of thy cavern, and mingle thy raging blood with the foam of the sea! for thou deemest thyself to have possessed the almighty Word, and these ten thousand years thou art seeking him in vain."

Or Sylvia's cry over Jacques by his glacier in the Tyrol—

"When such a man as thou art is born into a world where he can do no true service, when, with the soul of an apostle and the courage of a martyr, he has simply to push his way among the heartless and aimless crowds which vegetate without living, the atmosphere suffocates him and he dies. Hated by sinners, the mock of fools, disliked by the envious, abandoned by the weak, what can he do but return to God, weary with having laboured in vain, in sorrow at having accomplished nothing? The world remains in all its vileness and in all its hatefulness; this is what men call, 'the triumph of good sense over enthusiasm.'"

Or Jacques himself, and his doctrine—

"Life is arid and terrible, repose is a dream, prudence is useless; mere reason alone serves simply to dry up the heart; there is but one virtue, the eternal sacrifice of one's self."

Or George Sand speaking in her own person, in the *Lettres d'un Voyageur*—

"Ah no, I was not born to be a poet, I was born to love. It is the misfortune of my destiny, it is the enmity of others, which have made me a wanderer and

an artist. What I wanted was to live a human life; I had a heart, it has been torn violently from my breast. All that has been left me is a head, a head full of noise and pain, of horrible memories, of images of woe, of scenes of outrage. And because in writing stories to earn my bread I could not help remembering my sorrows, because I had the audacity to say that in married life there were to be found miserable beings, by reason of the weakness which is enjoined upon the woman, by reason of the brutality which is permitted to the man, by reason of the turpitudes which society covers and protects with a veil, I am pronounced immoral, I am treated as if I were the enemy of the human race.

And if only, alas, together with her honesty and her courage, she could feel that she had also light and hope and power; that she was able to lead those whom she loved and who looked to her for guidance! But no; her own very children, witnesses of her suffering, her uncertainty, her struggles, her evil report, may come to doubt her:—

“My poor children, my own flesh and blood, will perhaps turn upon me and say: ‘You are leading us wrong, you mean to ruin us as well as yourself. Are you not unhappy, reprobated, evil spoken of? What have you gained by these unequal struggles, by these much trumpeted duels of yours with Custom and Belief? Let us do as others do; let us get what is to be got from this easy and tolerant world.’

“This is what they will say to me. Or at best, if, out of tenderness for me, or from their own natural disposition, they give ear to my words and believe me, whither shall I guide them? Into what abysses shall we go and plunge ourselves, we three?—for we shall be our own three upon earth, and not one soul with us. What shall I reply to them if they come and say to me, ‘Yes, life is unbearable in a world like this. Let us die together. Show us the path of Bernica, or the lake of Sténio, or the glaciers of Jacques.’”

But the failure of the impassioned seekers of a new and better world proves nothing for the world as it is. Ineffectual they may be, but the world is still more ineffectual, and it is the world’s course which is doomed to ruin, not theirs. “What has it done,” exclaims George Sand in her preface to Guérin’s *Centaure*, “what has it done for our moral education, and what is it doing for our children, this society shielded with such care?” Nothing. Those whom it calls vain complainers and rebels and madmen, may reply:—

“Suffer us to bewail our martyrs, poets without a country that we are, forlorn singers, well versed in the causes of their misery and of our own. You do not comprehend the malady which killed them; they themselves did not comprehend it. If one or two of us at the present day open our eyes to a new light, is it not by a strange and unaccountable good providence, and have we not to seek our grain of faith in storm and darkness, combated by doubt, irony, the absence of all sympathy, all example, all brotherly aid, all protection and countenance in high places? Try yourselves to speak to your brethren heart to heart, conscience to conscience! Try it!—but you cannot, busied as you are with watching and patching up in all directions your dykes which the flood is invading; the material existence of this society of yours absorbs all your care and requires more than all your efforts. Meanwhile the powers of human thought are growing into strength and rise on all sides around you. Amongst these threatening apparitions, there are some which fade away and re-enter the darkness, because the hour of life has not yet struck, and the fiery

spirit which quickened them could strive no longer with the horrors of this present chaos; but there are others that can wait, and you will find them confronting you, up and alive, to say, 'You have allowed the death of our brethren, and we, we do not mean to die.'"

She did not, indeed. How should she faint and fail before her time because of a world out of joint, because of the reign of stupidity, because of the passions of youth, because of the difficulties and disgusts of married life in the native seats of the *homme sensuel moyen*, the average sensual man, she who could feel so well the power of those eternal consolers, Nature and Beauty? From the very first they introduce a note of suavity in her strain of grief and passion. Who can forget the lanes and meadows of *Valentine*? George Sand is one of the few French writers who keep us closely, truly, intimate with rural nature. She gives us the wild-flowers by their actual names—snow-drop, primrose, columbine, iris, scabious. Nowhere has she touched her native Berry and its little-known landscape, its *campagnes ignorées*, with a lovelier charm than in *Valentine*. The winding and deep lanes running out of the high road on either side, the fresh and calm spots they take us to, "meadows of a tender green, plaintive brooks, clumps of alder and mountain ash, a whole world of suave and pastoral nature,"—how delicious it all is! The grave and silent peasant whose very dog will hardly deign to bark at you, the great white ox, "the inevitable dean of these pastures," staring solemnly at you from the thicket; the farmhouse "with its avenue of maples, and the Indre, here hardly more than a bright rivulet, stealing along through rushes and yellow iris in the field below"—who, I say, can forget them? And that one lane in especial, the lane where Athénais puts her arm out of the side window of the rustic carriage and gathers May from the over-arching hedge—that lane with its startled blackbirds, and humming insects, and limpid water, and swaying water-plants, and shelving gravel, and yellow wagtails hopping half-pert, half-frightened, on the sand—that lane with rushes, cresses, and mint below, honeysuckle and traveller's-joy above—how gladly might one give all that strangely English picture in English, if the charm of Madame Sand's language did not here defy translation! Let us try something less difficult, and yet something where we may still have her in this her beloved world of "simplicity, and sky, and fields and trees, and peasant life, peasant life looked at, by preference, on its good and sound side." *Voyez donc la simplicité, vous autres, voyez le ciel et les champs, et les arbres, et les paysans, surtout dans ce qu'ils ont de bon et de vrai.*

The introduction to *La Mare au Diable* will give us what we want. George Sand has been looking at an engraving of Holbein's *Labourer*. An old thick-set peasant, in rags, is driving his plough in the

midst of a field. All around spreads a wild landscape, dotted with a few poor huts. The sun is setting behind a hill; the day of toil is nearly over. It has been hard; the ground is rugged and stony, the labourer's horses are but skin and bone, weak and exhausted. There is but one alert figure, the skeleton Death, who with a whip skips nimbly along at the horses' side and urges the team. Under the picture is a quotation in old French, to the effect that after the labourer's life of travail and service, in which he has to gain his bread by the sweat of his brow, here comes Death to fetch him away. And from so rude a life does Death take him, says George Sand, that Death is hardly unwelcome; and in another composition by Holbein, where men of almost every condition—popes, sovereigns, lovers, gamblers, monks, soldiers—are taunted with their fear of Death and do indeed see his approach with terror, Lazarus alone is easy and composed, and sitting on his dunghill at the rich man's door, tells Death that he does not mind him.

With her thoughts full of Holbein's mournful picture, George Sand goes out into the fields of her own Berry.

"My walk was by the border of a field which some peasants were getting ready for being sown presently. The space to be ploughed was wide, as in Holbein's picture. The landscape was vast also; the great lines of green which it contained were just touched with russet by the approach of autumn; on the rich brown soil recent rain had left, in a good many furrows, lines of water, which shone in the sun like silver threads. The day was clear and soft, and the earth gave out a light smoke where it had been freshly laid open by the plough-share. At the top of the field an old man, whose broad back and severe face were like those of the old peasant of Holbein, but whose clothes told no tale of poverty, was gravely driving his plough of an antique shape, drawn by two tranquil oxen, with coats of a pale buff, real patriarchs of the fallow, tall of make, somewhat thin, with long and blunt horns, the kind of old workmen who by long habit have got to be *brothers* to one another, as in our countryside they are called, and who, if one loses the other, refuse to work with a new comrade, and fret themselves to death. People unacquainted with the country will not believe in this affection of the ox for his yoke-fellow. They should come and see one of the poor beasts in a corner of his stable, thin, wasted, lashing with his restless tail his lean flanks, sniffing with uneasiness and disdain at the provender offered to him, his eyes for ever turned towards the stable door, scratching with his foot the empty place left at his side, smelling the yokes and bands which his companion has worn, and incessantly calling for him with piteous lowings. The ox-herd will tell you: There is a pair of oxen gone! his *brother* is dead, and this one will work no more. He ought to be fattened for killing; but one cannot get him to eat, and in a short time he will have starved himself to death."

How faithful and close it is, this contact of George Sand with country things, with the life of nature in its vast plenitude and pathos! And always in the end the human interest, as is right, emerges and predominates. What is the central figure in the fresh and calm rural world of George Sand? It is the peasant. And what is the peasant? He is France, life, the future. And this is the strength

of George Sand, and of her second movement, after the first movement of energy and revolt was over, towards nature and beauty, towards the country, primitive life, the peasant. She regarded not with the selfish and solitary joy of the artist who but seeks to appropriate them for his own purposes, she regarded them as a treasure of immense and hitherto unknown application, as a vast power of healing and delight for all, and for the peasant first and foremost. Yes, she cries, the simple life is the true one! but the peasant, the great organ of that life, "the minister in that vast temple which only the sky is vast enough to embrace," the peasant is not doomed to toil and moil in it for ever, overdone and unawakened, like Holbein's labourer, and to have for his best comfort the thought that death will set him free. *Non, nous n'avons plus affaire à la mort, mais à la vie.* "Our business henceforth is not with death but with life." And joy is the great lifter of men, the great unfolder. *Il faut que la vie soit bonne afin qu'elle soit féconde.* "For life to be fruitful, life must be felt as a blessing."

"Nature is eternally young, beautiful, bountiful. She pours out beauty and poetry for all that live, she pours it out on all plants, and the plants are permitted to expand in it freely. She possesses the secret of happiness, and no man has been able to take it away from her. The happiest of men would be he, who, possessing the science of his labour and working with his hands, earning his comfort and his freedom by the exercise of his intelligent force, found time to live by the heart and by the brain, to understand his own work and to love the work of God. The artist has satisfactions of this kind in the contemplation and reproduction of nature's beauty; but when he sees the affliction of those who people this paradise of earth, the upright and human-hearted artist feels a trouble in the midst of his enjoyment. The happy day will be when mind, heart, and hands shall be alive together, shall work in concert; when there shall be a harmony between God's munificence and man's delight in it. Then, instead of the piteous and frightful figure of Death, skipping whip in hand by the peasant's side in the field, the allegorical painter will place there a radiant angel, sowing with full hands the blessed grain in the smoking furrow.

"And the dream of a kindly, free, poetic, laborious, simple existence for the tiller of the field is not so hard to realise that it must be sent away into the world of chimæras. Virgil's sweet and sad cry: 'O happy peasants, if they but knew their own blessings!' is a regret; but like all regrets, it is at the same time a prediction. The day will come when the labourer may be also an artist—not in the sense of rendering nature's beauty, a matter which will be then of much less importance, but in the sense of feeling it. Does not this mysterious intuition of poetic beauty exist in him already in the form of instinct and of vague reverie?"

It exists in him, too, adds Madame Sand, in the form of that *nostalgia*, that home-sickness, which for ever pursues the genuine French peasant if you transplant him. The peasant has, then, the elements of the poetic sense and of its high and pure satisfactions.

"But one part of the enjoyment which we possess is wanting to him, a pure and lofty pleasure which is surely his due, minister that he is in that vast temple

which only the sky is vast enough to embrace. He has not the conscious knowledge of his sentiment. Those who have sentenced him to servitude from his mother's womb, not being able to debar him from reverie, have debarred him from reflexion.

"Well, for all that, taking the peasant as he is, incomplete and seemingly condemned to an eternal childhood, I yet find him a more beautiful object than the man in whom his acquisition of knowledge has stifled sentiment. Do not rate yourselves so high above him, many of you who imagine that you have an imprescriptible right to his obedience, for you yourselves are the most incomplete and the least seeing of men. That simplicity of his soul is more to be loved than the false lights of yours."

In all this we are passing from the second element in George Sand to the third—her aspiration for a social new-birth, a *renaissance sociale*. It is eminently the ideal of France; it was hers. Her religion connected itself with this ideal. In the convent where she was brought up she had in youth had an awakening of fervent mystical piety in the Catholic form. That form she could not keep. Popular religion of all kinds, with its deep internal impossibilities, its "heaven and hell serving to cover the illogical manifestations of the Divinity's apparent designs respecting us," its "God made in our image, silly and malicious, vain and puerile, irritable or tender, after our fashion," lost all sort of hold upon her.

"Communion with such a God is impossible to me, I confess it. He is wiped out from my memory; there is no corner where I can find him any more. Nor do I find him out of doors either; he is not in the fields and waters, he is not in the starry sky. No, nor yet in the churches where men bow themselves; it is an extinct message, a dead letter, a thought that has done its day. Nothing of this belief, nothing of this God, subsists in me any longer."

She refused to lament over the loss, to esteem it other than a benefit:—

"It is an addition to our stock of light, this detachment from the idolatrous conception of religion. It is no loss of the religious sense, as the persister in idolatry maintain. It is quite the contrary, it is a restitution of allegiance to the true Divinity. It is a step made in the direction of this Divinity, it is an abjuration of the dogmas which did him dishonour."

She does not attempt to give of this Divinity an account much more precise than that which we have in Wordsworth—"a presence that disturbs me with the joy of animating thoughts."

"Everything is divine," she says, "even matter; everything is superhuman, even man. God is everywhere; he is in me in a measure proportioned to the little that I am. My present life separates me from him just in the degree determined by the actual state of childhood of our race. Let me content myself, in all my seeking to feel after him and to possess of him as much as this imperfect soul can take in, with the intellectual sense I have."

And she concludes—

"The day will come when we shall no more talk about God idly, nay, when we shall talk about him as little as possible. We shall cease to set him forth dogmatically, to dispute about his nature. We shall put compulsion on no one to pray to him, we shall leave the whole business of worship within the

sanctuary of each man's conscience. And this will happen when we are really religious."

Meanwhile the sense of this spirit or presence which animates us, the sense of the divine, is our stronghold and our consolation. A man may say of it, "It comes not by my desert, but the atom of divine sense given to me nothing can rob me of." *Divine sense*—the phrase is a vague one; but it stands to Madame Sand for that to which are to be referred "all the best thoughts and the best actions of life, suffering endured, duty achieved, whatever purifies our existence, whatever vivifies our love."

Madame Sand is a Frenchwoman, and her religion is therefore, as I have said, with peculiar fervency social. Always she has before her mind "the natural law which *will have it* (the italics are her own) that the species *man* cannot subsist and prosper but by *association*." Whatever else we may be in creation, we are, first and foremost, "at the head of the species which are called by instinct and led by necessity to the life of *association*." The word *love*, the great word, as she justly says, of the New Testament, acquires from her social enthusiasm a peculiar significance to her:—

"The word is a great one, because it involves infinite consequences. To love means to help one another, to have joint aspirations, to act in concert, to labour for the same end, to develop to its ideal consummation the fraternal instinct, thanks to which mankind have brought the earth under their dominion. Every time that he has been false to this instinct which is his law of life, his natural destiny, man has seen his temples crumble, his societies dissolve, his intellectual sense go wrong, his moral sense die out. The future is founded on love."

So long as love is thus spoken of in the general, the ordinary serious Englishman will have no difficulty in inclining himself with respect at what Madame Sand says of it. But when he finds that love implies, with her, social equality, he will begin to be staggered. And in truth for almost every Englishman Madame Sand's strong language about equality, and about France as the chosen vessel for exhibiting it, will sound exaggerated. "The human ideal," she says, "as well as the social ideal, is to achieve equality." France, which has made equality its rallying cry, is therefore "the nation which loves and is loved," *la nation qui aime et qu'on aime*. The republic of equality is in her eyes "an ideal, a philosophy, a religion." She invokes the "holy doctrine of social liberty and fraternal equality, ever reappearing as a ray of love and truth amidst the storm." She calls it "the goal of man and the law of the future." She thinks it the secret of the civilisation of France, the most civilised of nations. Amid the disasters of the late war she cannot forbear a cry of astonishment at the neutral nations, *insensibles à l'égorge-ment d'une civilisation comme la nôtre*, "looking on with insensibility while a civilisation such as ours has its throat cut." Germany, with its stupid ideal of corporatism and *Kruppism*, is contrasted with France,

full of social dreams, too civilised for war, incapable of planning and preparing war for twenty years, she is so incapable of hatred—*nous sommes si incapables de haïr*. We seem to be listening, not to George Sand, but to M. Victor Hugo, half genius half charlatan; to M. Victor Hugo; or even to one of those French declaimers in whom we come down to no genius and all charlatan.

The forms of such outbursts as we have quoted will always be distasteful to an Englishman. It is to be remembered that they came from Madame Sand under the pressure and anguish of the terrible calamities of 1870. But what we are most concerned with, and what Englishmen in general regard too little, is the degree of truth contained in these allegations that France is the most civilised of nations, and that she is so, above all, by her "holy doctrine of equality." How comes the idea to be so current, and to be passionately believed in, as we have seen, by such a woman as George Sand? It was so passionately believed in by her, that when one seeks, as I am now seeking, to recall her image, the image is incomplete if the passionate belief is kept hidden.

I will not, with my scanty space, now discuss the belief, but I will seek to indicate how it must have commended itself, I think, to George Sand. I have somewhere called France "the country of Europe where *the people* is most alive." *The people* is what interested George Sand. And in France *the people* is, above all, the peasant. The workman in Paris or in other great towns of France may afford material for such pictures as those which M. Zola has lately given us in *L'Assommoir*, pictures of a kind long ago labelled by Madame Sand as "the *literature of mysteries of iniquity*, which men of talent and imagination try to bring into fashion." But the real people in France, the foundation of things there, both in George Sand's eyes and in reality, is the peasant. The peasant was the object of Madame Sand's fondest predilections in the present, and happiest hopes in the future. The Revolution and its doctrine of equality had made the French peasant. What wonder, then, if she saluted the doctrine as a holy and paramount one?

And the French peasant is really, so far as I can see, the largest and strongest element of soundness which the body social of any European nation possesses. To him is due that astonishing recovery which France has made since her defeat, and which George Sand predicted in the very hour of ruin. Yes, in 1870 she predicted *ce réveil général qui va suivre, à la grande surprise des autres nations, l'espèce d'agonie où elles nous voient tombés*, "the general arising which, to the astonishment of the other nations, is about to follow the sort of agony in which they now see us lying." To the condition, character, and qualities of the French peasant this recovery is in the main due. His material well-being is generally known. M. de Laveleye, the

well-known economist, a Belgian and a Protestant, says that France, being the country of Europe where the soil is more divided than anywhere except in Switzerland and Norway, is at the same time the country where well-being is most widely spread, where wealth has of late years increased most, and where population is least outrunning the limits which, for the comfort and progress of the working classes themselves, seem necessary. George Sand could see, of course, the well-being of the French peasant, for we can all see it.

But there is more. George Sand was a woman, with a woman's ideal of gentleness, of "the charm of good manners," as essential to civilisation. She has somewhere spoken admirably of the variety and balance of forces which go to make up true civilisation; "certain forces of weakness, docility, attractiveness, suavity, are here just as real forces as forces of vigour, encroachment, violence, or brutality." Yes, as real *forces*; because human nature requires them, and, often as they may be baffled, and slow as may be the process of their asserting themselves, mankind is not satisfied with its own civilisation, and keeps fidgeting at it and altering it again and again, until room is made for them. George Sand thought the French people—meaning principally, again, by the French people the *people* properly so called, the peasant—she thought it "the most kindly, the most amiable, of all peoples." Nothing is more touching than to read in her *Journal*, written in 1870, while she was witnessing what seemed to be "the agony of the Latin races," and undergoing what seemed to be the process of "dying in a general death of one's family, one's country, and one's nation," how constant is her defence of the people, the peasant, against her Republican friends. Her Republican friends were furious with the peasant; accused him of stolidity, cowardice, want of patriotism; accused him of having given them the Empire, with all its vileness; wanted to take away from him the suffrage. Again and again does George Sand take up his defence, and warn her friends of the folly and danger of their false estimate of him. "The contempt of the masses, there," she cries, "is the misfortune and crime of the present moment!"

"To execrate the people," she exclaims again, "is real blasphemy; the people is worth more than we are." If the peasant gave us the Empire, says Madame Sand, it was because he saw the parties of liberals disputing, gesticulating, and threatening to tear one another asunder and France too; he was told *The Empire is peace*, and he accepted the Empire. The peasant was deceived, he is uninstructed, he moves slowly; but he moves, he has admirable virtues, and in him is our life.

"Poor Jacques Bonhomme! accuse thee and despise thee who will; for my part I pity thee, and in spite of thy faults I shall always love thee. Never will I forget how, a child, I was carried asleep on thy shoulders, how I was given over to thy care and followed thee everywhere, to the field, the stall, the cottage.

They are all dead, those good old people who have borne me in their arms, but I remember them well, and I appreciate at this hour, to the minutest detail, the pureness, the kindness, the patience, the good humour, the poetry, which presided over that rustic education amidst disasters of like kind with those which we are undergoing now. Why should I quarrel with the peasant because on certain points he feels and thinks differently from what I do? There are other essential points on which we may feel eternally at one with him—probity and charity.”

Another generation of peasants had grown up since that first revolutionary generation of her youth, and equality, as its reign proceeded, had not deteriorated but improved them:—

“They have advanced greatly in self-respect and well-being, these peasants from twenty years old to forty; they never ask for anything. When one meets them they no longer take off their hat. If they know you they come up to you and hold out their hand. All foreigners who stay with us are struck with their good bearing, with their amenity, and the simple, friendly, and polite ease of their behaviour. In presence of people whom they esteem they are, like their fathers, models of tact; but they have more than that mere sentiment of equality which was all that their fathers had—they have the *idea* of equality, and the determination to maintain it. This step upwards they owe to their having the suffrage. Those who would fain treat them as creatures of a lower order dare not now show this disposition to their face; it would not be pleasant.”

Mr. Hamerton’s interesting book about French life has much, I think, to confirm this account of the French peasant. What I have seen of France myself (and I have seen something) is fully in agreement with it. Of a civilisation and an equality which make the peasant thus *human*, gives to the bulk of the people well-being, probity, charity, self-respect, tact, and good manners, let us pardon Madame Sand if she feels and speaks enthusiastically. Some little variation on our own eternal trio of Barbarians, Philistines, Populace, or on the eternal solo of Philistinism among our brethren of the United States and the Colonies, is surely permissible.

Where one is more inclined to differ from Madame Sand is in her estimate of her Republican friends of the educated classes. They may stand, she says, for the genius and the soul of France, they represent its “exalted imagination and profound sensibility,” while the peasant represents its humble, sound, indispensable body. Her *protégé*, the peasant, is much ruder with those eloquent gentlemen, and has his own name for one and all of them, *l’avocat*, by which he means to convey his belief that words are more to be looked for from that quarter than seriousness and profit. It seems to me by no means certain but that the peasant is in the right. George Sand herself has said admirable things of these friends of hers; of their want of patience, temper, wisdom; of their “vague and violent way of talking;” of their interminable flow of “stimulating phrases, cold as death.” If the educated and speaking classes in France were as sound in their way as the peasant is in his, France would present a

different spectacle. Not "imagination and sensibility" are so much required from the educated classes of France, as simpler, more serious views of life; a knowledge how great a part conduct (if M. Challemlacour will allow me to say so) fills in it; a better example. The few who see this, such as Madame Sand among the dead, and M. Renan among the living, perhaps awaken on that account, amongst quiet observers at a distance, all the more sympathy; but in France they are isolated. All the later work of George Sand, however, all her hope of genuine social renovation, take the simple and serious ground so necessary. "The cure for us is far more simple than we will believe. All the better natures amongst us see it and feel it. It is a good direction given by ourselves to our hearts and consciences"—*une bonne direction donnée par nous-mêmes à nos cœurs et à nos consciences*. These are among the last words of her *Journal* of 1870.

Whether or not the number of George Sand's works—always fresh, always attractive, but poured out too lavishly and rapidly—is likely to prove a hindrance to her fame, I do not care to consider. Posterity, alarmed at the way in which its literary baggage grows upon it, always seeks to leave behind it as much as it can, as much as it dares—everything but masterpieces. But the immense vibration of George Sand's voice upon the ear of Europe will not soon die away. Her passions and her errors have been abundantly talked of. She left them behind her, and men's memory of her will leave them behind also. There will remain of her the sense of benefit and stimulus from the passage upon earth of that large and frank nature, that large and pure utterance—the *large utterance of the early gods*. There will remain an admiring and ever widening report of that great soul, simple, affectionate, without vanity, without pedantry, human, equitable, patient, kind. She believed herself, she said, "to be in sympathy, across time and space, with a multitude of honest wills which interrogate their conscience and try to put themselves in accord with it." This chain of sympathy will extend more and more.

It is silent, that eloquent voice; it is sunk, that noble, that speaking head; we sum up, as we best can, what she said to us, and we bid her adieu. From many hearts in many lands a troop of tender and grateful regrets converge towards her humble churchyard in Berry. Let them be joined by these words of sad homage from one of a nation which she esteemed, and which knew her very little and very ill. Her guiding thought, the guiding thought which she did her best to make ours too, "the sentiment of the ideal life, which is none other than man's normal life as we shall one day know it," is in harmony with words and promises familiar to that sacred place where she lies. *Expectat resurrectionem mortuorum, et vitam venturi sæculi*.

MATTHEW ARNOLD.

MAORIS AND KANAKAS.

In the quarter of the globe commonly known as Polynesia the various influences, natural and artificial, which are everywhere at work, tending to diminish the variety of existing organic types and to establish a general uniformity in the aspect of nature and of human society, appear to operate at present with peculiar rapidity. We find there the remains of a submerged continent, planed down beneath the sea-level, above which are visible only a few volcanic summits and a number of coral islets and reefs. The vast Pacific Ocean covers nearly half the earth's surface, and that portion of it called Polynesia, over which the "Many Islands" are scattered, may be styled one of the four quarters of the globe, to which in area it is approximately equal. Throughout this watery waste the only considerable tract of land is the insular group of New Zealand, exceeding somewhat in area the island of Great Britain. The next largest group is the Hawaiian, at the opposite extremity of Polynesia, containing eight inhabited islands, whose aggregate area is not much greater than that of Yorkshire. The remaining groups of Polynesia proper consist of islets so insignificant in size, that the total aggregate of land in this ocean expanse is smaller than the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland. All these fragments of a continent are inhabited by a kindred people; they are known generally as "Kanakas" (meaning simply "men"); but in New Zealand the natives style themselves the "Maori," or pure race, in contradistinction to the "Pakeha," or stranger. Apart from the general attractions of their character and history, a special and tragic interest attaches to these Polynesians in all their branches, for their annihilation, as a distinct race, appears to be inevitable within a very few years. Nowhere has the destructive effect even of a peaceable European invasion been so marked as in Polynesia; nowhere have the robust invaders so rapidly established themselves to the extinction of feebler, if not inferior, breeds. The unequal nature of the struggle between the highly organized types familiar to us here and those which have been developed under a less severe competition, is most clearly exhibited in New Zealand, whose climate resembles that of Western Europe. The fauna and flora of a small insulated land-surface have in this case been brought into direct collision with those of the great northern province, evolved as the survivors of many competing types.

The ultimate result might have been anticipated, but the rapidity with which it has been brought about is somewhat startling. In

certain districts, settled a good many years ago, the native plants and animals have, with a few exceptions, already disappeared, and are replaced by those of Europe. In particular, the only conspicuous flowers and birds are those which make gay our own fields and hedgerows, while indigenous specimens must be sought for carefully if they are to be found at all. Around Christchurch and Nelson the air rings with the song of skylarks and blackbirds, and is redolent with the scent of hawthorn and sweetbriar. A few years ago Dr. Haast, curator of the Canterbury Museum, visited a remote district in the Middle Island, where he found some three hundred different species of indigenous plants, about one-third of them being new to science. Quite recently he paid a second visit to the same district, and could only discover about ten per cent. of the species formerly seen; the rest had vanished before the face of European settlers. The only gallinaceous bird indigenous in New Zealand is a species of quail, which was in many places very abundant a short time ago. It is now difficult to obtain a single living specimen, although the bird has undergone no severe persecution, and attempts have even been made to preserve it by an ex-premier of New Zealand. Meanwhile the Californian quail has been introduced and flourishes, and Chinese pheasants have overspread the country.

The native rat, the only terrestrial mammal found in New Zealand by European discoverers, has so completely disappeared, that many naturalists are sceptical as to its having ever existed, and the little island in Lake Taupo is said to be its only remaining habitat. On the other hand, the common brown rat, the faithful companion of the white man in all his wanderings, has taken complete possession of a country where its increase is restricted by no reptiles nor quadrupeds, and few birds of prey, and is encountered far beyond any settlements of its human fellow-colonists, close to the glaciers of the New Zealand Alps. The honey-bee of Europe has established itself as a very successful settler in the Southern Hemisphere, and has not merely suppressed the feeble insect rivals which it found there, but also in some parts appears to have caused a marked reduction in the number of honey-sucking birds. The destruction of timber is so universally the result of colonisation, that the denudation of New Zealand is exceptional only inasmuch as an exotic vegetation is already replacing the primeval forest, which cattle and fire rather than the axe have annihilated. Near Christchurch, in the Middle Island, where extensive plantations of English trees and shrubs give to the country an aspect like that of an English midland county, there remains one small patch only of the virgin forest a few acres in extent. With the utmost care this interesting relic has been preserved by one of the earliest settlers, and, thanks to him, his younger fellow-citizens can still realise what sort of vege-

tation covered the Canterbury plains when he first landed in New Zealand.

Indeed, it may be said that the indigenous animals and plants of New Zealand succumb without a struggle, whether to the domesticated varieties imported by the white man for his own benefit, or to those noxious creatures and weeds of which he is the involuntary introducer. Of the human aboriginals, however, this does not hold true; in no sense are they a helpless or a feeble folk; to force they have never succumbed without a determined resistance, and they have readily adapted themselves to such peaceful changes as foreign civilisation demands.

Nevertheless, the Maori race, gallant, vigorous, and intelligent beyond any so-called savages with whom we have ever been brought into collision, seems doomed to the same fate which is overtaking the feeble, short-winged birds characteristic of the Polynesian fauna. Official statistics confirm the universal impression, among colonists and natives alike, that the Maoris are dying out. In 1849, Sir George Grey estimated their numbers at 120,000, and since then they have rapidly declined; in 1858 a native census resulted in a total of 56,000; and at the enumeration of 1874 there were 45,470 Maoris in the whole colony, all except a couple of thousand being inhabitants of the North Island. If this rate of reduction continues the "Maori difficulty" will soon solve itself, and there will be room in the North Island for many more cattle and sheep; but a brave, generous, intelligent race of men will disappear, and many, even of those who will inherit their territory, cannot regard this disappearance without regret.

When white men speak of those with dark skins whom they are subduing or supplanting, their language is not generally complimentary. It is therefore an agreeable surprise for a traveller in New Zealand to hear the tone of respect, even of admiration, in which the Maoris are habitually discussed by the colonists. Such sentiments redound indeed to the credit of both races, for they are mainly due to the military prowess of the Maoris, and prove that Englishmen bear no grudge against a gallant foe for stalwart blows taken in fair fight. Nay, our most formidable antagonists (the Sikhs for example) appear always to enjoy a certain popularity among our countrymen, and men who themselves took part in the struggle with such chiefs as Te Raupara or Te Kooti often have a good word to say for their indomitable foes. It is at least impossible to feel contempt, and difficult not to feel admiration, for men who held their own so long against us, when every material advantage was on our side. Ten thousand British troops, supported by a large contingent of colonial volunteers besides friendly natives, and supplied with powerful artillery and arms of precision, were opposed

to a few hundred Maoris armed with fowling-pieces. Notwithstanding such great odds, the contest was bloody and protracted, owing to the combined courage and judgment with which our "savage" enemies availed themselves of the natural defences of their country, and to the skill displayed by them in military engineering.

A Maori pah in peaceful times is simply an enclosure surrounded by a shallow ditch, in front of which is a light palisade interlaced with "supple-jack" vines. When prepared to stand a siege these lines of defence were strengthened, multiplied, and flanked with rifle-pits. Shot and shell passed harmlessly through the tough elastic palisade without effecting a breach, and when troops were led to the assault they were shot down at close quarters by invisible enemies, sheltered in the ditch and firing through interstices in the palisade. If the outer line of defence became untenable, the defenders were able to take refuge behind a second enclosure, and open a murderous fire upon any assailants who might have penetrated within the first. At so short a range double-barrelled smooth-bores, in the hands of cool determined men, proved to be most effective weapons, and the usual result of assaulting a pah was discomfiture with heavy loss. Sooner or later, from want of water or ammunition, the little fortress would be evacuated by the Maoris and occupied by our troops. When this occurred after the repulse from the gate pah, it was found that the enemy had succoured the British wounded and supplied them with water, an incident well attested, but certainly not characteristic of barbarous warfare.

The Maori is in truth as near an approach to the ideal of a "noble savage" as has ever existed in modern times, and is a worthy rival of the imaginary Delawares of romance :—

"His valour, shown upon our crests,
Hath taught us how to cherish such high deeds,
Even in the bosom of our adversaries."

It would be easy to multiply authentic instances of daring and self-devotion on the part of the Maoris during the war, and difficult to give any of treachery or cowardice. Upon particular occasions they certainly were guilty of slaying non-combatants; but such acts were in accordance with their own laws of warfare, and were not regarded by them as wanton cruelty, any more than the burning of a defenceless village, or the bombardment of a city crowded with women and children, might be so regarded by certain kinds of civilised commanders. Their worst enemies have not accused them of acting like the Turks in Bulgaria, or even the Versailles in Paris; and on the whole the Maoris can teach no less than they can learn as to chivalrous usages in war.

The punctiliousness with which they give due notice of an intended outbreak or attack is almost Quixotic, and tends greatly to the

comfort of those settlers who live on the borders of the "Kingite" territory, a large tract extending from the west coast into the centre of the North Island. Here the natives still maintain their independence under a king of their own, and exclude the Pakehas rigorously, prohibiting the construction of roads or telegraphs. Human trespassers are warned off with polite firmness, cattle are driven back to their owners once or twice, and finally are confiscated.

When I visited a friend settled upon the Upper Waikato, a somewhat uneasy feeling was prevalent throughout that border district, owing to the construction of a railroad near the limits of the King's territory. This undertaking was regarded by the Kingites as a menace to their independence, and not without reason; for they have observed that as roads, railways, and telegraphs advance, the Pakehas increase in numbers, while the Maoris diminish, and the land passes gradually out of the hands of its original possessors. It was apprehended that despair at the prospect of this peaceful conquest of their country might cause an outbreak of the independent natives, and international relations were in a state of considerable tension in the spring (October) of 1874. My friend's house is on the very edge of the confiscation boundary; and as the farthest outlying station in that direction was completely exposed in case of an attack, I asked him, as we looked across the rushing current of the Waikato into what might at any moment become a hostile country, whether he did not feel any uneasiness at the prospect.

His reply was, "None whatever as to my personal safety, for I shall be sure to receive two or three days' warning from the Maoris, if they mean to attack us. I only wish that I could feel equally easy about the safety of my farm." He knew the natives well, and doubtless his confidence in their chivalry was not misplaced, however strange it may appear to border men whose experience has been acquired in other lands. While wandering through the interior of the North Island, I met not a few colonists who had associated much with the Maoris, who understood their language, and had many stories to tell of their generosity and their intelligence, above all of their courage. Such stories, when told on the very scene of the events, and among the actors themselves, may be relied upon as expressing the genuine belief and tradition of the locality, even should there be inaccuracy or exaggeration as to details.

It must be recollected that it is not a Maori, but a Pakeha, who tells the story of Orakau, where three hundred warriors displayed the spirit of Leonidas, but experienced better luck. They were surrounded by an overwhelming force of British troops, and honourable terms of capitulation were offered, but the unanimous reply came back, "We will never surrender." A desperate sortie from the pah resulted, to the astonishment of all concerned, in the escape of

most of the Maoris, after cutting their way through the hostile ranks. One warrior, who carried a child in a basket strapped to his forehead, was shot dead during the fight. A comrade stooped down, coolly unfastened the basket amid a shower of bullets, and carried off the child in safety, not without a cheer from some of the soldiers who witnessed the gallant deed.

The same courage and skill which were so freely displayed against us during the Maori wars were also found among those natives who fought on our side, and the officers of the Maori contingent had good reason to be proud of their men. Without them indeed peace would have been hard to establish, and a hearty union of all the native tribes might have taxed the resources of the British empire. Fortunately for us certain tribes have always been our zealous allies, and the colony still employs the services of a fine body, well armed and disciplined, and known as the Native Constabulary. An officer of this force described to me, with just pride, how his men, at the siege of a formidable pah, went to work with a couple of spades and a few pointed sticks, fairly sapping their way into the place, without any assistance from engineers or artillery.

When the electric telegraph was in process of construction through the centre of the North Island, near Orakeikorako, the natives, who considered that the authorities had not kept faith with them, intimated that the telegraph could not be permitted to stand, and proceeded, after due notice, to cut down the posts. These were re-erected, and again cut down, after which an armed force was sent up to overawe the natives. An eye-witness described to me the interview which took place between the officer in command and the Maori envoy. On a very rainy day a naked warrior marched into the camp, and asked to see the officer commanding the troops. He was received with as great a display of force as possible, many "Queenite" natives being present; but he was equal to the occasion, and, standing alone among angry foes, he had an apt reply for every one in turn. He told the Queenites that he could estimate the exact value of their attachment to the British Queen: it was just equal to a salary of six shillings a day, the amount of pay which they were then receiving. To the officer, who asserted that the authorities had always kept faith, he politely replied, that such no doubt was the experience of the rangatira (chief or gentleman) who had just spoken, but that his own experience had hitherto been very different. In conclusion, he said, "I and my people desire no quarrel with the Government, but a certain payment has been promised to us for the ground on which the telegraph stands, and we insist on that payment being made. If this is not done we will cut down the telegraph posts, if we are attacked we will fight, and not a post shall be erected while one of us remains alive." They were paid.

It is true that the Colonial Government, as a rule, has treated the Maoris with remarkable fairness and consideration, but much of this has been due to their being so well able to take their own part if treated otherwise. The elements still exist in the country for one more Maori war, but there is every reason now to hope that this will be altogether averted by a just and conciliatory policy on the part of the New Zealand Government.

The "Queenite" natives, so-called as being loyal subjects of Queen Victoria, in contradistinction to the adherents of the Maori king, are steadily developing into useful citizens: they cultivate the soil, pay taxes, serve in the constabulary, and take their share in public affairs as electors and as representatives.¹ Many of those who are so peaceful and law-abiding fought desperately against our troops while the war lasted. A stout foe can be a firm friend, and a conspicuous example is the gallant chief Paurini of Tokanu. No Maori enjoys more thoroughly the confidence and friendship of his white fellow-citizens, and no Maori can give a warmer welcome to a white stranger; but the stalwart figure, which his sole garment, a tartan kilt, exhibits to no small advantage, is literally riddled with the bullets of the Pakeha.

As for the "Kingites," it will not be possible for them within their limited territory to maintain much longer their present policy of isolation, and the only doubt is whether the collapse of the little independent monarchy will come about in a peaceable or a warlike manner. Two years ago there seemed to be a risk of war, but it has not yet broken out, and the mere lapse of time is in every way favourable to peace. When in the neighbourhood I was very anxious to avail myself of a missive for a Kingite chief, in order to reach, if possible, Tokangamutu, the capital village of the Maori king. After consulting a number of friends who were well informed upon the question, and one of whom had married the daughter of a great Maori chief, I resolved to abandon the attempt, as they all agreed in dissuading me, although each adviser gave different reasons for his advice. Most of them considered that the risk of personal violence was small, except perhaps from the Hau-hau fanatics, the rise of which sect has introduced a new element into Maori affairs. Formerly, an unarmed stranger, trusting to Maori honour, was perfectly safe in any part of the country, but now there are individuals who believe that in slaying any Pakeha they would be doing a pious deed. All were at one in saying that if I went at all I must not carry arms of any sort. The most serious objections urged were to this effect:—

"Your visit, as the bearer of a letter from an ex-governor, will have an

(1) There are now two Maoris in the Legislative Council, and four in the House of Representatives.

apparent political significance altogether foreign to its real object, and may produce complications. Sir George Grey's introduction will of course secure the goodwill of the chief to whom it is addressed, and even of the authorities generally; but the railroad works are approaching the boundary, and matters are in a critical condition, while a number of persons in the King's country, including certain mean whites, are interested in getting up a disturbance. In particular the refugees from the Maori territory lately confiscated entertain the wild hope that in a general scrimmage they may regain their land, and feel that now or never is their chance. The King and his advisers probably do not share these feelings, but a European of any consequence runs the risk of being made the victim in some mode or other of those Adullamites, in order that the Kingites may be embroiled with the Pakehas. Under these circumstances, the better your introduction, the greater will be the risk."

The chance of seeing the last scene of independent Maori life was a great temptation, but these considerations satisfied me that I should exercise a wise discretion in letting the Kingites alone. Matters at Tokangamutu have undergone no very material change during the short interval which has elapsed since I left New Zealand, but peace has been hitherto maintained, and its future maintenance depends upon the action of the Colonial Government. The Maories are able to realise more fully from day to day the utterly hopeless character of an armed struggle, and will hardly provoke one unless goaded on by a sense of oppression and injustice. On the other hand, an aggressive policy finds little favour now with the colonists, who no longer have the imperial exchequer available for war expenses, and must in future bear all such burdens upon their own shoulders. There has, in fact, been no serious Maori difficulty since the imperial troops were withdrawn from the colony.

It may be fairly assumed that the colonists will continue to act towards the Maoris with justice and moderation, as they have usually done hitherto; but even with the best intentions it is often impossible to avoid arousing a genuine sense of wrong, owing to the radical differences of law and custom between the two races, especially with regard to land. When a transfer of land from a native to a white man takes place, it is usually quite fair and straightforward according to European notions, whether by sale, by gift, or by confiscation after war. The settler performs what he believes to be all the necessary legal formalities, and pays the purchase money agreed upon, but finds his possession of the land disputed, perhaps by an individual, perhaps by a whole tribe. The validity of the transaction is frequently denied upon the ground that the seller had no right to sell, and that tribal rights have been ignored. According to Maori usage the objections may be quite *bonâ fide*, and would probably receive effect from colonial judges if urged at the proper time and place. But the natives are unwilling to admit the jurisdiction of the colonial courts in such cases, and refuse to plead in them, regarding the entire legal procedure as an organization to

defraud them of their land. Thus the tenure of land is here, as elsewhere, the fruitful source of discord between invaders and invaded, even when the former are desirous of acting justly according to their own ideas of justice. Meanwhile the Maoris see only too clearly that the land is passing out of their hands, and they are daily becoming fewer and feebler as their white rivals increase in numbers, in riches, and in power. The majority accept this state of matters as inevitable, and try to make the best of it, having actually in some places settled down into the position of landlords, living upon the rents paid to them by their white tenants. Within the Kingite limits, however, there are still many intractable spirits, not the least generous and patriotic of their nation, who "long but for one battle more, the stain of their shame to efface."

Religious fanaticism stimulates this hostile spirit, and if there ever again are serious troubles with the natives in New Zealand, we shall hear more of the "Hau-haus," who have lapsed from Christianity back to their original heathenism, upon which they have engrafted some of the darker rites and tenets to be found in the pages of the Old Testament.

How far the missionaries have made any deep or lasting impression upon the life and character of the Polynesians, whom they so rapidly persuaded to accept the forms of Christianity, is a point very difficult to decide. A strong reaction from their influence and teaching has undoubtedly taken place in many parts of New Zealand, where deserted mission stations are pointed out embowered amid choice fruit-trees, in situations the amenity of which does the highest credit to the taste of the reverend founders. In a remote village of the interior there lies on the ground a very large bell, too heavy to be swung in any building of native construction. It is the only visible token of Christianity, and bears a Maori inscription to the effect that it is a gift, bestowed in 1853 upon the believers of Tokanu by "certain good women of Kotirana," the nearest approach to the name of Scotland which the Maori alphabet permits. A good woman of the locality, on our asking what it all meant, replied with a laugh and the Maori equivalent for "soft sawder!" The handsome gift is evidently not looked upon with the respect due to its intrinsic value, to the motives which actuated the donors, and to the difficulties overcome in conveying it into the heart of a country at that time entirely devoid of roads. During the twenty years that have elapsed since this great bell was rolled in a barrel over the fern-clad hills around Lake Taupo, many converts have either joined the Hau-haus or lapsed into utter indifference, and are pagans so far as any religious faith is concerned. But not the less on that account have the Christian missionaries deserved well of the natives. Throughout Polynesia it is entirely due to them that the natives are

an educated people in the strictest sense of the word, for it is difficult to find anywhere within reach of mission influence a Polynesian, old or young, who cannot read and write.

The missionaries began by creating a written language, simple as to orthography, and invariable as to pronunciation. Having reduced to writing dialects which existed formerly as mere sounds, they ere long succeeded in converting war-like and indolent savages into lettered scholars, although many of their pupils had already attained a mature age. An achievement such as this reflects credit upon teachers and pupils alike.

It must be admitted that the missionaries have been too severe in their condemnation of native customs and amusements, and have thereby overstrained their influence. The burdens laid upon recent converts have been too heavy for them to bear, and a certain amount of reaction has necessarily followed. The "haka" and the "hula-hula" are not, perhaps, the most elegant or decorous of dances, but it would have been wiser to reform than to prohibit, although some Christian denominations can fairly boast of their consistent opposition to dancing of any sort, and may assert with some show of reason that waltzes and reels are not greatly superior in decorum to the native dances of Polynesia. The joyous nature of the islanders is not easily suppressed, and they are more likely to become hypocrites than ascetics; but the outburst in New Zealand of the Pai Marire or Hau-hau religion, a few years ago, proved that the stern theology of the Old Testament is not without attraction for the fiercer spirits among them. In Hawaii the awe entertained by the natives for the missionaries is enhanced by their influence with the government, which has always been considerable. Even the presence of a man-of-war "Pelekani" (British), and the popularity of the officers, will not avail to produce a "hula-hula" on Sunday in a Hawaiian village. The answer to all persuasions is, "The missionaries and the police"—the latter being in this merely the agents of the former. Where missionaries have the ear of the authorities, as in Polynesia, they need not expect to be regarded as "protectors of the poor," a title freely conceded to them in India, where many of the unconverted natives regard them as their best friends, able and willing to plead their cause even in disputes with government officials. A distinct antagonism usually exists throughout Polynesia between the missionary and the casual white settler, and the opinions of a stranger are apt to be coloured according to the class among which he happens to be thrown. Speaking for myself, the good work of education appears to cover the other failures of the missionaries, and to compensate amply the islanders for all that they have given up, whether in land, in pecuniary contributions, or in amusement. Partly owing to a diminished population, partly also

to diminished religious zeal, church accommodation is now in excess of the requirements of the natives, more especially in Hawaii, and the staring white buildings which stud the coast are often little used, except as landmarks for vessels at sea.

In attempting to account for the depopulation of Polynesia, various causes are assigned by those who have considered the question: intemperance, immorality, infantile epidemics, and pulmonary diseases. Some persons lay stress upon one evil, some upon another, the most careful observers being the least ready with an answer. Some suggestions seem fanciful enough: the women ride too much upon horseback; wearing clothes produces susceptibility to sudden chills; and the peaceable habits of modern times cause more accessible but less healthy localities to be inhabited. Although these may all be true causes of diminished population, all combined appear inadequate to account for the result. Disease and intemperance of all sorts, combined with bad ventilation, insufficient food, and a severe climate, do not prevent the population of our large cities from increasing. Why, then, should the Polynesians succumb, whose climate is equable, whose food is abundant, and who breathe the fresh breezes from mountain and sea? They are not dispossessed of their lands or driven from their hunting-grounds like the Red Indians and Australian Blacks. They own large tracts of fertile soil, and foreigners are eager to pay good wages to those who will work, scarcity of labour being the main difficulty of sugar cultivation in the Sandwich Islands. The marked deficiency of women among the Polynesians does not seem to be due to female infanticide, and is of course unfavourable to population; but they are by no means sterile, and pretty little brown children usually swarm around the native dwellings, which occur at distant intervals on the coast, or in the interior. Why, then, is it that many of these dwellings have been deserted, and that luxuriant plantations of cocoa-nut palms, and bread-fruit trees, remain neglected? The means of subsistence are there, but those who should have gathered them have vanished. The climate and products are those of Ceylon, but where are the irrigated rice terraces, and populous villages hidden in a jungle of fruit-bearing trees? One is reminded rather of the barren glens of Sutherland, where bright green patches on the brown hill-sides mark the site of what are still called "towns."

Thus much is clear, however, that "civilisation" has introduced in Polynesia causes of destruction more than counterbalancing the advantages of education and good government so far as the natives are concerned. They are unable, even under the most favourable conditions, to resist evils which hardly affect the vitality and fecundity of the Indo-European or Mongolian, and those vices and diseases which merely scourge the individual of the stronger race annihilate the less prolific breed.

When they are all gone there will be additional space in the world for a few Caucasians and a good many Mongolians, of whom there seem to be quite enough already, and no doubt the Negro also would flourish and multiply in the tropical islands. On the whole, humanity will not profit greatly by the change. In frugality and industry the Kanaka is far inferior to the Chinaman, but not to the Negro; while courtesy, courage, docility, and generosity are not such common qualities that we can witness without regret the extinction of the Polynesians, who exhibit them in so marked a degree. Depopulation is not limited to Polynesia proper, but goes on all over the Southern Hemisphere as rapidly as in the kingdom of Hawaii, the only important insular group lying north of the equator in the Pacific Ocean. In the Fijis, since their annexation, the mortality has been appalling, but these islands are inhabited by Melanesians, a black race very different to the brown Kanakas. The Tasmanian "black-fellow" is gone already, and his Australian brother is rapidly following him. We may pity even such irreclaimable savages as these are, and regret the mode of their extermination, but we must admit that for them there is no room within the pale of a truly civilised community, and that they are interesting only as ethnological curiosities, exhibiting in recent times a very early stage of human development. It will not take long to write their epitaph, although in their keen love of sport and their invincible dislike of steady work they bear a certain resemblance to some of the most exalted and highly favoured classes of mankind.

With the polished Hawaiian and the chivalrous Maori it is different, and the loss caused to humanity by their disappearance is real. Of course they are not without failings, and contact with unworthy Europeans has not tended to diminish some of these, but they have learnt, on the other hand, from our people good lessons of industry and thrift. Naturally they have so little notion of saving as to give away, or even destroy, their surplus with reckless extravagance; but now a Maori capitalist is by no means unknown, and I have seen in the interior of Hawkes Bay and Wollington provinces Maori farms which would do credit to any white settler. Occasionally, however, the original nature asserts itself, and at one of these very farms the native agriculturist deliberately burnt the whole of his straw because he experienced some trouble in obtaining what he considered to be its proper price. Another distinguished chief had some turkeys to dispose of, and as the first person to whom they were offered for sale objected to the exorbitant sum asked, he gave them all away to a Pakeha friend. When the Polynesian is accused of being idle and thriftless, of having very lax notions as to female virtue, and a weakness for intoxicating liquors, the case against him has been pretty nearly summed up, and it

can only be added that his failings are injurious to himself rather than to others. That those who can speak the language of Maoris or Kanakas, and who are in constant association with them, either officially or socially, like them well enough to tell many stories in their favour and few to their discredit, is a fact with which a passing traveller can hardly fail to be impressed, and my own experience, as far as it went, confirmed the favourable views of those better qualified to speak upon the subject.

A ride of a few days through a district so little frequented by Europeans that we only met one white man—a trooper of the armed constabulary—afforded an opportunity of realising the kindly disposition and honesty of the more unsophisticated among the New Zealanders. They could not do much for us certainly, and one chief apologized for apparent remissness by asking, “How can I show you kindness when I have only potatoes and cabbage?” They did what they could, however, with a friendly politeness which was very gratifying. On one occasion I arrived with my guide at a Hau-hau village after dark, and found it deserted for the time being by all its inhabitants, except one very aged crone too feeble to travel. Following the custom in such cases we selected the most comfortable “wharé,” and made ourselves at home. This wharé was a hut built of reeds, fern-stalks, and native flax, closely interwoven and perfectly weather-tight. Clean mats were the only furniture, but so great was the confidence reposed by the owner in his countrymen and visitors, that he had left in this open hut his most precious possession—a pair of double-barrelled guns, which had probably in their day done service against the British troops. It is illegal to sell firearms to the natives in New Zealand, and even a revolver and a few cartridges cannot be landed without purchasing a permit to introduce “arms, ammunition, and warlike stores,” so that these two old fowling-pieces were of priceless value to the owner; yet he evidently entertained no fears for their safety. They were “tapu” (sacred), no doubt, to all good Hau-haus, and our absent host was justified in his apparent carelessness. We could make him no return for his hospitality, beyond fetching water for the poor old lady and giving her a few of our provisions. My guide was well known and popular with the natives, which ensured us a welcome anywhere; but an unlucky white pedestrian who preceded us paid the penalty of the misconduct of others. Arriving at a small village, weary and foot-sore, he asked for shelter; but the men were absent, and the women did not like his looks, so one of them advised him to push on a mile or two for an imaginary settlement. There are no habitations for the next twenty-five miles, and as my experienced guide lost his way upon the trackless plain, there was some reason to apprehend that the poor “sun-downer” never succeeded in making his way

across. If he really did come to an untimely end, his was a hard case; but the behaviour of mean whites under similar circumstances was the cause, if not the excuse, for the falsehood told by the unprotected "wahine" (woman) of Tirau. She evidently felt compunction in confessing to us this breach of hospitality, in order that we might look out for him, and the incident appeared to me at least as unfavourable to the character of white men in general as to that of this native woman in particular. Had the "rangatira" been at home nothing of the sort would have occurred.

In Polynesia, as is usually the case where women are in a minority, they are treated with some consideration, and take part in nearly all amusements and occupations along with men. They are very fond of riding, many Maori ladies using side-saddles and riding-habits, while those of Hawaii invariably ride *à la Duchesse de Berri* on Spanish saddles; and most picturesque objects they are on horse-back, in their brilliant flowing robes, adorned with coronets and garlands of flowers. Tattooing is no longer in fashion with the youths and maidens; but in New Zealand the senior chiefs are decorated with most elaborate patterns of spirals and volutes, and the elder women have their lips and chins tattooed like the Maronites of the Lebanon. As usual among uncivilised races, the women are not so good-looking as the men, and in New Zealand they do not scorn a short clay pipe, even when dressed in complete European fashion—a practice not calculated to improve their appearance. A good many white men have married Maori wives, and are known as "Pakeha-Maoris;" the half-breeds appear to be a fine vigorous race.

There is an analogy between our present position in the North Island and that of the French in Algeria; the law is obeyed by all, roads and bridges are constructed, and an unarmed traveller can pass safely through the interior. The natives are treated with respect and consideration, which they have earned by their courage and good faith. No one affects to despise the Maoris any more than the Kabyles, and they enjoy, whenever they choose to claim it, complete social equality in hotels, public conveyances, and places of resort. At the same time there is, in certain districts of the island, a feeling of insecurity among the colonists similar to that which pervades Algeria, where religious fanaticism and love of independence may slumber indeed, but are by no means dead in the hearts of the "indigènes."

The social position accorded to the Maoris by the whites is altogether different from that of any other dark-skinned race throughout the British dominions, but is completely justified by the readiness and ease with which they adapt themselves to the manners of good society. "Is that person a gentleman? Has he never dined with the Governor before?" was the inquiry of a chief who was for the

first time a guest at Government House, and observed that one of his Pakeha companions, unlike himself, was ill at ease and puzzled how to behave. A Maori member of the Legislative Council, being asked whether he had had a pleasant dinner party, is said to have replied, "Oh yes, very much so. We were all gentlemen; no Lower House members present." This story, however, has somewhat the appearance of having been made up at the expense of the popular branch of the legislature.

At the opening of the Hawaiian Parliament in 1850, the King, in his address to the "nobles and representatives" of the people, assured them that the policy of the Government was "essentially protective to the Hawaiian or native race, to the intent that the question of their capability of civilisation may be fully solved." For a quarter of a century the attempt to carry out such a policy has been honestly made, under singularly favourable conditions and with very encouraging results, were it not for the well-grounded apprehension that the Hawaiian race, as it becomes civilised, is doomed to become extinct. No one who has passed any time among these happy lotos-eaters can contemplate without sincere regret this consummation of so promising a political experiment. The statistics are, however, only too conclusive; and, as in the case of the Maoris, the diminution in numbers is so steady, that a limit at no remote date may be calculated beyond which the Hawaiian race will not survive. Without taking into account the large estimate of the population given by Captain Cook, we find that the Sandwich Islands, in 1823, contained 142,000 inhabitants, and in 1832 only 130,000; four years later they were reduced to 108,500, and in 1849 to 80,600, their annual death rate being then about 8 per cent. In 1866 the native population was 58,765, and in 1872 (the date of the last census) 51,531, including half-castes. The excess of males over females was then no less than 3,216, and the annual decrease was estimated to be from 1,200 to 2,000. There was at the same time a small annual increase in the number of half-castes, as well as in that of the whites and Chinese.

The cause of this depopulation is certainly not political misgovernment. The independence of Hawaii has been recognised by all the great maritime nations, and the form of government is a constitutional monarchy. The legislature is composed of twenty chiefs or nobles nominated by the Crown, and a number (not exceeding forty) of representatives elected biennially. There is a considerable property qualification for representatives, and a smaller one for electors. The legislators are paid, and all sit and vote in one assembly. The King himself is of the ancient royal race, but his cabinet (composed of three ministers besides the attorney-general) contains no Hawaiian except the minister of the interior.

The leading foreign merchants, one of whom has married the King's sister, are members of the privy council, and a preponderating influence is exercised by the enlightened white community of Honolulu. The theoretical excellence of this constitution has not been belied by its practical working. Government schools have been everywhere established, 87 per cent. of the children of school age are actually receiving instruction, and a Hawaiian unable to read and write is rarely to be found. The sale of intoxicating liquors to natives is forbidden by law, and the legal penalties are strictly enforced. Indeed, so energetic and efficient are the magistrates, both native and foreign, that the number of criminal convictions assumes an alarming magnitude for a small community; but it is reassuring to find that some of the offences are not very heinous in their nature. In two years there were no less than sixty-one convictions for violating the Sabbath.

The political hardships of the Hawaiians, in fact, consist merely in being too much governed. Life and property are secure; the laws are just, and are well administered; the *quantity*, not the *quality*, of the government is in fault. The political machinery, with king, privy council, governors, judges, salaried ministers and legislators, is ludicrously in excess of the requirements of the dwindling population—less than sixty thousand, including all the foreigners.

The military outlay, indeed, is not great, except upon music and upon gunpowder for salutes. The last item consumes a most undue proportion of the national resources, as the principal foreign powers are represented by commissioners as well as by consuls, and the tariff of guns allotted to each is two in excess of what is customary elsewhere. Men-of-war of various nations, British and American in particular, are constantly visiting Honolulu; and the islanders flatter themselves that the United Kingdom and the United States are alike prepared to use any amount of force or fraud in order to effect annexation. The various commissioners, on their side, watch one another with as much jealous distrust as do the ambassadors to the Sublime Porte; each regards the success of his policy as essential to the welfare of his own country as well as that of Hawaii. At present no pretext could easily be found for foreign interference in the affairs of such a peaceable and well-conducted state, and Hawaii may hope for a season to enjoy the political independence which she owes partly to her geographical isolation, planted as she is far from any other land in the centre of the vast Pacific.

But what will be the fate of the Sandwich Islands when there are no more Hawaiians? Among foreign elements the American preponderates, especially as regards commercial interchanges, and these islands naturally gravitate towards the United States; but, oddly enough, that great maritime nation appears to despise insular possessions, even when, like St. Thomas, they constitute important mercan-

tile entrepôts. On the other hand, Great Britain, the universal annexer of islands, has once already relinquished possession of the Sandwich group, where the French and the Russian colours have also been hoisted, only to be again hauled down. It seems, therefore, as if this little archipelago were destined to remain unannexed; and when the present royal race can no longer furnish it with a king, it may imitate its American neighbours and proclaim the republic.

A prosperous future is before it, situated in mid-ocean between America, Asia, and Australasia, with a productive soil, and an equable climate which would be perfection did it not render all exertion alike superfluous and distasteful. At Honolulu, in $21^{\circ} 18'$ north latitude and 158° west longitude, the barometer has been observed to vary during the year only from 30.24 inches to 29.70, while the range of the thermometer at the same time was between 86° and 62° , with a mean temperature of 75° . This agreeable but enervating climate prevails only at the sea-level; at a greater elevation a temperate region is found, and in the island of Hawaii the mountain summits, rising to more than thirteen thousand feet, are frequently capped with snow. The windward coast of Hawaii, ever verdant and well watered, thanks to the north-east trades, is admirably described by the Poet Laureate as the land of the lotos-eaters:—

“A land of streams! some, like a downward smoke,
Slow-dropping veils of thinnest lawn, did go;
And some thro’ wavering lights and shadows broke,
Rolling a slumbrous sheet of foam below.
. Far off, three mountain-tops,
Three silent pinnacles of aged snow,
Stood sunset-flushed: and dewed with showery drops,
Up-clomb the shadowy palm above the woven copse.” *

There is nothing melancholy about these mild-eyed lotos-eaters, except the knowledge that they will have no share in the future prosperity, which white capital and Chinese labour seem likely to produce in the Sandwich Islands. During the last quarter of a century, while these “Happy Isles” have enjoyed such political as well as natural advantages that the population ought to have doubled itself, it has diminished by nearly one-third. The Hawaiians have proved in a most remarkable instance their appreciation of a sanitary policy, which places the welfare of the community above the prejudices and even the affections of the individual. A considerable and apparently increasing proportion of the Hawaiians is afflicted with the terrible disease known as leprosy, which has defied all available medical science, and is regarded as absolutely incurable. How far it is contagious in the ordinary sense appears to be doubtful, for the natives have habitually neglected all precautions in associating with lepers, and yet the disease is not known to have affected above two per cent. of the population. On the other hand, it is clearly liable to be transmitted

from parent to offspring, and is regarded^{*} as infectious by competent authorities. To prevent all risk of infection, and to stamp out the hereditary taint, which threatened to spread through the whole community, the Hawaiian legislature about ten years ago took up the question in a spirit at once patriotic and scientific. Under the auspices of a Board of Health a leper settlement was established in a secluded valley on the small island of Molokai, to which all persons known to be affected with leprosy were transported by officials appointed for the purpose. Considerable difficulty was experienced at first in discovering the unfortunate creatures, who were concealed by their friends, and a more painful duty could hardly be imposed upon a kindly Kanaka than to surrender a companion to pass the remainder of his days a hopeless exile in a lazaretto. But the sternness of the law did not prevent the Hawaiians from realising its expediency, and the necessity for its strict enforcement in the interest of the public. Examples of self-devotion were not wanting on the part of persons whose external symptoms of leprosy were so slight as to escape detection, but who surrendered themselves spontaneously in obedience to the law. Nothing can well be more touching than the story told by Miss Bird, in her book on the Hawaiian Archipelago, of poor "Bill Ragsdale," whose generous self-immolation savours rather of the antique Roman than of the Kanaka. This talented half-white, who had filled among other honourable offices that of interpreter to the Hawaiian legislature, avowed himself to be a leper before any visible symptom betrayed him, and passed amid universal lamentation from the joyous society of Hilo to a living death at Kalawao. In that dismal valley of Molokai he is now a ruler, by virtue of his abilities; but perhaps since the Odyssey was composed the well-known words have never been so applicable to any living mortal:—

Βουλοίμην κ' ἐπάρουρος ἐὼν θητευέμεν ἄλλω,
 Ἄνδρὶ παρ' ἀκλήρῳ, ὃ μὴ βίσιος πολὺς εἴη,
 * Ἡ πᾶσιν νεκύεσσι καταφθιμένοιισιν ἀνάσσειν.

Certainly the hardest life that a slave can lead elsewhere seems preferable to that of Governor Ragsdale, who now rules with beneficent and almost absolute authority over seven hundred lepers in every stage of a lingering but fatal disease. The last effort of his eloquence, when bidding farewell to his weeping friends, was to urge submission to the stringent measures taken by the Government for the purpose of stamping out leprosy. The law for the seclusion of lepers has been enforced without distinction of rank or nationality, and in the course of eight years more than eleven hundred persons have been transported to Molokai; of these a large proportion died within a short time of their arrival, but in 1874 there remained alive more than seven hundred. Although all hope must be abandoned

by those who enter Kalawao, the natural cheerfulness of the Kanakas seems not to desert them even there, and a visit from the King and Queen caused no little rejoicing among the lepers. The support of these unfortunate exiles entails a heavy burden on a small community like Hawaii, with a diminishing revenue and an increasing expenditure. The burden, however, will soon be removed by the hand of death, and no item in an annual outlay of some \$600,000 is less worthy of being expunged than the cost of the leper settlement. The courage and liberality displayed in grappling with this national curse are worthy of the emulation of advanced European governments.

In explanation of the disinclination to steady labour which characterises the Polynesian, and distinguishes him in so marked a manner from the Chinese, it must be borne in mind that the islands of the Pacific are very much under-peopled, and that almost all of them lie between the tropics, and enjoy a climate in which existence is happiness and exertion is pain. As for the natives of New Zealand, whose climate may be compared to that of Italy, they are indeed more energetic and warlike than the gentle Kanakas of the tropical islands, but their close resemblance in character, appearance, and language indicates a very recent separation from their northern cousins. The Maoris themselves affirm that their original home was a country named Hawaiiiki in the far north, and at Roto Iti is still exhibited an elaborately carved canoe with fifteen benches, in which the ancestors of the Arawa tribe are said to have crossed the ocean. "Te Arawa" is the largest native craft which I saw in New Zealand, and it is about as seaworthy as a university eight-oar. On board European vessels the Maoris prove themselves to be bold and skilful seamen, but in naval architecture they are inferior even to the black islanders of Melanesia. The seas around New Zealand are swept by gales very different from the soft trade-winds of the tropical Pacific, and the transport of provisions and water sufficient for a long voyage in a canoe across these seas seems to be an impossibility. On the map the islands of Polynesia appear to be thickly sprinkled, but in reality they are so few and so small, as to occupy a space almost inappreciable upon the immense expanse of water. Most of them are coral islets, which are raised so little above the sea-surface as to be invisible at a short distance. During a voyage of three weeks through the heart of the galaxy we only sighted two coral islets, and a lofty volcanic island in the Navigators group. It may be said that the Pacific is an area of subsidence, and at a period geologically recent the land surface must have been very much larger than it now is, but all evidence seems to indicate that the Maoris have colonised New Zealand at a period which is *recent* in a very different sense of the word. Eminent naturalists are even

of opinion that the moa, a bird whose feathers are still found in perfect preservation, and whose remains are imbedded in the newest alluvial deposits, was extinct before the arrival of the Maoris. They hardly succeed in explaining, however, what agency, except that of man, could have destroyed a creature so powerful and so abundant, in a country without beasts of prey, and where no important geological change has occurred since the time when it flourished.

How and when the Maoris reached New Zealand will in all probability never be accurately determined, but their tropical origin is clear enough. They have never really peopled the South (or Middle) Island, the largest and most productive of the group, but have lingered in the balmy climate of the North, and have planted many of their most important settlements around the numerous hot springs of the volcanic districts. Thanks to these natural supplies of heat, they can dispense almost entirely with fuel, and in some villages the inhabitants, like those of a fashionable spa, spend a considerable portion of the twenty-four hours in bathing. From long habit they enjoy a temperature which would almost scald a European, and will tumble heels over head into natural cauldrons apparently at the boiling point, and into which I could not bear to dip my hand. At sunset, the whole population of a village, men, women and children, may be seen disporting themselves in the tepid depths, or seated, with the water up to their necks, on the smooth enamelled sides of these natural thermæ. Infants in arms bathe along with the rest, learning to swim before they are able to walk, and perched on the shoulders of their tattooed grandfathers, they regard with astonished black eyes the bleached Pakeha, whose bloodless appearance contrasts most unfavourably with the wholesome brown of the Maori. Laughing, talking, floundering, and splashing, the natives do not forget their good manners, and are as polite in the water as they are upon land, treating a stranger with marked consideration. It is needless to say that they are perfect swimmers, the women no less than the men; in the popular Maori legend it is Hero, not Leander, who performs the feat of swimming over to the island of Mokoia. In a country of lakes and rivers, where the only canoes are long cranky "dug-outs," fashioned of a wood almost equal in specific gravity to water, and propelled with short, feeble paddles, it is necessary to be a good swimmer. When two or three miles from the shore, with a stiff head breeze rendering it necessary that half the crew should use their paddles for baling, you know that your native companions, encumbered only with a light kilt, will probably reach the land in safety if the canoe is swamped or upset. This knowledge, however, affords only a modified degree of comfort to a Pakeha, clad probably in waterproof and riding-boots, and rouses his wrath against the conservatism displayed by the Maoris in boat-building. Occasionally fatal accidents occur even to natives,

and not long ago two canoes full of people were swamped in Lake Rotorua: two women only were saved, the men behaving with great self-devotion in endeavouring to assist the weaker and more helpless.

Even now, when steamers ply regularly between Auckland and Honolulu, there is little or no intercourse between the Polynesians of the southern temperate and the northern tropical latitudes; and it is astonishing, after passing over so many thousand miles of sea, to find one's self among people who in features and complexion, in frank and courteous bearing, and even in such small details as their mode of decoration with flowers or feathers, seem to be identical with those that one has quitted. It is, however, in language that the substantial identity shows itself most distinctly, as after allowing for certain differences of pronunciation it will be found that almost all the words in common use are the same in the Maori and Kanaka dialects. These are precisely the words which could not have been recently borrowed by one dialect from the other; and as neither possessed until quite recently any literature, or even an alphabet, it is remarkable that so very little divergence should have taken place.

Great as are the charms of scenery and climate—

“Where the golden Pacific round islands of paradise rolls—”

the chief interest and romance of these regions are due to their aboriginal inhabitants, and will pass away with them. A country newly occupied by white settlers is neither romantic nor picturesque when the primæval forest has been reduced to charred stumps, and a long interval must elapse before the undefaced glories of the wilderness can be replaced by the cultivated beauty of an old and prosperous land. In time the fernland and bush of New Zealand will be converted into a populous and productive country; but the people and the products will be English, and not Maori. Thus the world becomes more prosperous and wealthy, but less interesting and varied, and the inducements to travel diminish as the facilities increase. Even in older countries the variety of scenery, of architecture, of costume, of social and political institutions, of fauna and flora, so charming at the present moment, is tending to become a thing of the past, and will be vainly sought for by the travellers of another generation. An Eastern dragoman once said to me, while we were gazing in admiration at a crumbling Saracenic edifice, “We see these things, but our sons will not be able to see them.” The feeling to which his words gave expression was constantly in my mind when among the Maoris and Kanakas, whose “tenakoe” and “aloha,” their friendly greetings to the passing stranger, have all the pathos of an eternal adieu.

DAVID WEDDERBURN.

THE FARTHER OUTLOOK IN THE EAST.

OF the immediate military prospects of the war which has at length broken out on the Danube and in Asia, I do not pretend to judge. It seems to be generally understood that the improvements in modern weapons give the defence a great advantage over the attack ; and although the extreme inefficiency of the Turkish officers and the deficiency of their means make their army very poor indeed for aggressive or active warfare, it does seem that their Government has been very wise in its generation in spending the last of its resources in procuring a most abundant supply of the best weapons and ammunition, armed with which even the irregulars may be most formidable for defensive purposes, as the first considerable affair seems to have shown. We know very well by a good deal of experience in the East how often the best troops may be driven back by irregular soldiers fighting behind defences ; and there is no change more marked in our dealings with savage and semi-civilised tribes all over the world than the increased difficulties caused by the supply of firearms which an active commerce now provides for these tribes almost everywhere. The Turkish irregulars defending good positions cannot be compared with barbarous tribes, but rather with the Affghans whose capacity we know so well. In our last serious contest with some of them in Umbeyla Pass, we know how strong a force they held in check without improved weapons. I should think that Affghans in their own hills, with an abundant supply of the best American breechloaders, would be most unpleasant to deal with. And so it may really be with the Turks. The Russian advance may not be so rapid or easy after all, unless strategy enables them to avoid defences and advance where they can. Still it is not a violent presumption to suppose that sooner or later the Russians may succeed in making a great advance, and we may consider the matter in view of that very probable contingency.

Suppose that a victorious advance of the Russians to Philippopolis or Adrianople, and the occupation of great part of Asiatic Turkey, shall have super-excited the susceptibilities and the fears of that great part of the nation which dislikes Russia, while our Government maintains a tone which gives colour and consistency to such feelings ; suppose that Englishmen carrying on an unofficial war against Russia, and other causes of offence, have embittered the feelings of the Russians towards us ; will there not be a state of tension in which one spark may light up a conflagration of war ? May not we thus be drawn into a war with Russia just at the time when she has attained such

a position that we shall fight at a great disadvantage? Suppose that, under such circumstances, the Germans, counting as they have counted before on our readiness to assume the task which they avoid, leave us to follow our bent in stemming the Russian tide as much for their benefit as our own. May not our position then be very difficult? If the Turks may still furnish soldiers who would be very good in our hands, we should certainly have to pay for all, and the expenditure would be enormous. Probably with the feelings we have about Constantinople, we should think it necessary to make it our first point to secure that place. It would be no use attempting to hold the Bosphorus unless we held the Dardanelles also—so we must undertake at least two sets of land defences. Suppose that by an effort we are able to send 50,000 men or more to undertake that task in conjunction with the Turks, and that by an unstinted expenditure we may secure these points—shall we then also undertake a great Asiatic campaign to prevent Russia from permanently seizing the countries between the Black Sea and the Persian Gulf, dominating Persia, approaching Affghanistan, and, as many among us think, threatening India? It may be possible that, by raising great armies in India, and draining our population at home, we might fight the Russians in Mesopotamia; but if we did so, the conditions would be very different from the position if we waited for the Russians in our own borders. We should fight very far from our own bases, while the Russians, instead of being separated from their base by enormous tracts of desert and mountain, would be almost at home, with their Caucasian army a little in advance of their present position. The expense to us of such an undertaking would be prodigious—greater than that of any war of which the world has yet heard.

Lord Beaconsfield says that time is our advantage; that with our long purse we can sustain many campaigns when other countries would be exhausted. But suppose that under such circumstances as those described, the Russians quietly held Bulgaria on both sides the Balkan, Armenia, and all of Turkey in Asia that is worth their holding, while we, holding the Bosphorus and the Dardanelles, either remain quietly in India or maintain an army in Mesopotamia. Suppose even we were able, at a vast expense, to make Turkistan too hot for the Russians, while they have so much else on their hands. What then? The Russians would lose their trade by sea; but they would draw the revenues of the best parts of Turkey. They would save all the expense of a fleet. They might also save the army and expenditure now so unprofitable in Turkistan. They would still have free commerce with Europe by land, and even by sea through the Baltic Provinces of Russia. We should either have to do without the flax and other Russian raw products so important to our manufactures,

or else pay much dearer for them, and might find that we had cut off our nose to spite our face. It strikes me that under such circumstances the Russians could afford to wait at least as long as we, and that we might find the game a very unprofitable one. In fact, unless we could persuade or bribe the Germans to help us out of it, I don't see how such a stale-mate position could be brought to an end. Even if we were more prudent in India than I can hope, and remained strictly on the defensive, while Russia occupies the valley of the Euphrates and the Turkoman villages bordering on Affghanistan, I cannot doubt that with all Asia excited, the Affghans intriguing, and the Persians siding with Russia, we should incur great expense for increased armaments in India as well as in Europe.

All this, I really do believe, may not improbably happen if we isolate ourselves from the European concert, and maintain an unfriendly position towards Russia. On the other hand, if we act with the other Powers as it may be agreed in concert to act, and if we treat Russia as acting as she professes to do in execution of the decision at which united Europe has arrived (though without our authority), we may well claim to step in with the other Powers at a fitting time to discuss and settle matters on the bases already laid down, and we may in an amicable way exercise a large influence on the settlement of the great questions involved. Whatever their ulterior designs, the Russians have always shown a great respect for English opinions and English susceptibilities, and if we treat them in a fair and friendly way, it is probable that for their own sake they will desire to conciliate us, and to make a settlement which shall satisfy their interests with as little offence as possible to ours.

I assume that, the war being now commenced, it is impossible to stop a great effusion of blood; that it must go on, till at least the first round has been fought out, and the parties are a little sobered. Then it will be that Europe may with advantage step in to give effect to the general plans of the Conference, modified and extended as no doubt they then must be, according to the circumstances. I do not doubt that if we only abstain from prematurely putting ourselves forward to bell the cat, as the jealous antagonist of Russia, Turkey in Europe is safe enough from permanent Russian dominion. The Germans will take care of that. We may hope and presume that they will agree to establish the Autonomies to which they have set their hand. Our part must chiefly be to see that those Autonomies are real and are not strangled and stifled, in deference to the susceptibilities of powers jealous of popular freedom. We must strive for a free Bulgaria, free Greek Provinces, and a free Bosnia (joined to or separate from Servia), while we maintain the free and thriving young States already existing, and promote a confederation which will make them all stronger. There are not wanting signs that the

free and democratic character of the Russo-Servian movement last year was disagreeable to the Russian Government, as well as to the Austro-Hungarian Government, and that this time it is proposed to stifle movement in that quarter, and to prefer more regular official action in other quarters. It would be a very great pity that our influence in favour of giving a popular form to the new Autonomies should be wanting, or should be weakened by our following a separate and isolated course. In every way it is to be wished that we should act with Europe and not get into an isolated position.

In one way or other Europe may then, I hope, be settled. But it is in Asia that our own difficulties will arise if we have not earned the good offices of the other Powers, and given Russia reason to conciliate and deal reasonably with us. In Asia undoubtedly very complicated and difficult questions must arise, the settlement of which may require much disposition on all sides to concord and forbearance. I propose, therefore, to examine that part of the subject more fully.

Mr. Laing quoted high authority of a not very recent date to show how groundless are the fears of a Russian invasion of India. I agree with him in the main in that, and still more in his wish that a good many members of Parliament and respectable people outside, who give way to this scare, could be put through a small course of physical geography. But I hardly think he sufficiently adverted to the advance that Russia has made since the date of the opinions which he quoted. She has since then conquered Turkistan. The very full knowledge we now have of her position there makes it clear that while she has annexed and incorporated in her own dominions the northern and north-eastern portions of Turkistan, she completely dominates over Bhokhara and Khiva, the native states of the Southern portion. She does not seem to keep residents at the native courts after our fashion; but with Samarcand and the valley of the Zer-Afshan in her possession she controls the water-supply on which Bhokhara wholly depends. And she maintains garrisons in annexed territory within easy reach of Khiva, with which she has established permanent communications and from whence she both controls the Khan and assists him to control the Turkomans over whom he had little control before. The Turkomans of the country near Khiva have been subjugated by the severe measures of which we have heard so much, as have also apparently those near the south-eastern shores of the Caspian. There remain those farther to the East, near the Persian frontier and extending to or beyond Merv. It is perhaps as much due to our susceptibilities as to anything else, that these last have not yet been taken in hand. Merv is, as has been stated, but a half-ruined village on the edge of the desert, and it is not on the best way to India, there being no break in the mountains there.

But a little farther to the East, near Meshed, there is such a break, where the Turkomans habitually invade the north-eastern corner of Persia, plundering the country and carrying the inhabitants off into slavery. Merv, though nothing in itself, may perhaps be taken as a type of a line of Turkoman communities occupying a considerable submontane tract or series of tracts from Kizil Arvat near the Russian frontier to Merv. These are the wretches who harry Persia, and perhaps the worst of the Turkomans. They seem to have owed some sort of intermittent allegiance and nominal tribute to Khiva; but they are separated from that territory by a great desert, and the Khan had no real authority over them. If it were not for question of offence to us, there can be no doubt that in ordinary course the next step would be for the Russians to bring these people under some sort of control. If they would avoid offence they need not place a permanent garrison on the immediate frontier towards Affghanistan, and placing it on the other side they need not make it stronger than suffices to control the Turkomans in concert with Persia. But if they wish to worry and annoy us, probably they would find in this country of the southern Turkomans, cultivated and watered as to some extent it is, places that would suit them well for cantonments controlling Turkistan, and these might occasion some intrigue and apprehensions on our Indian frontiers.

My view in brief is this, that in Asia the Russians and English are not near enough really to hurt one another, but are quite near enough to annoy and excite one another, to cause much expense if apprehensions are easily entertained, and in fact to play a game of 'beggar my neighbour' to a very great extent. The suggestion that we should shake hands with the Russians across the Himalayas was not originally mine. For my part I had rather not see them there, so far as our particular interests are concerned; but being there, and we having no ground to prevent their being there, I think the best we can do is to shake hands with them. It is something like the case of a rich man for whom you do not very much care, buying a property and coming to settle near you in the country. You had rather he did not come; you rather fear he may detract from your authority in the parish and country; but you feel that if you are on bad terms with him, he may make things unpleasant to you in many ways, and perhaps involve you in several contests and much expense; so you shake hands with him, ask him to dinner, and perhaps find him not such a bad fellow after all. I still believe that if we could bring ourselves to keep quite quiet, we might leave the Russians in Central Asia alone for a long time to come. But I much fear that we can't do that. Already the accounts from India show that an excitement is getting up, and, as I think, an imprudent activity. This time, for a change, it is the Anglo-Indian newspapers that are exciting them-

selves over the excitability of the Government, and taking the other line. There seems to be no doubt that Lord Lytton, besides the advance in Khelat, has attempted to enter into more intimate relations with the Ameer of Cabul, and has failed in the attempt. Also I hear of a design to extend our influence in another quarter in the same part of the world. The truth is that the time has arrived when the Ameer in natural course comes to do that which it is the function of every Affghan to do, that is to put himself up to the highest bidder. If we and the Russians both bid for him, he is certain to do that very persistently. Hence, all the stories of his receiving Russian agents, &c., &c., while he sulks towards us. The truth is that if we court him, he will certainly raise his price. Our only course with these people is to leave them entirely alone till they come to us for favours, and then they will be humble enough.

As, however, things are situated, there is no doubt some bad feeling and excitement which may be increased by war in Western Asia, and by every rumour of unfriendliness between us and the Russians. One of the last pieces of news is, that "the Emperor of Russia has finally sanctioned the Orenberg-Taskend Railway line," which, running east from Orenberg, is to branch off to Turkistan on one side and to Siberia on the other. There never was a time when financially this was more impossible. But may not the announcement be intended as a sort of counterblast—a suggestion to all whom it may concern, that if we push forward on our side the Russians may push forward on theirs?

Now let us go back to Turkey in Asia. That country as a whole is really, as a glance at the map will show, about equidistant between England and India, but its Eastern portion comes a good deal nearer the latter. What is usually called Asia Minor, that is the peninsula stretching towards Constantinople, is chiefly inhabited by Turks, or perhaps I should rather say by Mahomedans; but a large country to the east of this is marked "Armenia" in the maps, and contains a large Armenian population, mixed with Turks, Koords, and others. I have not been able to form any real estimate of the number of the Armenians, but they claim to be several millions, partly settled in Armenia, and partly scattered over much wider countries. Already a good many of them are under Russian rule, and I am told that the Russian rule in this part of Asia has been specially conciliatory, probably with a view to future eventualities. There are, also, I believe, a good many Armenians in Persia. But the bulk of them are in Turkey; and, isolated from other Christian peoples, of a supple and clever character, large classes of them have become a sort of parasitic growth on the Turkish Empire, doing many things for the Turks which they cannot do for themselves, and profiting much by the connection. . . Yet the

Armenian peasantry of Armenia are, by all accounts, as much oppressed and plundered as the people of any part of the Empire; partly owing to the usual Turkish misgovernment, and partly on account of want of protection from the marauding practices of their Koord neighbours.

Then we come to the Koords occupying all the hilly country east of the Euphrates, from Armenia far into Persia. The number of the Koords seems to be large both in Turkey and Persia; about a million I have seen them put at in the former, besides some Kizzlebash Koords allied to the Persian division of the race. They are an arms-bearing people, of much energy, predatory and otherwise. Speaking generally, they are Mahommedans, but I see an allusion in Consul Taylor's report to "Christian Koords,"—so apparently some of them are Christians. From the context I should suppose that the people he calls Christian Koords are the Nestorians, of whom we have heard much, and who are stated to be found in the Koord country near the borders of Persia in numbers considerably exceeding a hundred thousand. But there is another fact regarding the Koords prominently brought out by Consul Taylor, viz., that there are many Koords (and those among the most important and influential of the race) in the Russian territory. They are, it seems, freely employed by the Russians, and much petted and conciliated by them; lightly taxed and liberally governed, in pursuance of the general Russian policy of conciliation in Asia. The Koords on either side of the border seem very freely to move backwards and forwards, with the general result that, according to our Consul, though, like most such races, they have abundant clan quarrels and disputes among themselves, they "are united in their partiality for Russia rather than for Turkey." The Kizzlebash Koords are also stated to be altogether unfriendly to Turkey. Again, in the Province of Trebizond there is, according to Consul Biliotti, a large population of Georgians, Mingrelians, and people whom he calls "*Kroomlees*," all of whom very much prefer Russia to Turkey, Mahommedan though most of them be.

The general result of the very interesting reports of our Consuls just published (Blue book, No. 16) seems to be that in a great part of the territory, in advance of the present Russian boundary in Asia, the Russians will not have to encounter a strong popular resistance; but, on the contrary, are likely to find allies, or at any rate people ready to sell their swords. It is not till they come into Asia Minor proper that a real popular resistance is to be expected, and perhaps they will not care to go there.

The division of Syria among various races and religions, Mahommedan, Christian, and nondescript, is so well known that I need not dwell on that.

In Arabia, again, we have all the great central regions containing the great agricultural and settled communities so well described by Mr. Palgrave, entirely independent of, and always bitterly hostile to the Turks. They are mostly in religion of those Wahabee sects who most strongly repudiate such a dominion as that of the Sultan. Since the Turks have had a regular army, they have succeeded in establishing their controlling authority more or less in some of the coast districts of Arabia, and they seem at present to hold pretty firmly the holy cities of Mecca and Medina ; but if they are in difficulties, the Arabs of the interior who so long contested those places with them, will probably not be slow once more to try their fortune.

So far as any real control is maintained over the Arab tribes of the Syrian desert, and the plains of Mesopotamia, it is the Turks who now do so, and if the Turkish Power fails, the tribes must either be let loose or be controlled by some one else.

Over the towns and more settled territory on, and east of, the Tigris the Persians have old claims, and besides the desire to possess their sacred place, Kerbula near Bagdad, ancient enmities of the bitterest description, and modern causes of offence, make it almost inevitable that, even if they profess neutrality for a time, they should attack Turkey when they see a sufficiently favourable opportunity. Persia is now, however (from what causes we hardly understand), a very wretched and down-going country. I am told by men who have known it intimately for the last fifteen years, that the visible change for the worse in that time is enormous. There never was a greater impostor than the Shah, when he appeared in Europe and was received as the successor of the Great King. The military Power of Persia is small, and it is only when the Turkish forces are greatly reduced, or drawn away, that she will have much chance of a permanent extension.

It is evident, then, that the complications in the way of a settlement between Russia, Turkey, and Persia in the countries between Russian Georgia and the Euphrates, and again in the Arab countries beyond, will be very great.

It is to be expected that, with more or less difficulty, the Russians will reach the head waters of the Euphrates, and then there is not much to stop them from entering Mesopotamia if they so desire. Still they will there be in every sense farther from India than they now are in Turkistan. As to the dread which has been expressed of their reaching the Persian Gulf and thence threatening India by sea, it is impossible to imagine a more preposterous idea. We must indeed be far reduced before the Russians can establish on the Persian Gulf a naval force with which we cannot cope. It will be high time to give up India and try to save ourselves in our own island long before that can come about.

Nevertheless, with our feelings on the subject, a great increase of Russian territory and power in the countries immediately west of Persia would certainly much add to our excitement and uneasiness. The route through central and southern Persia might add one to the possible lines of approach to India; and though I hate the word "prestige," I cannot but admit that there is so much truth in a passage lately quoted from Mr. Palgrave, that if Russia were on the Tigris as well as on the northern frontier of Affghanistan, and on unfriendly terms with us, there would be an increased belief in that Power in the intermediate countries of Asia, and an increased restlessness on our frontier.

The difficulty of localising the war in Asia, if there is a want of concert between the great European Powers, must be very great. The hereditary hatreds ready to burst forth are many. The old Sanscrit sage wisely said, "Your next neighbour is your natural enemy; the next but one is your natural friend, because he is the enemy of your enemy." Now, just as the Persians are the hereditary enemies of the Turks, so the Affghans are the hereditary enemies of the Persians, with whom they have had many strifes, and against whom they have very recent grievances. A principal cause of the Ameer of Cabul's present attitude towards us is that he thinks he was ill-used by our decision in his Seistan boundary dispute with Persia. If the Persians attack the Turks, the Affghans are pretty sure to take the opportunity to attack the Persians, unless we restrain them. The Affghans are also hereditary enemies of the Turkistan States, with whom they have had many contests for the submontane tracts on their northern border. If the Turkomans (using the term in a broad sense) go against the Russians, the Affghans, as enemies of the Turkomans, might be pro-Russian—unless, indeed, as anti-Persian they become pro-Turk. Whether they sided with the Russians, or whether they joined the Turkomans against the Russians, we might be called in to restrain them, and must either do so, or show extreme firmness in letting things take their course, and it would require a good deal of passive courage to do that.

I think people are now beginning to appreciate that it is not an invasion of India, but the effect of such complications on the Indian finances that we have to fear. It cannot but be that if excitement grows up, our military expenses will be much increased. As Mr. Laing has reminded us, Lord Hardinge most justly said that the true way to prepare for the Russians was to keep quiet and pay off our debts, and if we had done this all would have been well. But we have done nothing of the kind; we have trebled the Indian debt since Lord Hardinge's time, besides large liabilities for railway guarantees. It is not pretended that in recent years of peace and

prosperity we have done more than barely meet the inevitable charges. Latterly the cost of the great public works—unproductive as well as productive—has been added to the debt, and at present we are largely adding to that debt for famine as well as public works. Nothing is a clearer axiom of Indian finance than this, that if in times of peace and prosperity we create no financial margin for a rainy day, we cannot possibly impose new taxes in time of war or political excitement. Any serious complications or precautions will, as things stand, inevitably involve fresh borrowing and greatly increased difficulties in India. That is a most serious outlook.

I have dwelt chiefly on our own difficulties, as they will appear in the event of our being on unfriendly terms with Russia, but I do not doubt that the Russians will have at least equal difficulties. I have suggested the strain upon them which may be caused by the use of improved arms by the Turkish irregulars acting on the defensive. One cannot doubt that if the war lasts long, they will have the greatest possible difficulty about money. Turkomans and Caucasian mountaineers, Polish sympathisers, and secret societies, may give them much trouble. The inconveniences of a want of understanding between Russia and England will be fully felt on both sides; it is again, I say, a game of 'beggar my neighbour' that we shall have to play. Looking, then, entirely to their own interests, I apprehend that the Russians, having entered on this great undertaking, will be ready and willing to conciliate us if we will meet them half-way, do them a friendly turn when we can, and try to arrange amicably with them a settlement of Asia.

Supposing that the two countries can meet in such a spirit, what shall the settlement be? Till we understand the subject better, it would be very difficult to suggest a settlement of Armenia and Koor-distan. Will the Armenians, when it comes to the point, willingly transfer themselves from the Turks to the Russians? The peasantry of Armenia would probably be much better off, but the bureaucratic and mercantile classes of the Armenians would never have the position that they have under the Turks. The Armenians could hardly stand alone; there is no autonomous chain of states of which they could form one, and if they were independent, they might not find the position very profitable from a material point of view.

It is a very great pity that there seems so little prospect of making Persia a strong and respectable state. If she could hold Bagdad, Kerbula, and the country between that and the Persian Gulf, she would have a fair claim to so much, as well as to a suzerainty over all the Koord country held by Koords willing to render her allegiance. And it might be a condition of such aggrandisement that she should surrender to Cabul the portion of Seistan of which the Ameer has been deprived, and so satisfy him as far as he can be

satisfied. The possession by Persia of the Bagdad country would really increase our influence in Persia, because it would be a valuable country quite accessible to us, whereas at present we have very little access to any tolerable part of Persia, and the Russians are much more formidable neighbours to the Persians.

Asia Minor would remain with the Turks, and after much pondering, my present view is that they should keep Constantinople and the country between Constantinople and the Maritza valley. Look at the map, and consider the sea of Marmora to be a lake: the tract which I have indicated goes quite naturally with Asia Minor from a geographical point of view. It is a hilly ridgy narrow country, offering peculiar facilities for defence. As a question of population the Turks probably have at this moment a better claim to it than any other race. The only other claim is that of the Greeks, and the Russians with some reason put their foot down and say the Greeks shall not have it. Supposing then the rest of European Turkey autonomised, and Turkey to retain Asia Minor, Constantinople, and the Dardanelles, she would still be a respectable power, freed from much of that anachronism of position which is now the ruin of her, and she might well be, as hitherto, a guardian of the straits of whom the various European powers would not be jealous. Probably Syria would be better held by Turkey than by any other Power, till we can establish a chain of Autonomies on the Lebanon model. What would happen in Arabia I shall not pretend to say.

If these questions could be settled, then I think we might come to a general arrangement with the Russians in Asia, not as trusting them—I would not care to do that too much—but by balancing matters between us for mutual advantage and comfort. The long-projected arrangement should be carried out, by which Russia should wholly renounce all meddling with the Affghan territory and affairs, while we disclaim all interest in Turkistan. I think we should entirely abandon all dealings (other than purely commercial) with the Kashgar countries, as being separated by an insuperable natural barrier from our political and military influences, and might leave the Russians to settle all that with Yacoob Khan and the Chinese. A real Turkey of the Turks might be independent in reality as well as in name. If Persia could be similarly independent, it would be a great gain. When the Affghans find that there is no one bidding against us for them, we need only leave them alone and they will come to us soon enough for anything that they have to ask. That is the only way of dealing with such people. If we show an anxiety to enter into relations with them, they will raise their terms more and more; if we abstain they will court us. Above all things we must not push matters on our side, while a generation which remembers the events of the Cabul war still lives. Till that is quite forgotten any attempt

on our part to set again the foot of a British resident, to say nothing of a British soldier, in the country, will be received with the most extreme jealousy.

There are still some people who imagine that a Russo-Turkish war may lead to a grand reunion of Mahommedandom against Christendom. One member of Parliament solemnly warned the House how the Crusaders had brought down on us the Turkish hordes of Asia and caused the effacement of Christian rule in a great part of Europe; and he seemed to suggest that something of the kind might happen now. These ideas are really survivals of a state of things which has passed away centuries ago. We do not understand the conditions under which Central Asia was a great 'officina gentium' sending forth hordes to over-run the world; although no doubt such was the case in old times. The latter hordes too were converted in some sort to the Mahommedan religion before they reached the West, and so appeared to Europe as Mahommedan Powers. But such things cannot occur again, for the simple reason that the people do not exist. We have explored the mysterious depths of Central Asia, and know that the hiving swarms are there no longer. Turkistan is a great country with the sparsest possible population; the most reliable estimates do not place it above five millions, all told. Even if we include the Russian Khirghiz and the subjects of the Ameer of Kashgar, the whole Mahommedan and semi-Mahommedan population between the Caspian and the Volga on one side, and the Chinese dominions on the other, cannot possibly be placed higher than ten millions. Of this a great portion is already thoroughly Russianized, while the representative of Kashgar, who happens to be in Europe, has publicly made known in the most emphatic manner that his master, with a Chinese war on his hands, does not wish to have a Russian one also. The Khanates of Turkistan may make a strike for freedom during the Russo-Turkish war, but it is now clear that their reputation was due to their inaccessibility in the desert, and that once reached, their fighting powers are contemptible. The famous Khiva, which had been the occasion of the destruction of so many armies, when reached hardly made so much resistance as an Indian Zemindar's mud fort. The Khan seems to have been almost well pleased to have the assistance of the Russians to control the Turcomans of the desert. And these last, though very troublesome in their way, do not seem to number more than a few hundred thousand souls altogether. Beyond a possible diversion in the way of rebellion against Russia the Turks of Turkey will certainly desire no assistance from any of their congeners to the East.

Well, then, let us box the compass all round, and see whence Mahommedan aid to Turkey can come. Next to Turkistan is Persia, Turkey will certainly get no aid there. I hear the Shah now declares

his neutrality; but if he departs from that, there can be little doubt with what object he will move. Next comes Arabia. The Turks no doubt draw some Arab soldiers from their Turkish dominions, and may continue to do so if they can offer pay, plunder, and rapine. But I have already shown that the relations between the Turks and Arabs are such that any great movement of the tribes of Arabia proper on behalf of the Turks would be quite out of the question, even if they had the resources, which they have not. If Egypt does much in support of Turkey it will be at the expense of the bondholders, and much against the will of the Egyptian population. There is no chance of Egypt's playing so important a part as in former wars. I don't know whether any aid will come from Tunis. At any rate it cannot be very large. The Emperor of Morocco, it is certain, repudiates all connection with the Sultan, and no aid will come from that quarter. This completes the whole round, There remain only the more distant Mahomedans of Affghanistan and India, whom mere distance has hitherto severed from all communication with the Turks.

It is remarkable, indeed, how completely not only differences of race and sect, but mere want of means of communication have severed Mahomedan countries. Such communications as now exist are entirely due to the routes and the means which we have provided. To this day, when any of the Mahomedan rulers, not immediately bordering on Turkey, wish to communicate with Constantinople, they can only do so through our territories by the use of our ships. A Turkish gentleman said to me, "When the Suez Canal was opened, we expected to see numbers of Oriental Mahomedans and others here for trade and other purposes; but we have seen nothing of them yet." When I was at Adrianople I met with a curious instance of ignorance of the Affghans and their position. I found that a wandering blackguard—such a man as those countries produce pretty freely—half knave, half madman—had been bullying the chief Turkish judge there. According to his own story he came from Herat. He had some case of alleged grievance, and had repeatedly waylaid, stopped, and threatened the judge, till the latter, in great alarm, came to the English consul for protection. "Why don't you have him arrested?" said the consul. "Oh!" was the reply, "I daren't do that, for I believe he is a British subject!"

I have suggested that possibly the natural alternation of friend and enemy might bring the Ameer of Cabul into action, either on the eastern frontier of Persia or in Turkistan; but however capable of giving trouble on his own borders, the Ameer's force is quite contemptible for any operations in the field or at a distance; so, beyond embarrassing us, he can do little that will much affect the main issue. As to religious fanaticism, there never was the Affghan yet who let that stand in the way of his material interests.

Regarding the Indian Mahommedans we have not heard so much lately, and I have so fully expressed my views before this, that I hardly care to repeat them. But the idea of the forty-one millions of Indian Mahommedans, ready to die for the Sultan as their religious head, has been again to some degree reproduced—so I will touch once more on the matter. I desire to be perfectly candid, after having heard all that has been said.

It is on all hands agreed that so long as the Great Mogul¹ was the real or nominal head of the Indian Mahommedans, there was no connection whatever with the Sultan of Turkey. The suggestion is, that in the last twenty years, since the Mogul ceased to be (after the capture of Delhi), many of the Indian Mahommedans have turned to the Sultan. I can only say that, if to any extent whatever this was the case, the change must have taken place in an extraordinarily silent way. Nothing was heard of it till the other day. The recent agitation on the subject in India certainly has its source in information and ideas derived from the European press. Nevertheless, I freely admit that, adopted by the native press, it has made some way with some classes in India; it is only a question of degree and intensity. I believe it to be extremely superficial; there are others who seem to think the movement worthy of some attention. I still look on it as certain that the mass of the Mahommedan peasantry, who form so large a proportion of the population of certain provinces, are wholly unaffected by any question of the Sultan, either in his religious or political character. But I think it not improbable that among the educated classes of the Mahommedans, the seeds of a propagandism in favour of Turkey and the Sultan may have been sown in soil favourable to their growth.

When we first became rulers in India, notwithstanding the Hindoo military revival, almost all public business and almost all the higher education and polish were Mahommedan in form and language. The Mahommedans were the men with whom we had most in common and whom we most trusted and employed. All this has been gradually changed by the introduction of English and western education, and the Mahommedans are being left out in the cold. Very unreasonably too, as I think, the events of the Mutiny were made the occasion of a prejudice against the Mahommedans, and I believe that in the parts of Hindostan where the Mutiny most prevailed, the relations between ourselves and the upper

(1) I do not find that the Mogul was one of the many who have taken the title of "khalif." That title is oddly applied in India to certain Mahommedan servants and tradesmen: cooks, tailors, and farriers are universally called "khalifs"—I never understood why. In every Indian establishment you constantly hear "Oh kalif! send the dinner." "Oh khalif! darn the stockings." "Oh khalif! shoe the horse." Perhaps in former days of Mahommedan rule the best artistes were from the land of the khalifs of Bagdad, and came to be called khalifs as a French cook is called "chef."

classes of Mahomedans have been on the whole far less cordial than before. If that be so, it is scarcely surprising that men who thus see themselves ousted, distrusted, and downgoing, should catch at anything which might preserve the importance of Mahomedans in the world and save them from the further fall and want of consideration which they might apprehend if the last great Mahomedan Power is destroyed, and there is an end of the last Mahomedan alliance of England. So much I can quite believe to be the case. At the same time I believe the classes thus-affected to be comparatively few in numbers, somewhat effete, and of no very great political importance. It is rather on the general ground of equal justice to all our subjects that I have always strongly upheld the cause of these Mahomedans, and sought to do fair justice to them, the more as I believe that there is something to be said for their education and morals as compared with a very superficial veneer of Western culture. I think that our only course is to do our duty to all our subjects, be they Mahomedan or Hindoo or anything else, and rest on the consciousness that this is our strength.

I do not deny that, in the present state of communications, and with so very free a press, serious troubles in Western Asia and uneasiness on our own frontier may have some considerable effect on the general Indian populations. Right or wrong, this is principally our own doing. The union of despotic power with a press free to the point of extravagance is an experiment which we have tried for the first time. Not only the most sensational telegrams, manufactured in Europe, are now from day to day published all over India, but the most free-spoken comments are circulated without let or hindrance, sometimes in language which in Europe would be called seditious. And here it is that the effect on our finances of troubles yet distant may become apparent. Our comparatively small army of 180,000 men must garrison a very great country at many points. No doubt we hold India by the army. But the people have become so accustomed to our rule (to put it no higher), that in ordinary times the smallest demonstration of our military power suffices for internal purposes. In troublous times, however, or when the atmosphere is surcharged with rumours, the visible representation of our power must not be wanting, or the old elements of anarchy burst forth, simply in the idea that our controlling power is removed. During the Mutiny there was no civil rebellion against us whatever; but where our military power ceased, there the natives were let loose against one another, and the most handy pretender obtained power. Therefore it is that in disturbed times we must retain *some* troops at hundreds of stations, and our very moderate army cannot be made available for extraordinary purposes. It follows that in such times any large action, and even any considerable military precautions,

will involve us in very great additional expenses at a time when we cannot raise additional revenues. Armaments are now on so great a scale, and of so expensive a character, that it is difficult to look such contingencies in the face without extreme anxiety.

Uneasinesses and financial disturbances apart, the only danger of ultimate serious attack by Russia on India lies, not in her hostility to great Mahommedan Powers, but in her endeavour to conciliate and carry with her the Mahommedan populations of Asia after hostilities with them are ended. It does seem as if Russia has better methods of assimilating and incorporating Mahommedans than we. Herself at one time subject to Mahommedan rule, she has never entirely separated herself from the Mahommedan connection. Many of the Tartars of Russia seem to be good, prosperous, and contented Russian citizens. Both among them and among the Mahommedans of the Caucasus and of Central Asia we find prefects and colonels, and men in many ways trusted in high positions. A man does not seem to be looked on as altogether an alien only because he is a Mahommedan. That religion is not only tolerated but protected by the Russians in Asia. And quite irrespective of religion, many new subjects of Russia seem to enter with some cordiality into her system and into her service.

We, on the other hand, have always rather patronised natives than treated them on equal terms, and especially we have, I think, allowed to grow upon us some prejudice against Mahommedans as such. We have some feeling of religious bitterness against them, which we do not feel towards mere Hindoos. There are Turkophiles among us; but it is only from being Russophobes that we have become Turkophiles, and the corresponding party in India, who are always crying out about the Russian wolf, and the necessity of siding with the Turks, do so, not because they love, but because they distrust the Mahommedans. It is they who are always scenting Mahommedan conspiracies and Mahommedan disaffections of all sorts.

It is in the view that our danger lies in the superior attractions of Russia for Mahommedan populations—that, having some day attached to her service all the peoples between Russia and the Indian frontier, made railways, and opened routes, she may bring half Asia against us—that it is argued with some force that we should not identify ourselves with any coercion of Turkey, even in order to keep that power alive, but should leave Russia to make herself as hateful as possible to the Mahommedans, while we, by refraining, earn their comparative goodwill. If I believed that religious considerations dominated over all others in the minds of the neo-Mahommedan races, I should think there was much in this argument. But, believing as I do that they are more powerfully influenced by other feelings, I doubt if we should gain much by such a policy as has been suggested.

We have three policies open to us: to abstain, and in masterly inactivity let things take their course; to settle matters by amicable arrangement with Russia; or to enter into an active rivalry with the Russians for power in Central and Western Asia. The last plan involves, according to my showing, ruin to our Indian finances. It would be bad policy to ruin ourselves speedily in one way, in order to stave off a possible prospect of being at some distant day ruined in another way. The inactive policy has seemed to me far the best, till at least another course is clearly possible. Now that we are on the point of great events, hazardous both to the Russians and to ourselves, I recommend that we should take the first opportunity to adopt the second course—that is, an amicable arrangement with Russia. I would watch for the time when we may make this proposal with effect. I hope that Lord Derby's despatch of the 1st of May has expended our fires; that after what has since been said the Russians may let it alone, and that such exasperations will not be unnecessarily repeated. If so, things may still be adjusted.

If we do succeed in making a political settlement and line of demarcation between ourselves and Russia, then the rivalry into which we shall enter must be one of peace and conciliation, not of war. We must strive which can best attach and improve the populations. I have suggested that there may be doubt whether in such a struggle we have yet the best of it. If not we must try to improve our system, not by petting the natives, but by making the most of their real qualities.

G. CAMPBELL.

THE GROSVENOR GALLERY.

To exhibit the best work in the best way would seem to be the natural purpose of a gallery of art. In the Grosvenor Gallery, an attempt has been made to establish a new exhibition fulfilling this purpose more strictly than it has been fulfilled elsewhere. It is too soon yet to foretell the future of an institution owing its origin entirely to personal enterprise, and depending for its direction entirely upon personal control; but it is not too soon to praise the courage and efficiency with which, so far, the venture has been conducted. No existing institution as a matter of fact did what this gallery was designed and bids fair to do. Of the principal institution for art in the country, the Royal Academy, it is no censure and no disrespect to say, that the conditions under which it exists are such that its exhibitions cannot be exhibitions of the best only, and of that to the best advantage. The best work of any period includes the work of its most eager spirits, and one result of eagerness is experiment, novelty, the rejection, it may be, of customs, canons, and traditions; while a chartered and constituted body, especially if, like the Royal Academy, it is self-electing, is sure to hold fast by its traditions and to look unfavourably on novelty. Again, the best art of a period does not include the work of those who may have done well once, but who do badly now; while the exhibitions of a chartered and constituted body are bound to receive the works of every one, no matter how badly he may do now, who has once done, or been thought to have done, well enough to be made a member of the body. It is thus in the very nature of an Academy to keep out some kinds of good art from its exhibitions, and to let in some kinds of bad. In the arrangement and display of what it does let in, such a body is under difficulties too. Ever since the Paris Academy held its first public exhibition, nearly a hundred and fifty years ago, the rule of such undertakings has been, not the natural rule of a gallery of art—to place nothing where it cannot be well seen, and to provide that the spectator shall not be bewildered or fatigued; but the natural rule of a sale-room or bazaar—to expose as many wares as possible within a given space. That is a principle legitimate, perhaps, for purposes of commerce, but disastrous for purposes of study and enjoyment. We have, however, grown accustomed to it, and it would be hopeless to expect that an Academy should abandon or reverse the principle. No Academy, with its own members to satisfy, with the profession at large to conciliate and encourage, with a hundred works of art consigned to it for ten that it can possibly receive—no Academy could refuse to overcrowd its galleries.

It must admit everything which it approves and can find room for. If an exhibition is to be held to which only as many things shall be admitted as shall not hurt or clash with one another or fatigue the spectator, and at which nothing shall be placed at a disadvantage, to hold it must be the task of a different organization. The task has been undertaken at last, not by a constituted body, but by an individual. The attempt has been made with chivalry, with success; an institution has been provided which is not the rival but the supplement of existing institutions; and the opportunity is such as we have not had before for a survey of much that is most interesting, most spontaneous, most alive in contemporary art.

To be spontaneous and alive, that is the first and most necessary condition of good art; and the bane of our modern schools is that they produce so much that is unspontaneous and without life. In the great times of art, painting and sculpture were the natural, the impulsive, expression of what men imagined and felt; the arts were exercised in direct response to overmastering spiritual and intellectual needs. But now, together with the spontaneous desire for art which exists in a few, there exists in many more a desire for it which is merely artificial. We ask for pictures and statues, not because we should have thought of wanting them if we had been left to ourselves, but in obedience to precedent, and because we know that other people have wanted them in other ages. If it were possible to separate, in the current demand for works of art, that part which depends on real delight in art from that part which depends merely on precedent, on fashion, on ideas of what is expected of us, and on not knowing what else to do with our money, we should find these latter, these irrelevant motives, immeasurably the more prevalent. And as with the demand, so with the supply. Numbers of excellent people learn the artist's trade without having in any degree the nature or instincts of artists. The vast majority of the pictures painted within the last fifty years to meet the popular demand have been incapable of striking a single chord of those which vibrate in the human spirit to the touch of true art. They have served and are still serving their purpose as articles of furniture, luxuries, or investments; they have yielded a livelihood to those who produced and wealth to those who trafficked in them; but things of beauty they are not, the higher pleasures of sense and spirit they cannot give. They bear witness to the busy hand, but not to the seeing eye, not to the quick mind, not to the apt choice, not to the combining and harmonizing instinct. In this multifarious production of works which sprang from no real impulse and answered to no real desire, English art, as it was some thirty years ago, had almost forgotten what a picture ought to be and to what faculties it ought to appeal. A picture ought to be the adequate

embodiment, in form and colour, of some spontaneous, clear, harmonious impression of the mind. English artists, always with a few distinguished exceptions, did little more than seek to entertain by lax and often vulgar imitation, and their work consisted for the most part of promiscuous transcripts from nature, or illustrations of history, novels, or the nursery, without penetration, without refinement, without the inspiration or control of any pictorial instinct. The curse of commonness was upon us, and is but partly lifted yet. The traditions and conventions which eager spirits in England have to fight against are not, as they used to be in France, those of a stilted academical classicism; ours have erred in another way; they have been traditions and conventions of vulgarity, of nullity, of dull disregard for the finer aspects of the world and the proper effects and pleasures of art. When, thirty years ago, a band of reformers appeared in the school, they were intensely conscious of a mission, but they had not fully realised what the needed reforms were; both their aims and watchwords were confused. The subsequent development of the several talents who were then united under a common standard, and who first broke up the prevailing indolence and triviality of the school, has shown that they meant very different things and represented very different tendencies. By some, like Holman Hunt, the fusing, transforming, harmonizing power of the mind upon external fact has never been asserted at all, and art remains in their hands a means for transcribing the appearances of the world, not, indeed, indolently, but with a strenuous and unsparing patience, and with a preference for scenes where light is keenest and the colours of the prism most vivid. With another revolutionary of that day who now stands alone, Millais, the mastery of eye and brush has grown while the initiative of the mind has slackened; impressions and ideas scarcely above the school's old level of commonness are realised to illusion at his hands, and acquire a distinction of their own from the overwhelming power of the painter, when he chooses to put it forth, in the manual parts of his craft. A third, like Rossetti, has devoted his art to the service of an imagination peculiarly distinctive and intense, to the expression of conceptions ever more and more his own.

Since the ferment first raised by the exertions of this historic group, our school has been reinforced by other men — some, unhappily, already lost — in whom, from one source or another, the true instinct has been awakened. As a rule, they have been received at first with opposition or derision. A solid body of bad traditions has stood in their way. Criticism has held towards them much the same attitude as criticism in poetry held, about the year 1820, towards Keats and Shelley. Accustomed to art which was no art, just as Gifford and his kind were accustomed to poetry which was no

poetry, average criticism and average professional opinion have looked with aversion and contempt upon efforts that possessed beauty or pictorial charm, and particularly upon those that possessed invention and imagination as well. But in the mean time things have been moving. The gifted spirits have gone their way, not without suffering the harm that comes of isolation—of hostility on the one hand and partisanship on the other—and their work has been cared for by a minority. To some few fellow-painters who have shared their aims and helped their cause, it has happened to be recognised from the first, and to escape hostility and derision. The leaven has worked, the time has ripened. The difference between art and no-art has begun to make itself felt. It must needs be long before the average, the staple, of our great miscellaneous exhibitions shows any very sensible change in the points where we were most deficient. A small and picked exhibition of the work of invited artists like this one is therefore all the more welcome. Besides affording us a new and great delight, it enables us newly to compare and take account of the best efforts in various directions that are being made round about us.

In such a survey, one would naturally have hoped to begin with the work of Mr. Rossetti, the author and inspirer of so much of the new life of English painting. For this time, however, Mr. Rossetti has preferred not to contribute. Let us begin, therefore, with the work of a painter who, without taking any lead in the revolutions of those days, has always kept his work at the farthest pole from commonness or triviality, has always sought to bring it towards the level of high and classic standards, and whose career has had a dignity corresponding to the dignity of his art. I mean Mr. Watts, who has at the new gallery a spirited portrait of Lady Lindsay, in three-quarter length with her violin, and a head, painted with the utmost force of sympathetic insight, of Mr. Burne-Jones, but who stands out most conspicuously on the north wall of the great gallery with his portrait of Mrs. Percy Wyndham and his allegory of *Love and Death*. These are pictures in which every one can appreciate the high and commanding qualities—in the portrait, the frank and blooming countenance, the stately pose upon the marble terrace, the noble choice and noble rendering of the dark brocaded dress with its great pattern of sunflowers, as well as of the background and accessories, a laurel hedge and a vase of gathered magnolias; in the allegorical piece, the greatness of the invention, the tragic advance of the shrouded one, the inexorable Death, who has trampled down the rose shoots that grow about the threshold of Love's door, and enters despite indignant Love, who bars the entrance with unavailing arm and wings crushed and overborne. Portrait and invention alike have the same breadth and largeness of design, the same high simplicity, the same

grave richness of colour. There is only one question, whether the colour, as grave and mellow to-day as that of Venetian pictures painted three centuries and a half ago, will not be sombre and dull when the pictures have lived as long as those. And there is, I think, only one mistake, and that is, the introduction of a dove in the corner of the foreground in *Love and Death*; it is a very good dove, but not wanted there, and not helpful to the dignity of the composition. Other artists of our school who hold by classical traditions, and whose work and aims have been recognised from the beginning, are Mr. Leighton and Mr. Poynter. They are both represented here, but not by works of much importance. Mr. Leighton only sends a few heads; one of his large compositions ought to have been here but is not; and to measure his powers as they are, one must go to the Academy, where, besides two little Oriental pictures of his usual accomplished charm, he asserts a new pre-eminence with a noble and finished piece of sculptor's work. Mr. Poynter, besides two small pictures, *Proserpine* and an *Egyptian Sentry*, sends a cluster of portraits in water-colour. With the searching and careful qualities of these every one is already familiar, and although we should rather have seen their space occupied by some greater work, we are glad of the chance of studying them afresh. Mr. W. B. Richmond is a younger representative of classical traditions and ideal aims, and one whose talents are less settled and place less determined. His portrait of Mrs. Douglas Freshfield has delicacy and completeness as a decorative scheme, but halts between likeness and ideal, or rather the ideal into which the painter has tried to mould his sitter is of quite a different type from hers; hence the parts of the work that are really likeness do not combine rightly with the rest, and the result is something ambiguous and unsatisfying. The group above, with the portraits of three sisters in light brown dresses and heavy loads of dark brown hair, is far more successful, and has as much beauty and refinement, with more maturity, as the other group of girlish portraits by which Mr. Richmond first won distinction years ago. But in the elaborate classical design of *Electra and her Maidens at the Tomb of Agamemnon*, we feel once more in the presence of lofty and refined aims without sufficient guiding impulse or individual bent to direct them. The composition of the figures about the tomb among the cypress stems is dignified but somewhat too mechanical. And the colouring seems mechanical too; at least its total effect is not happy or satisfying. I do not mean that the red marble of the funeral stela is wrong in archæology or the like; but that this and the draperies, and particularly the flowers, have a harshness, both by themselves and in combination, which is fatal to the good effect of the picture. Add considerable weaknesses and uncertainties of drawing, and the

sum is a work of which the aims remain very much in advance of the achievement. Mr. Richmond's neighbour upon the walls, M. Alma-Tadema, contrasts with him as far as possible in the certainty and dexterity of his powers. His little glimpses of ancient Roman life have the qualities which everybody knows—the archæology a little too much thrust upon us, but giving occasion for masterly painting in pavements, mosaics, hangings, draperies, the patina of metals and quality of tissues; the incurably disagreeable types of human kind, types suitable enough for certain scenes of the later Republic and Empire of Rome, but difficult to put up with in any other connection; the trick of eccentric composition, and of looking at nature, for the purposes of his picture, as it were through some queer slit or out of some queer corner. There are two pieces of M. Tadema's not quite in his usual vein: one a quiet interior called *Sunday Morning*; and another, a piece of bad archæology and bad local colour, called *Phidias showing the Frieze of the Parthenon to his Friends*. Bad archæology, because the drawing of the frieze is not good enough and the colour very doubtful, and because, I think, the several slabs of the frieze would in fact have been finished, both in carving and colouring, before they were put up, and would have been shown by Phidias to his friends, not there, but in the workshops below; bad local colour and daylight certainly, because it is the nature of the Athenian atmosphere to fill these covered upper spaces within the peristyle with a diffused and liquid brilliancy of reflected light, which nothing can be more unlike than the dingy atmosphere of M. Tadema's picture.

But it is time to pass to the south wall of the great room, where there hangs the work of a master in whose inspiration there is nothing faltering or ambiguous, and in his ideals nothing harsh or unlovely. The genius of Mr. Burne-Jones will on those walls become a reality to those to whom it had hitherto been only a report. His three rich compositions upon the line, and five large single figures above, are an exhibition in themselves; but it must be said that the eye does not do them full justice at first sight, because of the gorgeous hangings on the walls, which tend to drown the intricacies and delicacies of the colour, and because, in one instance, of a frame over-elaborately designed, as it seems to me, for its picture. The work which thus suffers at first sight from the encroachments of its frame, is one divided into six compartments and representing *The Six Days of Creation*. This is a favourite mediæval subject for the opening illustrations of chronicles, and occurs in some schemes of mosaic and other church decoration. But the modern work is no echo of any old; the subject has been redipped in the colours of a living spirit, and recast in the furnace of a great imagination. Each day is represented by an angel or seraph, many-winged and

richly draped, holding in his hand a crystal sphere in which the day's creative act is shadowed forth. On the frame underneath are written legends from the canticle *Benedicite*, "O ye heavens, bless ye the Lord, praise Him and magnify Him for ever," and so on in due order. The wings and raiment of the first angel are of solemn blue and sable, and he stands upon a floor of the colour of night; in the sphere we see a disk of light and a disk of darkness gathering and separating; "and God divided the light from the darkness." In the next compartment the first angel stands withdrawn, and a second, still in sombre colours, has advanced, and in the sphere he holds we see the waters which are under the firmament divided from the waters that are above the firmament. Third comes the angel of the creation of earth; he stands upon a floor of soil and flowers, and in his sphere is wrought a lovely design of vine and fruit tree. The colour in the fourth division begins to glow with warmth, and with light of crimson and rose and amber; it is the day of the creation of lights in the firmament of heaven to divide the day from the night; the angel has flames of fire about his feet, and within his sphere we see a golden sun and a silver moon, and the host of stars that form themselves. The fifth angel is the angel of the creation of every living creature that moveth, which the waters brought forth abundantly after their kind, and every winged fowl after his kind; here is a still richer play and rapture of all the loveliest colours of life and joy; the angel stands upon a shore strewn with delicate rosy shells, and his sphere shows us the imaged flight of innumerable white birds. Last, all these five being grouped in the background, and their wings intermingling in an intricate glory of feather and colour and sheen, there stands fronting us the sixth angel, and in his sphere the vision of the man and woman in Paradise. But the serpent is there also in the vision; and in the white and wistful looks of another angel that crouches among roses in the front of this last picture, singing and playing upon the cithern, we see foretold the tale of future destinies. Since painting was an art, it is probable that no poetry so intense as this, no invention so rich and so unerringly lovely, was ever poured into form and colour. It is better to say it without hesitation—we have among us a genius, a poet in design and colour, whose like has never been seen before. To an almost incredible patience and multiplicity of workmanship, this painting joins a quite inexpressible felicity and loveliness of pictorial invention. Inch by inch, as well as division by division, it can only be studied with ever increasing wonder and delight. Just as a born and inspired singer cannot put together three words that have not the sound, the spell, the soul of poetry, so this artist cannot draw a ring of hair or a fold of drapery, or lay the tint of a flower or a feather or a shell, but the drawing has a charm and the colour a

preciousness, which stir the mind with the spell of visible poetry, an enchantment from the soul of things. As to one of Mr. Burne-Jones's other pictures, *The Mirror of Venus*, where the goddess has assembled a group of girls around a pool to show them their beauty for the first time in its reflection, it may be said that the tale, the fancy, is too slight to bear the weight and richness of its embodiment. But that embodiment, at any rate, is of a radiant and refreshing beauty. The scene is just such as opens upon you once and again in a day's ride in the western parts of the Peloponnese; a coast of levels interspersed with mountain spurs, with the freshness and desolateness of the early world in earth and sky and bounding sea. The girls are gathered kneeling round the pools, and the reflections of their faces are edged and bordered with the forget-me-nots that grow on its hither margin. The goddess alone stands, her head and shoulders clear against the sky, her clear pale face and pale limbs scarcely kindled with human blood, a light of the far-off sea in her grey and wistful eyes. Balancing this on the opposite side of *The Days of Creation* is an upright composition of a very different sentiment, *The Beguiling of Merlin*. The enchantress, called Nimiane in the earlier and Vivien in the later form of the legend, is pacing round about her victim; she fronts us now, with the book of incantation open before her, her body somewhat turned and neck bent towards her victim, on whom her eyes are fixed; the magic sleep has fallen upon him as he lies in his uneasy posture of imprisonment in the fork of the hawthorn-tree, and his hands and head droop passively. But the life has not left his eyes, which cast up towards the beguiler a look of bitter yearning and reproach; and in her eyes, as she accomplishes the doom, there is a look of answering remorse. These countenances are passion incarnate, the profile of Nimiane especially never to be forgotten; and in like manner every line of the figures and drapery, every tone of the ashen and white and steely purple colouring, combine to give a perfect imaginative expression to the passion and tragedy of the scene. The play and richness that are achieved within this scale, approaching black and white, of colour, is amazing; the only bright or positive tint being that of a blue iris in the foreground; while in the glade behind, and all about, the hawthorn in flower spreads a tempered whiteness, and gives us in painting the very counterpart of Shelley's magic epithet of the "moonlight-coloured may."

It was natural that the work of this rare creative genius and born poet in painting should be received at first with aversion and derision. Any work of which the character is forcible and intense is apt to encounter aversion from some, and especially forcible and intense work of imagination from those who do not know what imagination is. And besides the shock naturally produced by poetry on prosaic

minds, the early work of Mr. Burne-Jones had qualities which the unsympathetic might well fasten on and misunderstand. He began with little training, and his invention, his instinct, was far in advance of his manual power. Naturally his work took an affinity with that of a whole school whose case had been somewhat like his own—whose minds were on fire with poetry and invention and pictorial instinct, but whose training and science were not on a level with their genius—the school of Italy in the fifteenth century. And so it was possible to say with some show of reason, at this time, of Mr. Burne-Jones's drawing that it was often weak or wrong, and of his sentiment that it was borrowed from the early Italians. These things cannot be said with any show of reason now. Mr. Burne-Jones stands forward both as a great inventive genius and as one of the most complete masters, not, in all instances, of the grammatical, but of the expressive, the designing, the combining, the characterizing parts of draughtsmanship. The drawing of Nimiane's figure and hands and feet, the numb and slackened hands of Merlin, these, for instance, are mere masterpieces. Nevertheless, criticism shows itself only half converted. Leaving aside the mere abuse and foolishness, by which some unlucky ones are still ready to write themselves oafs and puppies before the world—it is urged as a reproach against the painter that his faces all resemble one another, and are all sorrowful. That he has an over-mastering human ideal within his mind, towards which he makes all his types in a greater or less degree approximate, is true; but then so had Leonardo, so had and will have every painter with a strong native cast of genius. It is also true that these countenances and their expressions are in their loveliness serious and yearning, or melancholy if you will. But then the world is a place of tears as well as laughter, and its most gifted and most searching spirits are not those to whom it is apt to look the merriest. It is a pity that those who are displeased by the eyes and countenances in these pictures will not turn their minds, instead, to the happiness which the maker of these melancholy things has prepared for them if they were capable of receiving it,—the happiness and glory and delight of living line and visible rhythm, the fire and rapture of colour poured forth in profuse and perfect harmonies unseen till now.

It is said in some quarters that those who love this kind of painting care for nothing else and aver that out of this school there is no salvation. Not at all; the gift of poetical vision and invention is the greatest and certainly the rarest gift of a painter; but it is by no means the only gift worth having. Those who love this kind of painting best will also be best able to appreciate other or opposite minds. In the Grosvenor Gallery there remains much good work to be studied, both of painters whose minds are haunted by fair ideals of

the past or of their own conceiving, and of painters who live in the present, and make it their aim to draw out the living aspects of the world round about them. With the battle between classicist, romanticist, *fantaisiste*, and realist, let us have nothing to do. Each of these schools represents instincts and tendencies for which is ample scope and justification. The past is ours and the present is ours and imagination is ours; let us do with them all the best we severally can. Let each man follow his own instinct and his own tendency, provided they are really his. Let Mr. Spencer Stanhope paint his solemn and dreamy mill-stream with the lady in the boat, his tragic pair of lovers on the banks of Styx, his vision of Love and the maiden—a rich-limbed rose-winged Love, and a maiden like one of the Florentine figures of Botticelli—in a grove of pines and oleanders. In a kindred vein, the vein of poetry, fable, and invention, with something of the enchanted spirit of the Florentine fifteenth century, let Mr. Walter Crane design his naked Venus standing under a clear grey sky, between beach and ripple of a clear grey sea, with an almond-tree and a myrtle casting a spray of delicate colour against the grey; and Mr. Strudwick his skilful and pleasant allegory of *Love's Music*. And in the opposite vein, let us be glad that M. Heilbuth, for instance, can see so keenly and represent so subtly the looks and gestures of every-day people in every-day dress and daylight. M. Heilbuth has quite a great show in this gallery, of pictures both new and old. Some of them are from Rome, some from the banks of the Seine in spring-time, and some from England. In all there is the same admirable rendering of the values and refinements of softened out-door daylight, the same quick grasp of character, humorous without vulgarity, and the same thorough and expressive draughtsmanship. The most difficult pictorial undertaking of them all, and perhaps the most successful, is the group of English tourists listening to the explanations of an antiquarian in the baths of Caracalla. This kind of realism, depending upon a particular subtlety and alertness in the literal interpretation of fact, has never been an accomplishment of English artists. Our type of a realist is Mr. Millais, who does not thus delicately bring out or insinuate visible facts and their relations, but rather flings them in our faces and takes our breath away with the force of the assertion. Mr. Millais has in this exhibition only small pictures, including three portraits of ladies which seem intended to convey a challenge to Gainsborough. There is a chalkiness in the whites and flesh-colours, which is perhaps exaggerated by the colour on the wall behind; but these portraits are not in Mr. Millais's happiest nor even in his most forcible vein. To see him in his strength, one must go to the Academy for the great Scotch landscape, and the blazing *Yeoman of the Guard*, or to the separate exhibition of *Effie Deans*, in which a face

of considerable pathos makes up for considerable commonness in the general conception, while the collie dog and the bush of hips and haws are masterpieces of imitative work. What is, on the other hand, peculiarly English is that touch of poetry which gives to the treatment of homely fact an idyllic grace without sacrificing truth. Of this tendency we have lost the most gifted representatives, Mason and Walker; but both Mr. P. R. Morris and Mr. Boughton have something of a kindred tenderness, and are well represented here; the manner of Mr. Boughton being more his own, that of Mr. Morris more distinctly influenced by Mason.

Returning to foreign contributors, we have in M. Tissot another craftsman of astonishing industry and cleverness, and a realist who, instead of adding a grace to nature, takes a grace away. In pictures like the ~~group~~ of cricketers and ladies beside the water under a horse-chestnut, and the naval lieutenant and ladies on the gallery of a ship of war, the rendering of material facts, and especially atmospheric facts, is simply masterly; the types and sentiment simply debased and odious. To this mean view of human nature, M. Tissot adds in some of his pictures a trick like Alma-Tadema's, of crotchet and sensational composition, of showing us the world from unnecessary slits and corners. He has, however, two pictures which are without fault or disagreeableness: the portrait of a girl among chrysanthemums, and the figure of a widower walking with his child upon his shoulder in a summer orchard among rich docks and grasses. Of the invention of his allegory (the first part of a *Triumph of Will*) the less said, perhaps, the better. M. Legros is another name that can only be counted among the realists. He employs his high and trained mastery of the severer resources and methods of his art to represent groups of Spanish priests and choristers, of French peasants at a christening, a travelling whitesmith mending a copper, or portraits of living people. But everything he does—even those admirable studies from the life executed in the presence of his pupils, with a rapidity which is not the rapidity of trick or display but of unerring certainty and directness—everything he does is austere coloured by a cast of mind which is his own. The portrait of Carlyle errs certainly by a distressing weakness in the character of the eyes and brows. But on the whole, that division on the walls which contains the nine contributions of this powerful painter and teacher is one of those best worth study in the exhibition.

The work of the artists we have thus far considered, diverse in the extreme in subject, nevertheless agrees in this, that it is work in which the subjects represented are represented and realised for their own sakes and not merely for the arrangement of lines and colours which can be made out of them. Mr. Watts introduces us into the stately and generous presence of a living lady; Mr. Burne-Jones imagines his

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PROSPECTUS.

SOME degree of truth has been admitted in the charge not unfrequently brought against the English, that they are assiduous rather than solid readers. They give themselves too much to the lighter forms of literature. Technical Science is almost exclusively restricted to its professed votaries, and, but for some of the Quarterlies and Monthlies, very little solid matter would come within the reach of the general public.

But the circulation enjoyed by many of these very periodicals, and the increase of the scientific journals, may be taken for sufficient proof that a taste for more serious subjects of study is now growing. Indeed there is good reason to believe that if strictly scientific subjects are not more universally cultivated, it is mainly because they are not rendered more accessible to the people. Such themes are treated either too elaborately, or in too forbidding a style, or else brought out in too costly a form to be easily available to all classes.

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May 15th, 1877.

vision of beautiful maidens gathered about the queen of beauty among pools and flowers in the radiance of the early world; M. Legros groups his careworn village women and simple children on their knees before the font of the village church; M. Heilbuth catches the very trick of gesture in the cardinals and their lacqueys, the children and their nurses, the acolytes and their preceptors, in the gardens of the Borghese or the Pincian; and each adjusts, controls, interprets his subject according to his special instincts of pictorial expression and pictorial harmony. But the picture is not the be-all and the end-all; in and behind the picture is the thing or the idea represented, and to this the mind is led. There is another sort of artist in whose work the subject has no weight at all; their pictures do not invite the mind to consider the thing represented but only the representation. They only select just so much fact as will serve to sustain and give the occasion to some preconceived scheme of lines and colours; and in the charm, balance, and completeness of this scheme or arrangement lies all the success or failure of the picture. Mr. Whistler is of this school, and in all that he does asserts its principles with just a touch of caricature and exaggeration. He paints a portrait of Mr. Irving as Philip the Second, and two portraits of ladies; and as far as they go the portraits are admirable. Mr. Irving's expression and manner of standing are hinted to the life; so are the faces and figures of the ladies; but it is by hints and no more that these things are expressed; there is not only no illusion, no realisation, but almost no definition; nothing has been expressed but what could be expressed at a single painting, with a single turn of the brush. M. Legros, we have seen, has a masterly power of expressing with a single turn of the brush, and single tints laid at once side by side, almost the whole reality and force of natural facts; but Mr. Whistler's stroke, however dexterous and cunningly prepared, has neither this power nor this aim. His aim is, not to represent reality, but to make a pattern, and he is careful to warn us as much, by naming his picture in large letters "arrangements" in black, brown, or grey, and mentioning the subject, if at all, only subordinatedly in small type. If a human being is thus to be treated simply as the principal element in a pattern, I do not see why the patterns should be such sombre ones as these of Mr. Whistler with their ghostly black backgrounds; the result seems scarcely worth the sacrifice of flesh and blood. On the other hand, for some of Mr. Whistler's "nocturnes" he has chosen elements for which his treatment is very legitimate. There is one of these Thames moonlights in particular, No. 6, which not only presents a lovely and satisfying sight to the eye, but expresses with a perfect justice the silvery mystery of the night, the subtly varied monotony of the great glimmering river surface, the soft profundity of the sky, and that

indefinable atmosphere above the houses, half duskiness, half glare, which is the effluence of the city's life. But why will Mr. Whistler not always be as grave and natural as this? Others of these moon-lights are spoiled by the introduction of Cremorne fireworks, or by being taken from fantastic points of view, from the foot of some incredible timber arch, or from the top of some unaccountable elevation. Mr. Whistler is an artist gifted enough to be taken seriously, and should not do so much to prevent his being thus taken, with his affected frames, his affected titles, his caricature of his own principles and other tricks of jaunty and whimsical defiance. Another painter who carries out kindred aims with different materials and in a more classical spirit, so as to provoke less challenge, is Mr. Albert Moore. The materials for Mr. Albert Moore's combinations in form and colour have always been figures, single or many, more or less classical and ideal in type and drapery, with such furniture and accessories as were needed to complete the scheme. He, too, avoids realisation and stops at mere suggestion, in the matters of light, shadow, and relief; but in the matter of line and contour he defines completely; his design has the large dignity of the Greeks and is carried out to perfect finish. And his instinct for decorative colour, at least for a certain decorative scale of clear and delicate tints, is quite faultless. Sometimes the adjustments and balancings of his lines and tints have had a look just a little too calculated, mechanical, and set; but this year I think his work both at this gallery and at the Academy is singularly happy. The large single figure called *Sapphires* is not only a lovely vision of shimmering sea blue relieved among delicate patterns and flowers of more positive blue and white, and thrown up by two touches of orange headgear and orange butterfly; it is a stately figure of a woman of fair countenance, with the flesh and modellings perfectly rendered so far as the rendering goes. Along with Mr. Whistler and Mr. Albert Moore one would naturally range Mr. Armstrong. But indeed his principal picture in this gallery does carry our minds to its subject, *The Riviera of Genoa in Spring*. The picture is strictly a harmony, controlled by the one dominant note of intense Mediterranean blue; but so true is the ring of that note, so just and rich and like the south the quality of that azure, that the spirit of the scene is all the more conveyed by the suppression of minor realisms, and we feel ourselves not only in the presence of a harmonious picture, but transported to the very shores where these women stoop gathering fir cones among the twisted trunks upon the promontory.

And so our survey ends. To make it complete we should have to notice much interesting work that we have passed over, such as the large and poetical Campagna landscape of the Italian painter Costa, a piece which makes us realise the influence of this artist upon the

style of his friend George Mason ; and the accomplished and vigorous work of the owner of the gallery, Sir Coutts Lindsay himself ; and the contributions of Mr. Rudolf Lehmann, Mr. C. E. Hallé, Lady Lindsay, Mrs. Jopling, and others ; and the set of water colours by Mr. Richard Doyle, in which, besides the playful invention which we knew before, this prolific creator of sprites and nixies exhibits also the gifts of a trained and admirable landscape painter. But our purpose has been especially to study what is typical and marking in the general activity of contemporary art as it is here represented. The first year's experiment at the new gallery is a delightful and instructive one. In other years the exhibition may easily be made more delightful and instructive still. The rooms are the best lighted and most comfortable anywhere ; their inauguration has been happy, and artists, it is certain, will be glad to show their work under such conditions. Only the conditions are capable of still further improvement ; for it is better to say out what has been said by implication already, that the crimson hangings of the walls and the green hangings of the dado, splendid in themselves, are somewhat too splendid for the pictures, and at a little distance reduce somewhat to comparative dimness some of the richest and subtlest colour within the frames. At all costs I think another background ought hereafter to be provided for the pictures. With that one change—with care in inviting in their turn all artists of whatever aims and tendencies, whether of old standing or young, whose work comes within the widest definition of genuine and living art, the work of spirits that really see and feel and can record what they see and feel—with these, the Grosvenor Gallery will assuredly become a place of ever increasing pleasure, and an institution of ever increasing service to the cause for which it is designed.

SIDNEY COLVIN.

DISESTABLISHMENT AND DISENDOWMENT: A PRACTICAL SKETCH.

IN the present position of the controversy respecting the relationship between the religious life of England and the order of its political government, the importance of discussing the *practical methods* by which disestablishment and disendowment may be effected is so grave and pressing as to be imperative upon those who uphold principles which, carried into legislative action, would fundamentally change existing arrangements.

The rival theories in the abstract debate have been fully stated, and must be left to find their several places in the public mind according to those laws of spiritual combination by which the destinies of nations are ultimately determined. But the time required for this process will be shortened and the process itself facilitated, if it can be shown that the demands made for the deliverance of religion from the control of the State are not only defensible as consistent with a theory of government, but practicable as instructions within the range of social and legal possibilities; and not only defensible and practicable, but so far in harmony with the great lines of the historic development of English life, that they would leave untouched each natural channel along which the deeper and finer influences of religion have been poured, the attempt to impose artificial restrictions alone being abandoned. Those who have undertaken the task of bringing to an end the exercise of ecclesiastical functions by the State, are bound to show that they understand their responsibilities as citizens of a great nation, and are prepared with plans that neither bear the stamp of a dissenting sect, nor bar the way of those who desire to worship according to Episcopalian forms.

Of all discussions, those relative to the disestablishment and disendowment of the English Church are most in danger of *drifting*. They affect sectional privileges and are largely carried on in the region of variable winds. Unless this tendency to drift be checked, and the public mind educated by the statement of clear and definite issues, ultimate legislation will be as confused and disappointing, as it will be unworthy of the arduous efforts that will be required to obtain it.

Disestablishment *might* be effected by methods which would impose upon the country for a century to come heavier burdens than those by which the development of its civilisation is at this hour impeded. The sentimental tie between Church and State might be severed and a *régime* of ecclesiastical authority, uncontrolled and

unrestrained, be triumphantly inaugurated. An Episcopal Church might be called into existence as an independent body by the direct help of the State, and established on a narrow and exclusive basis. Such a Church might be richly endowed with the accumulated treasures of generations, and when left to govern itself through its own assemblies and officers it would constitute an *imperium in imperio*, possessed of almost boundless resources, and capable of exercising political, social, and theological influence over a wider range of subjects and to a greater extent than the personal position of its members as citizens of a free country could in any degree justify. Should a disestablishment measure be introduced into Parliament before the public mind has directly grasped the principles upon which it should be based, in the excitement of the hour the definite effects of its clauses will not be seen. The ecclesiastical powers that be are astute. When the alternative is pressed, they will always accept the vague assertion of sentiments fatal to their pretensions, on condition that they may retain the substantial elements of their power. A Bill brought into Parliament for the disestablishment of the Church as by law established might, without watchful care, be manipulated into an Act for the legal establishment of a practically new Church, and the conversion of national resources into private endowments.

The amount of political force which, under the most favourable circumstances, will have to be expended to induce legislation at all, will be sufficient to carry a good measure, if the purposes to be accomplished are plainly stated and distinctly understood, and thoughtful attention be devoted to the formation of public opinion.

To provide for the attainment of these ends, the executive committee of the Liberation Society at the close of 1874 appointed a special committee to obtain legal and other information required for the preparation of a scheme of disestablishment, and to offer suggestions which might aid in the framing of a Parliamentary measure. In the present article I propose to describe the general purport of the report drawn up by this special committee and presented to the Triennial Conference held upon the 1st of May of the present year.¹ Whether approved or condemned, it cannot fail to mark a new point of departure for the discussion of the gravest question of modern political life, affecting as it does, alike directly and indirectly, the conditions of personal freedom, the regulation of schools and universities, and the development of religious faith. The conference itself received the report without pronouncing judgment on the suggestions it contains. In stating and defending the principles which underlie

(1) "Practical Suggestions relative to the Disestablishment and Disendowment of the Church of England." Society for the Liberation of Religion from State Patronage and Control, Serjeants' Inn, Fleet Street. 1877.

these suggestions, I write therefore entirely on my own responsibility, and it must not be understood that the Liberation Society is committed as a society to any opinion expressed. I shall not hesitate to combine an interpretation of the work of the special committee with the expression of personal convictions.

The *Suggestions relative to the disestablishment and disendowment of the Church of England* which are submitted as "practical," would, it must frankly be admitted, if carried into effect, produce large and vital changes. No attempt is made to show that after the passing of an Act drawn up in their sense this world of England would be precisely the same world that it is to-day. A *real* measure is suggested—a measure which would have a purpose, and be distinctly framed for its accomplishment. Why should it be otherwise? Why should a subject replete with issues so momentous be played and trifled with? Why should reforming energies be wasted in showing that disestablishment would mean next to nothing, and that the sun would rise and the rain fall, and the Church and society in general remain precisely as they are? Either the continuance of officialism in religion is healthful and just, in which case resistance is an error, or it has evil effects which any Act worth the labour of passing should remove. An Act of Disestablishment and Disendowment can only be defended and justified as a distinct step in the history of England.

It appears practically necessary that disestablishment should not take place by a gradual process, but that *a definite date* should be fixed. The Irish Act provided for the dissolution of every ecclesiastical corporation on the 1st January, 1871; and great difficulties beset the adoption of any other course in England. Supposing no new appointments to be made either to bishoprics or the cure of souls by an authority representing the State, and each vacancy to be filled up by voluntary arrangements, the two systems—the system of voluntaryism and the present State Church system—would be so inextricably intertwined as to render the details of administration too complicated to be overtaken by any conceivable organization. A gigantic administrative bureau would have to be preserved until every clergyman living at the passing of the Act should be laid in his grave. It would be profoundly unjust to Episcopalians to subject them to the obstacles such a plan would throw in the way of the voluntary reorganization of their Church. It would divide their energies, check their enthusiasm, and limit their resources. The Church of England would be doomed to suffer from a creeping paralysis. No method of disestablishment should be adopted which would prevent Episcopalians from being *at once* able to gather together all their forces, and enjoy, for any purposes upon which they may agree, the fulness of their unbroken strength.

On the other hand, the nation, when it has once resolved upon the

Act, ought not to be compelled to wait a period which would extend* from thirty to fifty years before its complete accomplishment. A thousand abuses might grow up in the interval. New movements of thought might awaken new feelings and create new duties. The efforts of a slowly dying ecclesiasticism would be put forth in every direction, either to obtain a new lease of power or to secure strongholds to replace those it must ultimately abandon. A gradual process of disestablishment would mean a continuance of ecclesiastical struggles in their most subtle and most obnoxious forms, without any compensating advantages accruing either to Episcopalians or to the nation.

Respecting the Act of Disestablishment itself, a fundamental* requirement is, *that it shall not contain any clause providing for the incorporation of a new Church body.* The precedent of the Irish Church Act ought not in this respect to be followed in England. The disestablishment clauses of this Act are clear and complete. They provide that every ecclesiastical corporation in Ireland, whether sole or aggregate, and every cathedral congregation, shall be dissolved; that no archbishop or bishop of the Church shall be summoned or qualified to sit in the House of Lords; and that "all jurisdiction, whether contentious or otherwise, of all the ecclesiastical, peculiar, exempt and other courts and persons in Ireland at the time of the passing of this Act having any jurisdiction whatsoever exercisable in any cause, suit, or matter," shall cease.¹ Another clause, however (22), secured the reorganization of an Episcopal church by the action of the civil law. Episcopalians are not left to organize themselves without help from the State, according to ordinary forms of law applicable to other sects; but it is declared lawful for her Majesty by charter to incorporate a special Church body. The clause runs as follows: "If at any time it be shown to the satisfaction of her Majesty that the bishops, clergy, and laity of the said Church in Ireland, or the persons who for the time being may succeed to the exercise and discharge of the episcopal functions of such bishops, and the clergy and laity in communion with such persons, have appointed any persons or body to represent the said Church and to hold property for any of the uses or purposes thereof, it shall be lawful for her Majesty by charter to incorporate such body, with power, notwithstanding the statutes of mortmain, to hold lands to such extent as is in this Act provided, but not further or otherwise."

This Episcopalian Church body, incorporated by royal charter, assumed to such an extent the character of a Church established by law, that the compensation of the clergy was directly connected with its service, and valuable endowments were bestowed upon it.

(1) Irish Church Act, clauses 13 and 21.

* "The Irish Church Act repealed all laws which prevented the Church holding synods, and 'making regulations for the general management and good government of the Church' (sec. 19). But it did not stop there; for first it authorised her Majesty to incorporate by charter a 'Church Body,' appointed by the members of the Church to represent it, and to hold property on its behalf (sec. 22). That Act also provided for the compensation of the clergy on the assumption that they would continue in connection with the Church, and not only re-endowed the Church directly, by the payment to the Church body of half a million of money, as compensation for the loss of private endowments (sec. 29), and the transfer of churches, parsonages, and glebes, but still further endowed it indirectly, by providing that the commutation of clerical annuities should be a transaction between the clergy and the Church body, and by holding out an inducement to general commutation in the shape of a bonus of twelve per cent. on the commutation money, if three-fourths of the whole number in any diocese commuted (sec. 23).

"Another source of mischief in the Irish Act was the provision that the former incomes of the disestablished ecclesiastics were to be paid to them, not only so long as they lived, but on the condition that they continued to discharge such duties as they had been accustomed to discharge, or such duties as might be substituted for them, with their own consent and that of the representative body of the Church (secs. 14 and 15). Lastly, while one clause of the Act abolished the ecclesiastical courts, and declared that after January 1st, 1871, 'the ecclesiastical law of Ireland, except in so far as relates to matrimonial causes and matters, shall cease to exist as law, (sec. 21) another clause enacted that 'the present ecclesiastical law of Ireland, and the present articles, doctrines, rites, rules, discipline, and ordinances of the said Church,' should, subject to any alterations which might be made, 'be deemed to be binding on the members for the time being thereof,' in the same manner as if they had mutually contracted to observe the same, and should be capable of being enforced in the temporal courts in relation to any property possessed under the Act; provided that no annuitant should be deprived of his annuity if he signified his dissent from any alteration within a month after the making thereof (sec. 20)."—*Practical Suggestions, &c.*

It is now proposed that when disestablishment takes place in England, no clause corresponding to clause 22 of the Irish Act shall be enacted; but that at a certain fixed date all those persons who desire to connect themselves with an Episcopalian form of government—to use the Book of Common Prayer, and to adhere to the articles of religion now sanctioned by the State—should of their own free will make any arrangements they choose for the management of their newly constituted Church. The ordinary legal facilities available for Baptists, Independents, Wesleyans, and the members of every other nonconformist denomination, are equally at the service of Episcopilians. Any technical difficulties should of course be removed, but it would be a violation of every principle by which disestablishment is justified to give special protection, strength, honour, and authority to an Episcopal Church by any special Act of Parliament or form of Royal Charter. The reconstruction of a "Church of England" by direct legislation extending beyond the scope of voluntary agency would be the establishment of an enormous corporate body, exercising ecclesiastical influence by virtue of its privileged position.

An objection will be taken to this proposal to leave the organization of an Episcopal Church in the hands of those who believe in Episcopacy, on the ground that the result will be the *disintegration* of the Church as it now exists. The various parties united by State arrangements are divided by passionate convictions. Disestablishment, it is feared, would be the signal for war to the knife, and *Vae victis!* would be the cry of the triumphant faction. Granting that this anticipation is among the possibilities of the case, by what right is the State asked to keep the peace among the various sections of a Christian Church? The union of differing parties is either based on large and generous sympathies, or is the result of the pressure of an external force upon souls that fail to recognise their brotherhood in prayer. If the comprehensiveness of the English Church be determined by the large and generous sympathies of its members, no power on earth can destroy the unity of its spirit or break the bond of its peace. But if its members are conscious of no spiritual fellowship, any unity given to their Church by the external pressure of the State is a mockery which brings with it no blessing and deserves no respect.

When the possible disruption of the Church is urged as an argument against granting to its adherents an unrestricted liberty of organization, as soon as they occupy the same relationship to the State as other citizens, the great principle upon which the demand for disestablishment rests is unapprehended and untouched. The discharge of ecclesiastical functions by the State is as large an interference with the liberties of Episcopalians, as it is a grievance under which Nonconformists labour. The disestablishment of the Church has nothing to do with Nonconformists as Nonconformists; or with Ritualists as Ritualists; or with Broad Churchmen as Broad Churchmen; or with Evangelical theologians as Evangelical theologians. It will fulfil its purpose when every religious tendency existing in English society has free scope to crystallize into whatsoever shape it will without interference, and in obedience to the laws of its own genius. Disestablishment, in its broadest and noblest sense, means the liberation of the religious life of England from the impediments which check its natural development. The historic continuity of the religious life of England will not be broken by alterations in methods of ecclesiastical administration. It would be to pass the paltriest of all judgments upon the English Church, to contend that its Christian energies are dependent upon its continuance as a subsidised department of the State. The genial culture and gracious pieties which have so largely counterbalanced its constant claims to exclusive privilege and its frequent antagonism to civil freedom, will find their own place and live by their own strength. Those to whom ancient Anglican rites and symbols are dear, will not have

to choose either imprisonment or expulsion from the Church of their fathers, or submission to laws which (as they believe) touch the very conditions under which the grace of God will rest upon them. The race of the great typical men of the English Church—the men who have not been aggressive or domineering, and whose learning has been as profound and generous as their patience with error has been sweet and kindly, and their saintliness beautiful with honest charity—the men of whose biographies it is written

“There are no colours in the fairest sky
So fair as these. The feather whence the pen
Was shaped that traced the lives of these good men,
Dropped from an angel's wing,”

will not perish when legal enactments no longer artificially unite in one political organization elements which refuse to combine in the natural fellowship of religious sympathy.

With respect to the compensation of those who will be deprived of their incomes by disestablishment, the State should deal liberally with the individuals concerned, but it should deal with those individuals alone. If an Act were passed, providing that all ecclesiastical action on the part of the State should cease, it would be seen that no such body as a body corporate bearing the name of the Church of England, and holding property in its own right, has ever been in existence. It would further be seen that no corporations sole or local churches would retain any rites as proprietary bodies, or be able to make any sign of independent life.

The effect of a Disestablishment Act would be precisely similar to the effect of an Act declaring that at a certain date the standing army of England should be abolished. There would be no “army” left after that date, either endowed with property in the shape of barracks and lands, arms and ammunition, waggons and horses, or with officers in command. After the date fixed every soldier would be a private citizen, and his military accoutrements would revert to the State to deal with according to its pleasure. An Act of Disestablishment would render every clergyman, whether archbishop, bishop, rector, or vicar, a private citizen in relation to the State, whatever his position in the “one catholic and apostolic Church,” and the whole of the property in the administration of which he has shared would be absolutely at the disposal of the nation.

“It is of cardinal importance to recognise the fact that, whatever the Church of England may be ecclesiastically, it is not one great corporation, holding property, and exercising authority as such, but consists of a number of corporations. What is called ‘Church property’ is ‘simply the property of the several local churches, the ecclesiastical corporations, sole and aggregate, bishops, chapters, rectors, and vicars, or any other. The Church of England, as a single body, has no property’ (*Disestablishment and Disendowment*, by

E. A. Freeman, p. 11). Nor have these corporations any proprietary rights apart from the arrangements made by the State for the exercise of their ecclesiastical functions. These 'local churches' and 'ecclesiastical corporations, sole and aggregate,' hold, and administer, property on behalf of the State, and constitute part of the machinery by which it carries on the ecclesiastical work which it has undertaken in connection with a Church Establishment.

* * * * *

"The Church, as by law established, being a national organization for ecclesiastical purposes, its adherents, in an ecclesiastical sense, have no other pecuniary rights in connection with it than are possessed by the rest of the nation. Hence only the bishop, clergy, and other individuals having, by virtue of their office, a special beneficiary interest in the Establishment, together with the owners of advowsons and next presentations, will be entitled to compensation on its abolition. Though an Episcopal Church may afterwards be organized on a different basis, when disestablishment is determined on, there will be no body having a legal existence capable of either claiming or receiving compensation."—*Practical Suggestions, &c.* § 4.

Disendowment cannot be regarded as an act of spoliation directed against any organized body or bodies capable of uttering complaints and protests, similar to those which could be formally and legally expressed if an individual, or an institution, like a hospital, were deprived of property. Disendowment would mean that the State, having determined no longer to discharge ecclesiastical duties, withdraws the resources it has previously devoted to religious objects, and dismisses the officers it has employed. Every chapter in the ecclesiastical history of England illustrates this position. The changes made in the creed and ritual of the so-called National Church have not been transfers of allegiance from one distinct Church to another, but variations in the character of the work undertaken by one and the same civil authority. Mr. Freeman's contention that at the Reformation itself there was no taking from one religious body and giving to another, and that, although theological continuity might be broken, no act was done by which legal and historical continuity was broken, is at once admitted; and it is not questioned that, though Pole succeeded Cranmer and Cranmer succeeded Pole, yet nothing was done to break the uninterrupted succession of the Archbishopric of Canterbury as a corporation sole in the eye of the law.¹ But this means that what is termed the National Church is the Government of the country in the exercise of ecclesiastical activities; and it directly follows that, when disestablishment and disendowment take place, there will be no body of Episcopalians who, as constituting an Episcopalian Church, will have a claim for compensation, but that the *State must deal solely with the individuals whose incomes will be affected by their discharge from its service.*

(1) "Disestablishment and Disendowment." By E. A. Freeman, pp. 18, 19.

The fact that gifts of money and lands have been made to the Church does not affect the argument I am conducting. No gifts can be received by the Church as a body independent of the State. When a wealthy member of the Evangelical section builds and endows a church, he cannot stipulate that ritualistic rites shall never be celebrated within it. Parliament might alter the terms of subscription to-morrow, and no dissentient could withdraw a penny of the property he may have devoted to the Church's services in the happy faith that its creed would never change. Whether a man will or no, when he gives money to the Church "as by law established," he gives to the nation. All so-called Church property is property administered by public officials under the direction and control of Parliament.

These considerations are urged for the purpose of showing clearly that there is no ecclesiastical body which can substantiate a claim to the property now appropriated to the use of the "National Church;" but it is *not* suggested that no regard should be paid to the voluntary origin of many recent churches and endowments. On the contrary, a distinction between ancient and modern churches and endowments will presently be drawn, which although a departure from the "claim of right" made on behalf of the nation, may yet be defended and accepted as a practical settlement of a question involving many and varied interests.

In the compensation of "ecclesiastical persons" (to use the language of the Irish Act), their personal independence should be scrupulously respected.

Whatever compensation may be given to clergymen when the State no longer requires their services, should belong to them as individuals, to be invested or spent according to their own wishes and interests. Compensation will be paid, because personal injury would otherwise be inflicted; and the person receiving compensation should be able to deal with it as his own private property. The State has no right to ask a disestablished body of clergy to continue to discharge ecclesiastical duties. Each man should be left free to act according to his own judgment. If he feel "a necessity" laid upon him to preach the gospel, the gospel he will continue to preach; if not, he will seek another occupation.

Still less has the State any right to stipulate that the disestablished clergy, as a condition of receiving compensation, should connect themselves with any Episcopalian Church that may be voluntarily organized. A clergyman has entered a *national* Church, and when the Church ceases to be a national institution, his contract ends. It would be a gross injustice to *compel* him, under penalty of personal

loss, to accept office in a distinctly different organization. If he should desire to become the minister of a voluntary Episcopal Church he should be perfectly free to engage himself in its service; if he should *not* so desire, he should be at liberty either to join some other Church or to abandon the ministry, as may be most consonant with his own wishes and convictions. The offer of compensation ought not to be an act of ecclesiastical bribery. Should the Church on disestablishment divide into several sections, a clergyman should receive the same compensation to whichever party he may attach himself. Should Episcopalians unite themselves in one body, he should not receive any pecuniary reward for joining that body, nor be subjected to any fine should he separate himself from it.

The fact that a clergyman will be released from his duties must of course be considered in calculating the amount which will be his due; but the sum paid (whether it take the form of a capital sum, or of an annuity extending over a term of years, or for life, according to age and the circumstances of the case) should be fairly proportionate to the extent of the actual loss, and the State has no right to anticipate, or direct, or burden his future career. Any clergyman, anxious to devote himself to the service of a voluntary Episcopal Church, would be able to hand over to it the whole amount, or any part of the amount, of the compensation he will receive as his own personal contribution to its resources. Should he receive an annuity, it will have its value in the open market, and he can sell it and give the money to his chosen Church, or retain it, as he will. When the State has disestablished Episcopacy, it must not attempt to re-endow it by an offer of heavy retaining fees to its clergy; and when it has adequately remunerated individual clergymen for their loss of office, it must in common justice permit them to be the sole judges respecting the proper employment of their money, their time, and their energy. It is practically suggested (see section 11) that the borrowing powers given to the Commissioners whose appointment would be required for carrying out the Act, would enable them to acquire the temporary use of a considerable amount for the immediate payment of capital sums; and that if the commutation of clerical annuities should be so generally demanded as to require funds far in excess of those at first derivable from the ecclesiastical property available for the purpose, bonds might be issued for the payment of the annuities due to individuals, and the sale or transfer of such bonds could be legalised.

Compensation should be made not only for loss of office, *but for loss of patronage, when patronage has been exercised by private persons acting on their own behalf, and not by corporate bodies or persons, in whom it has been vested on behalf of the public.*

The grounds on which this suggestion is made are stated in the following paragraph :—

“Neither the members of the corporate bodies which would be dissolved by disestablishment, nor public officers, or other persons, in whom patronage is vested on behalf of the public, will be entitled to compensation for the loss of the patronage they have been accustomed to exercise. Private patrons, and others who can dispose of their patronage rights by gift, sale, or bequest at their own pleasure, are in a different position. If it be objected that private patronage, equally with public patronage, is a sacred trust, and not a property, it may be answered that—notwithstanding the existence of laws against simony—the Legislature has distinctly sanctioned the sale of advowsons. It did so when the municipal corporations were reformed, and were directed to sell their patronage. It has done so more recently, in passing the Lord Chancellor’s Augmentation Act (26 and 27 Vict. cap. 120), which authorised the sale of small livings in the gift of the Lord Chancellor, that the proceeds might be applied to enhance the value of the livings. Since that Act came into operation (Nov. 1, 1863), £222,759 have been paid by the purchasers of these livings ; and for the Legislature now, on moral grounds, to deny to them some compensation for the loss of what they have purchased, would be an act of injustice. Rightly or wrongly, Church patronage in private hands has been treated, both by law and usage, as property, of which the holders cannot equitably be deprived without an equivalent.”—*Suggestions*, § 12.

The buildings and endowments, now appropriated to the use of the Church of England, may be divided for practical treatment into two great classes, and be dealt with as either ancient or modern. I have already pointed out that no legal distinction exists between property recently given to the Church by voluntary donors, and property possessed from time immemorial. There are not two kinds of Church property ; one part national and the other semi-national ; one part held without conditions and the other part held under conditions dictated by individual citizens. At the same time no suggestions could be called practical, which proposed to treat the whole of the property in question in precisely the same way. It might be argued, with some show of reason, that gifts made in modern times have been more distinctly intended to support an Episcopalian organization, than those that accrued to the Church at a period when Nonconformity was less clearly understood in principle and less prominent as a political power. The wisest course is to admit frankly that *a price will have to be paid* for a great social change ; and, while watchful betimes to resist extortionate demands, to raise no impassable barriers to the fair discussion of terms. Happily a date presents itself as separating ancient from modern buildings and endowments, which it is believed may be named without bringing upon the advocates of disestablishment the charge of a doctrinaire illiberality, and which may be accepted by them without rendering them open to the imputation of surrendering their real cause for the sake of winning a worthless victory.

The first of the Church Building Acts was passed in 1818;* and it is suggested that all churches existing at that date should be deemed to be ancient parish churches, and that all endowments created before the same period should be regarded as ancient endowments, and be treated as national property; that all other churches and endowments should be regarded as modern, and their destination be determined by considerations based on their voluntary origin. The special flow of modern voluntary subscriptions towards the Church of England receives ample justice if it is calculated from this date.

"The date of the first of the Church Building Acts is suggested as the line of division between the ancient and modern churches, because the church building movement, which is one of the characteristics of the present century, commenced at that time. According to the Census of Religious Worship of 1851, only 55 churches were built from 1801 to 1811, and but 97 were built from 1811 to 1821; whereas 2,140 were built from 1821 to 1851. It is estimated that the 2,529 churches built from 1801 to 1851 cost £9,087,000; of which £1,663,429 came from public funds.

"Mr. Horace Mann (see Census of 1851) estimated that, allowing for defective returns, the number of church edifices in England and Wales was about 16,000; of which 2,560 have been consecrated within the last forty years, and 4,210 from the beginning of the century to the end of 1873."—*Ibid.* § 17.

The framers of the suggestions under consideration were advised that the distinction drawn between ancient churches and those erected under Church Building Acts, New Parishes Acts, &c., *i.e.* since 1818, is equally important in fact and in law, and points to a real difference in churches, both in their actual conditions of use and in their legal incidents.

Ancient parish churches (including in this category all churches existing in the year 1818) should be placed in charge of the parishioners of the several parishes to which they belong; arrangements being made (it should be added) in the case of boroughs to permit the grouping of parishes and the action of town councils as elected representative bodies, if found more convenient than distinct parochial boards. The principle asserted is, that ancient churches should be managed by an authority directly elected by the ratepayers for the general benefit of the community. When the patron and rector are withdrawn the parishioners remain as the rightful owners of the parish church.

"Ancient churches should be vested in a parochial board, to be elected by the ratepayers, which board should have power to deal with them for the general benefit of the parishioners, in such ways as it may determine. The power of sale, at a fair valuation, and under proper regulations, should also be given."—*Ibid.* § 18.

It may be urged that some restriction ought to be placed upon the action of the parishioners. But why should not parishioners be trusted with their own property? The manliness of the English

nation has suffered from the dread of entrusting local authorities with duties of magnitude and rendering them responsible for their rightful discharge. A religious people will not desecrate an ancient church; and if the people are *not* religious, no legal regulations can protect a church from the saddest and sorriest of all desecrations, the desecration of hypocrisy. Should churches be placed under the care of parishioners, with the general instruction to consult the public good, it is certain no uniform usage will be adopted throughout the country; and it will be of large advantage that uniformity should not exist. Our national life needs more diversity in its local manifestations. Our habits and forms of thought are cast in such narrow moulds, that the word "parochial" has become a bye-word and a reproach. If wider interests were imported into parish life, and freer play given to the varied energies pent up in every English village, a parochial interest would cease to be a synonym for a petty meanness.

In some parishes the church might be used by two or three denominations at different hours of the day and week; in others it might be let at a fair rent to its present occupants; in others it might be sold, and the proceeds applied to some public object. But in all cases the parish itself should have the right of determining what it will do with its own church, the only legal restriction imposed being that the general benefit should be consulted. If it be feared that warm controversies would from time to time arise, the reply is that nothing could be more unwholesome for mortal breathing than the fogs which rise from the stagnant pools now so thickly scattered over the land.

Ancient endowments (that is, by the rule laid down, endowments created before 1818) should form part of the property to be appropriated by the State. It is premature to discuss the precise purposes to which the funds that disestablishment and disendowment will place at the disposal of the nation shall be appropriated.

"The surplus may be devoted to education—to the maintenance of the poor—to effecting great sanitary improvements—to the reduction of the national debt, or to other objects of a secular character, which would be beneficial to the whole nation. It may, however, be suggested that, inasmuch as a large portion of the property now devoted to ecclesiastical purposes belongs to the parishes, such portions of it as Parliament may from time to time determine should be applied to local objects, and be administered by municipal and other local authorities."—*Ibid.* § 28.

The last suggestion made in this paragraph will, I believe, receive more and more emphatic attention, as the great mass of our people become familiar with the local character of a large part of the property now employed in the support of ecclesiastical institutions. One of the most striking facts connected with the general question

of Church property is the enormous extent of the ecclesiastical *landed estate* which may be found in almost every county in the kingdom. Statistics recently prepared by Mr. Frederic Martin show that the Ecclesiastical Commissioners are landowners in all the counties of England except two, Shropshire and Westmoreland; and in all the counties of Wales except three, Brecon, Merioneth, and Montgomeryshire. They own 149,882 acres of land, with an annual rent-roll of £311,207; "representing the largest revenue from real property possessed by any individual or corporate body in the kingdom, and probably in the world."¹ In addition, there is the ecclesiastical estate of bishops, deans, chapters, and holders of glebe lands, widely distributed over the face of the country.

Churches erected and endowments created since 1818 require a certain amount of separate examination and treatment before a general rule can be applied. When the expenditure bestowed upon them has been the sole gift of a person living at the date of disestablishment, they should, as a matter of equity, be reinvested in him, or in such persons as he may appoint. When Parliamentary grants or any other funds derived from public sources have been added to the voluntary contributions, the amount should be restored to the State and form part of the general surplus. *With these limitations, churches and endowments of a date subsequent to 1818 should become the property of the congregations enjoying their use at the time when the Act of Disestablishment is passed.*

If any portion of the voluntary contributions bestowed upon the Episcopal Church of England is to be separated from the property appropriated by the State, it must either (1) be restored to the individuals who gave it, or their living representatives; or (2) it must be vested in a corporate ecclesiastical body specially created for the purpose; or (3) it must be retained by the several congregations in whose service it is now employed. No other disposition is possible, since the Act of Disestablishment will necessarily dissolve all existing ecclesiastical corporations, whether sole or aggregate.

To discover the representative of every contributor to Church funds since 1818 would be an impossible, even if it were a desirable, task. It would give rise to the most complicated legal investigations, and the whole proceeds would probably disappear in costs. Moreover, the representatives of the subscriber to a church can scarcely be said to have a moral claim to the return of a subscription, given to a body with whose affairs, as was notorious, Parliament could interfere at will.

Next the creation of a special corporate body would be the

(1) "The Property and Revenues of the English Church Establishment." By Frederic Martin. P. 123 and p. 70.

re-establishment of the Church, or rather the establishment of that section of the Church which might happen to be in the ascendant among the statesmen of the day; and to bestow upon a newly incorporated ecclesiastical body the funds which have accumulated from voluntary subscriptions would be a direct act of endowment. Instead of the present Church of England, which at any rate has a certain comprehensiveness, and is compelled to acknowledge its subjection to the elected representatives of the people, there would be in England a richly endowed section of a Church, practically holding the position of a State Church, but relieved from the responsibility of rendering to any human authority an account of its stewardship.

The *congregations* remain as the only bodies upon whom modern churches and endowments should be bestowed, whether weight be given to grounds of equity, or motives of generosity have their sway, or whether a simply prudential regard be shown to the fair price to be paid to secure the religious liberty of England.

Now congregations will really be the chief sufferers from an Act of Disestablishment, and their privileges will be the most directly affected. Those who worship in a modern church have a greater right than any other men can have to plead that it was built for their special service, and that the endowments attached to it were intended to be theirs. Such pleas have no force when employed to establish a title to that ancient property, the exclusive use of which has been obtained by Episcopalians through a series of restrictive and persecuting enactments; but their moral weight can scarcely be denied when they are applied to the property created by modern voluntary efforts.

The proposal made, it must be carefully noted, does not necessitate or involve the substitution of a system of Congregationalism in place of the disestablished Episcopalianism. The separate congregations, placed in possession of modern churches and endowments, would be able, should they so determine, to unite together and constitute themselves an Episcopal Church, of exactly the same ecclesiastical character as the existing Church of England, immediately on the passing of an Act of Disestablishment.

If Episcopalianism be enshrined in the hearts and consciences of those who reckon themselves members of the Church of England (as its adherents loudly declare), it would not lose one solitary assembly of worshippers. Any group of congregations might act together, should the whole number not prove to be of one mind. Any section of the Church that may feel itself aggrieved by the legal restrictions now placed upon its doctrines, its ritual, and the action of the spiritual courts whose jurisdiction alone it acknowledges, will find in an Act of Disestablishment the Magna Charta of its liberties. The

congregations in which such opinions prevail, might be gathered together (with the modern churches and endowments that may have fallen to their share) and, adopting a form of government consonant with their sacred convictions, affirm on behalf of all who may adhere to the affirmation that they constitute the ancient Anglican Church, and are the legitimate inheritors of its spiritual privileges. On the other hand, congregations believing in the comprehension within one Church of divergent minds, would not only, as congregations, be as free to "comprehend" as the most latitudinarian of divines could desire, but would be able to unite and constitute a Broad Church of England, in which spiritual fellowship would not be made dependent upon the subtle ingenuity of the tortures inflicted upon doctrinal formulæ in order to wring from them strangely contradictory confessions of faith, but upon the strength of the living conviction that theology is an open science, and that differences of thought ought not to interfere with the sanctities of common prayer. Upon the possibility of vesting property in a body so fluctuating and undefined as a congregation in present connection with the Church of England, legal advice has been taken, and the reply received is to the effect that no insuperable difficulties exist.

"The question is really one to be answered by professional persons, and the professional advice received on this point justifies the assertion that there is no insuperable difficulty in defining a congregation, and in determining the modes in which property may be held in its behalf. The problem has, in fact, been already solved, both in this and other countries. This will be seen by reference to the following:—1, The Statutes (63 to 69) of the disestablished Church in Ireland; 2, The Statute Law of various American States (see Tyler's *American Ecclesiastical Law*, 1866, vol. i., p. 60); 3, The Act for abolishing Patronage in the Church of Scotland, 1876; 4, The Compulsory Church-Rate Abolition Act, 1868 (sec. 9)."—*Ibid.* § 21.

The statutes (63 to 69) of the disestablished Church in Ireland passed and promulgated (under powers given by the Irish Church Act) in general convention in 1870, practically decide the question of the possibility of defining a "congregation" now attached to the Church by law established, and placing it in the position of a legally constituted body, capable of having the use of property held in trust on its behalf. Registered vestrymen are substituted for parishioners and ratepayers, and from their numbers churchwardens are yearly taken. Every male of the age of twenty-one years, being a resident or owner of property in any parish or parochial district, or who has for at least six months next preceding the time of registration been an accustomed member of the congregation attending the church of such parish or parochial district for divine worship, and who shall sign the following declaration—

"I, A. B., do hereby solemnly declare that I am a member of the Church of Ireland, and am an owner of property in the parish of

or [am a resident in the parish of _____, and am not registered in another church of the same parish as an accustomed member of a congregation] as the case may be; or [am an accustomed member of the congregation of _____, and am not registered as an accustomed member of any other congregation] as the case may be"—

is declared to be entitled to be registered as a vestryman of such parish or parochial district, and to have a vote in the management of its affairs. It is further provided that the register of vestrymen shall be revised once a year, and that any diocesan synod may require that a vestryman shall be a subscriber to the church funds, and make regulations accordingly. The persons actually worshipping in a particular church, thus become the "congregation" in a legal, as completely as in a moral and spiritual, sense. Whether a clergyman should or should not remain the minister of the congregation to which he may be attached at the time of disestablishment, should be determined by arrangement with the congregation itself. Since the amount of his compensation would be calculated upon the actual pecuniary value of his position, and he would be under no legal obligation to continue in the ministry at all, special personal agreements would be required respecting the terms of future service.

"A proposal to eject the inmates of all the parsonages in the country—even with compensation—would be regarded as a harsh proceeding, and as inflicting, undeserved suffering on the clergy and their families. That would be avoided, and ample time be afforded for making changes without personal inconvenience, by allowing the existing incumbents to occupy their parsonages so long as they continue to be ministers of the churches in which they now officiate; but, of course, on payment of rent, according to the valuation adopted in settling their claims for compensation."—*Ibid.* § 26.

Cathedrals, abbeys, and other buildings, possessing the character of public monuments, legitimately fall under the control of Parliament. They are the property of Nonconformists, quite as much as of Episcopalians. They belong to Englishmen as Englishmen; and the voice of the country speaking through Parliament from generation to generation should determine their use, according to the living wishes of each age.

Among miscellaneous matters, provisions would be needed for the redemption of tithe-rent charges and the abolition of compulsory ecclesiastical imposts in every form.

"The Irish Church Act provided for the sale of tithe-rent charge to the owners of land on the payment of twenty-two and a half year's purchase; and an English Act should contain similar provisions. The power of levying church-rates, in any form, should also cease; provision being made for extinguishing debts, or for meeting other claims, for which compulsory rates may still be levied. Easter Dues and other minor ecclesiastical impositions, which are either small in amount, or vexatious in their character, should be

abolished. Special arrangements would also be required to relieve the inhabitants of corporate towns, such as Liverpool, and of parishes, such as Marylebone, who have to pay large sums out of municipal or parochial rates to maintain churches, and to provide incomes for the clergy officiating in them." —*Ibid.* § 27.

The passing of an Act of Disestablishment and Disendowment based upon the principles indicated in the Practical Suggestions discussed in this article would, I submit, confer substantial benefits upon the nation, without touching with rough hand any noble religious influence exercised by those assemblies of Christian worshippers now connected with the State, and without violating any constitutional law.

The rights alike of individuals, parishes, and congregations would be respected. The compensation given to *individuals* would be ample, while their personal freedom would be secured. They would be able to follow the dictates of conscience and devote themselves, in the solemn might of self-denying enthusiasm, to whatsoever Church bears in their sight the most assured witness to the glory of God. Not a single clergyman or layman would suffer pecuniary loss, while not the burden of a feather would be placed upon spiritual independence.

Parishes would receive the consideration that their place in English history demands and justifies. Their higher energies would be quickened by the increase of responsibilities, and their miseries alleviated by the possession of new resources. The conditions of a more diversified mental and spiritual activity would be established. A breath of freer and purer air would freshen the village life of England.

Congregations would neither be roughly scattered abroad, as sheep without a shepherd, or harshly driven into unaccustomed folds. Means would be provided by which those who have been glad to go up together into the house of their Lord, could unite themselves more closely as one people, and be even better able to make known their desires and present their common supplications. The great voluntary work of this century would be generously recognised; and no congregation would be compelled to surrender offerings that had been presented by those who, living in these later days, may be presumed to have desired its especial welfare.

The reorganization of an Episcopal Church would proceed without partisan interference on the part of the State. Every section of Episcopalians would be treated with an equal justice. Individual clergymen and congregations would freely group themselves according to their spiritual affinities. No legal impediments would prevent the existence of one great Episcopal Church of England, should Episcopalians resolve with one mind and desire with one heart that

its foundations should be laid, its temple upbuilt, and its altar consecrated.

Neither would any law hinder those who might esteem their own order of worship freer from mortal taint than that adopted by their brethren, from also forming a Church, and proclaiming with voice of trumpet, and psaltery, and harp, that it is the one Church of the living God in England, in which are administered the special sacraments through which his Holy Spirit will be outpoured upon the children of men. The spirit of such an act of disestablishment as that for which I plead, would be akin to that which dwelt within Moses of old, when it was angrily reported to him that Eldad and Medad "do prophesy in the camp," and he replied, "Enviest thou for my sake? Would God that all the Lord's people were prophets, and that the Lord would put his Spirit upon them." Those who are unconnected with any section of the Church will not be responsible for the acts of a voluntary organization, in the way in which they are responsible for the ecclesiastical action of the State of which they are citizens. Ecclesiasticism as a restraint upon the intellectual development of the country will be destroyed by the very blow which liberates its religious life from the interference of the law.

The nation itself—the nation which embraces in the folds of its ample majesty all contending sects and fragments of sects—would receive the many broad acres and rich possessions which it so gravely needs that its pauperism may be lessened, and the sorrows of its closely packed crowds lightened, and the march of physical as well as spiritual pestilence checked, and its schools made more worthy of the genius of its people. The amount of property which ought to be retained after satisfying every just and honourable claim would be amply sufficient to afford *appreciable relief* from the pressure of many grievous burdens, and supply large means for promoting a higher culture.

It remains for those who "believe, and therefore speak," zealously to devote themselves to the education of the people in the knowledge of those practical measures by which the demands of religious liberty may be converted into the blessings of a nobler civilisation. Legislation will sooner or later become imperative. Whatever act of disestablishment be passed, we have to see that it is not a mockery of every hope, a contemptuous sarcasm upon years of toil, and an astute resumption of ancient privilege. It must mark an epoch in the history of England.

HENRY W. CROSSKEY.

EVOLUTION AND POSITIVISM.

I.

WHAT is the relation between the Positive Philosophy, as represented by Auguste Comte, and the Evolution Philosophy, as represented by Hæckel, Darwin, Herbert Spencer, and other celebrated men of our time? Are they antagonistic in principle? Or have they a common basis; and if so, where and to what extent do they diverge?

One view, and possibly the view most generally accepted, is that the Philosophy of Evolution is a more advanced form of the Positive Philosophy, which has arisen since Comte's time, and which therefore supersedes his own system of thought, and renders it a matter of merely historical interest. Of the ultimate nature of matter, as revealed in the most advanced speculations of the molecular physicists, of the differentiations of every inorganic or organic form from a homogeneous nebula, of the origin of all living species from protoplasm in the course of millions of years through the struggle for existence; of this, it is said, Comte knew nothing. How then can any claim be still put forward in his behalf to the leadership of thought in the nineteenth century?

There are others by whom a different view is taken. To these Comte presents himself as having taken account of these prevalent tendencies of modern speculation, having judged them by anticipation, and as having given weighty reasons for attaching a very different value to them from that which is now current. Some attempt will be made in this and in a succeeding article to develop and support this view. The present writer is one of those who consider that Comte is by no means superseded; but, on the contrary, that his writings, whether earlier or later, supply a safeguard against certain idols of modern thought which are going far to discredit science, and by inevitable reaction to favour the revival of retrograde beliefs.

Comte's philosophical position may be summed up in these two sentences:

1. He attempted a Synthesis of scientific conceptions.
2. That Synthesis was *subjective*, and not *objective*. It discarded, that is to say, all attempts to stand outside the universe, to regard it as a whole, and to explain it. The unifying influence, that which made it a synthesis, was the recognition of Man as the central object; of the study of social and moral phenomena as the central science, to which the rest were subsidiary.

It is the second of these positions which separates Comte from Evolutionists and Cosmogonists. The first position, however, he holds in common with them. He and they alike are marked off by it on the one hand from metaphysicians and theologians, with whose conceptions the Positivist has nothing to do except to appreciate their philosophical importance; and on the other from scientific specialists engaged in promoting particular branches of knowledge without reference to their correlation, or to their reaction on the general system of belief.

Of Comte's attitude towards theological and metaphysical thinkers, there is no need to speak. In his rejection of their methods he was not, nor did he ever assume to be, original. The Positive method, as applied to speculation, dates from the Greek mathematicians. Handed down, through the Arabs, to the Renaissance, and thence to modern Europe, it has been ever extending to new spheres of thought. Comte is sometimes attacked for falsely claiming the credit of originality in this matter, as though he supposed himself to have invented the Positive method; as though the recognition of its employment for twenty-five centuries was not the very groundwork of his system of Positive Philosophy. Comte's originality as a scientific thinker principally consists in his application of the Positive method to a new sphere of thought; that of the phenomena of human nature, social or individual. Apart from certain special aspects, as, for instance, that of man's economic relations, this region had hitherto been deemed inaccessible to the Positive method, and grasped tenaciously by metaphysicians and theologians as peculiarly their own. Not, of course, that in the eighteenth century indications of this great crisis in the history of thought are not plainly visible. The writings of Montesquieu, Hume, Adam Smith, Diderot, Vico, Kant, Turgot, and Condorcet show that the greater minds were not without strong presentiments and even clear glimpses of its advent. But to Comte belongs the praise of having first grasped the problem in its length, breadth, and height; of having seen the momentous practical issues involved in its solution; and of having devoted his total energy to the task from youth till death.

As a student of science, then, a student, that is, of the laws of nature, Comte takes his place in a long line of thinkers from Thales and Archimedes downwards. They, like him, had used the "Positive method," though without knowing it. They, like him, had occupied themselves with the study of constant relations underlying the apparent irregularities of the phenomena which they were considering. And whether the uniformities were sought for amidst the infinite diversities of triangles, or amidst the infinite diversities in the mental evolution of individuals or nations, the method followed was fundamentally the same.

But amongst scientific thinkers Comte is distinguished by an attempt in which, though he does not stand alone, he has yet had few predecessors. He attempted to frame, as I have said, a Synthesis of scientific conceptions; to group our knowledge of the laws of nature into a harmonious co-ordinated whole. This was first attempted by Des Cartes, whose method may, as I propose to show, serve as a type for many modern efforts in the same direction.

The need for a Synthesis has been growing of late years more and more evident, even to scientific minds. The common antipathy or indifference to science is not merely due to its conflict with theological dogma. It is that men ask themselves, as they read the title pages of scientific journals or the summaries of annual meetings of scientific associations, Why are all these disjointed materials flung down together before us in a heap? What is it that these wise men tell us we are to fall down and worship? We are told that all knowledge of real facts is precious; that the smallest fact carefully and accurately recorded, however unmeaning it may at first seem, may possibly be one end of a clue which shall lead to a labyrinth of treasures; may possibly be the missing link which centuries hence shall enable some great thinker to throw his chain over a bottomless chasm. All this is extremely plausible; and it appeals forcibly to some of the best English feelings of patience, humility, and thoroughness. But have the eloquent lecturers at British Associations and elsewhere who descant on this theme ever seriously reflected on its meaning? Have they ever taken to heart the saying of the evangelist, and reflected that if all the facts in the world are to be accurately recorded, a new world probably of greater size will be required as a Record Office? And indeed this is an understatement of the case. If in "facts" we include all "truths" discoverable by human faculties, their number is evidently and in the strictest sense infinite. The possible problems to be worked out in any one branch of mathematics would fill many more volumes than are contained in all the world's libraries. In astronomy we might look forward to accurate records of the spectra of many million stars. In chemistry the arithmetician may tell us if he can what limit there is to the possible combinations of fifty or sixty elements taken any number of times together. In biology, especially if we include the concrete "sciences," or rather fact-collections, of palæontology and natural history, the field is wide also, much wider than it used to be. Formerly it might have been enough to study each of the many thousand species of each class of animals or plants. But at the present moment the notion of species as a definite unit is passing away, and who shall say that it is not desirable to record the variations found in each of countless millions of individuals? Passing to sociology we shall find the state of things not otherwise. Woe to

the historic student who generalises. Facts, he will be told, not theories, are wanted; let him investigate original documents, let him restrict himself to a short period, a limited area; then he may yet do good service. For what we want are all the procurable records of each year of every nation's existence. Or why do we say nation? We must examine with the same care every province; why not every village?

It is sometimes forgotten by the learned that the very essence and main purpose of science is to generalise. Science, as opposed to erudition, means investigation of the laws of nature; and a law of nature means the Perception of Uniformity in the midst of Variety. It implies an intelligent question asked of nature; a meditative work, resulting in the construction of some sort of hypothesis, however provisional and transient, which is to be tested afterwards by observation, and which therefore gives purpose and meaning to the collection of facts. But with a large proportion of modern fact-heaps meditation has had very little to do. They have resulted partly from the mere fondness for accumulation common to all collectors of curiosities, partly from the inquisitive instinct which indicates the dawn of intellect in young infants or in the higher vertebrates. They have obstructed science more than they have helped it.

It is quite true, however, that in many departments of thought there is a strong counteracting influence. The practical applications of many sciences protect them to a great extent from this aimless dispersion. We have realised the dream of Bacon that knowledge of the activities around us implies their mastery; or, when they are resistless, enables us by wise submission to evade their force. We can foresee the earth's motion, we hope soon that we may foretell the hurricane—and we guide our life accordingly. Fire and falling water we can mould to our purposes as soon as we know their strength. In either case, the more accurate the knowledge, the finer the adjustment, the more fruitful is the result.

Practical utility therefore, subservience to the wants and comforts of life, is the influence which has dictated a large proportion of scientific researches, and which gives them point and purpose. The extent and force of this influence is hardly recognised by the learned societies, who, while eager on all occasions to claim the gratitude of the practical world, are less profuse in the acknowledgment of their own debt. The formation of astronomical tables, the innumerable researches in mechanics, physics, and chemistry that have branched out from metallurgy, dye-works, ship-building, and other technical pursuits, the stimulus given by recent epidemics to the study of fungi, are casual instances from multitudes. The history of the steam-engine supplies numberless illustrations. "The important applications of electro-magnetism to telegraphy have reacted," says

Professor Maxwell, "on pure science by giving a commercial value to accurate electrical measurement, and by affording to electricians the use of apparatus on a scale which greatly transcends that of any ordinary laboratory."

And it may be well to remark that this potent influence is of a kind likely to endure. The critics of Comte who suppose him hostile to the growth of knowledge forget all that is implied in the great principle, nowhere so strongly and systematically urged as in his writings, of the separation of Church and State. They forget that wholly apart and outside the coherent conception of the Order of the World which it is the business of his educating body, the scientific priesthood of the future, to disseminate, stand the industrial chiefs trained in this wide view of things, but busy each in his own domain with the conquest of nature, and to that end eager to avail themselves of that class of mind intermediate between theory and practice of whom the engineer is the most familiar type. There is small fear under Comte's *régime* of practical, applied, or concrete science being neglected. And equally distant is the fear that with such rivalry, and with unlimited freedom of teaching, the priesthood would degenerate into the stagnation of theocracy. For should they do so their place would very speedily be taken. They will have to keep abreast of their time. The conception of the order of nature, like everything else in the Positive scheme, is organic, and will never cease to grow. But I am anticipating; only that this notion, which I hear so often, that Positivism implies intellectual stagnation, crystallized thought, beautiful perhaps, but still crystal, not vital,—the commonest yet the falsest of all misconceptions of Comte's teaching—seemed to need refutation at the outset.

The reaction of practical life on science is so obvious that the majority of mankind fall into the opposite extreme of exaggerating its importance, and of denying the value of pure theory, of truth studied for truth's sake. Yet this view is equally inconsistent with the history of science.

The desire for explaining the world around us is innate in the human race; is not invisible indeed in the higher animal races, for these too show, especially when young, and some few in after life, evident traces of curiosity. In the child, in the savage, it is of course extremely obvious. With them the answer of the spirit to its own eager questionings is dictated by the varying forces of terror and hope, and the result is a strange fantastic cloudland of belief, changing shape and colour with every impulse of desire, but ultimately gaining fixed form and solidity, transmitted to new generations, and taking the first place among the influences that mould their life. Wise men, sharing this influence themselves and extending it to others, have found it strong enough to bind together vast

civilisations, and thus to replace the physical forces of despotic government by the inward restraining impulses of tradition and reverence.

Thus Theocracy arose. It was, as the name implies, the government of the gods; that is to say, moral restraint by the sanctity of tradition, as interpreted by a sacred god-appointed caste. The historical value of theocracy, not merely as the basis of industrial and sedentary life, but as the source of those time-honoured institutions and organic prejudices which remain steadfast through the most revolutionary fluctuations of opinion, is incalculable. But, as in every other partial synthesis of life, the price to be paid was great. The free spontaneousness of thought and emotion, which, as we saw, was the starting-point of religious belief, had disappeared.

The Greeks—a population in which, as in Italy, the military caste strove successfully against theocratic rule, but with whom, partly from the physical nature of the country, partly from a premature development of commerce, there was not sufficient cohesiveness to form a great nation—drove their great men away from municipal politics into the region of pure intellect. By such abstinence from civic work their country was sacrificed, but the future of the world was saved. The conception of a universe governed by fixed law took root in Athens and Alexandria, and was implanted ineffaceably through Western Europe by imperial and by mediæval Rome.

The concentration on the problems of moral life which it is the glory of the mediæval Church to have attempted, stayed the spirit of inquisitiveness for a time. It took refuge with the Arabs; then, when the Catholic faith grew weak, returned to the West and burst out with irrepressible strength at the Renaissance. The study of truth for its own sake—inquiry of every sort into the proceedings of the physical and vital world, apart from any immediate practical utility to be attained—has ever since shown itself as a potent ingredient in Western civilisation, one of the features which most strongly distinguish it from African or Asiatic life.

Not, indeed, that the discoverers of geometrical and astronomical laws were the mere slaves of the inquisitive instinct that has sometimes been imagined. In pursuing their marvellous investigations of the properties of the circle and of the conic sections, they were doubtless quite innocent of any attempt to help forward the technical and industrial pursuits of their time.¹ But to suppose them heedless

(1) The first writer, I believe, to draw attention to this was Comte, who has been vehemently accused, as, for instance, recently by Mr. Pattison, of narrow utilitarianism; and this though Comte's latest writing was a mathematical treatise; though in the last volume of his "Positive Polity" special provision is made for the endowment, amongst many other things, of biological and philological research; and though generally, in Comte's picture of the future, a high position, though doubtless not the highest, is reserved for men of distinguished speculative power but feeble social

of the vast import of their work to the destinies of man would be a very shallow and unjust conjecture. They were initiating the most stupendous change which it was possible for humanity to undergo—the substitution of fixed law for the caprice of deity. So vast was this revolution that its full range has only been measured in our own time. They began the work in the only part of the field where success was possible: in the simple all-embracing phenomena of Space. The problem of Geometry is the indirect measurement of magnitude, the power of foreseeing from the length of a given line the length of other unknown lines, surfaces, or solids, placed in a definite relation to it. This evidently lay at the very root of the interpretation of nature. The sky, the earth, and all that is in the earth are bounded (or appear to be bounded) by definite form, and come, therefore, within the scope of this primal science. It was not fortuitous that men should first have spent their efforts on such simple forms as the triangle, the circle, the sphere, the cylinder, and the cone, or that, when the laws of their measurement had been found, they should have passed to the study of the more subtle lines formed by the intersection of these solids with a plane. The precise importance of the ellipse and the parabola to the future of science was unknown to Apollonius. But the work before him was to discover the fundamental laws of space-measurement, and these curves presented themselves in the very first rank. There is a logic of the heart as well as of the head, which consciously or otherwise guides high minds to high problems.

At the time of the Renaissance the problem of the interpretation of nature was seen to be far beyond the compass of Greek geometry. The seeds sown broadcast by Aristotle over the whole field of science were ripening; the stupendous discovery of Copernicus was revealing the infinity of the universe. Chemistry had begun to indicate the hidden activities of matter. Vital forms and functions were studied with a zeal and minuteness unknown to the Greeks. The labyrinthine complexities of nature seemed to offer no hope of issue, and scientific thinkers might seem destined to content themselves, in Newton's language, with the lot of children gathering here and there shells upon the shore.

There was one, however, who refused to be satisfied with such a destiny. That man was Des Cartes, the puissant and audacious spirit who, in the first half of the seventeenth century, summed up in himself the two great progressive forces of modern Europe—the

sympathies. Yet Mr. Pattison tells us, "the hatred of the Comtist for all that can be called intellect equals that of the Spanish priest or the French Legitimist!" (*Contemporary Review*, March, 1876.) But then, as Mr. Pattison explains afterwards, his knowledge of Comte has been gained by "dipping here and there into his volumes." Gibbon would have sighed or smiled to find that the head of a college can sometimes be superficial.

solvent force of metaphysical philosophy, the constructive agency of Positive Science.

Of Des Cartes' negative work, of its profoundly revolutionary influence on the leading spirits of his own and the succeeding century, this is not the place to speak. It is the aspect of his work on which attention has been in our times too exclusively concentrated. But it is not in reality the most important aspect. Far deeper and more permanent, far more engrossing to himself, far weightier in ultimate result, was the attempt to group together the scattered truths of science, to exhibit the visible world around us as governed by definite and assignable law, and thus to open the way for mastery, or at least for equal struggle, with the fatalities of matter and of life.

To rate the physics of Descartes as more important than his metaphysics will seem to most men a paradox. Yet if his *Cogito ergo sum* is far more familiar to most of us than his *Vortices*, lends itself more readily to literary handling, has appeared till lately to be a more potent factor in philosophical controversy, a true reading of the story of Des Cartes' life, as told by himself with such admirable clearness in his Discourse on Method, will lead to a different opinion. We shall recognise, indeed, one of the great initiators of the destructive movement, one who, with Hobbes and Spinoza, prepared the way for the general upheaval which was yet a century and a half distant. The transcendent power of Des Cartes over the negative movement of the eighteenth century is too obvious to be ignored for a moment. But we shall feel at the same time that to his own mind the positive or constructive side of his work was of far greater value. No one who reads his correspondence can doubt this. For one letter that deals with metaphysics or theology, there are a dozen that deal with every scientific question, mathematical, physical, or biological, that was then open.

What Des Cartes attempted was, then, a Synthesis of scientific truth. He had a strong conviction, stronger and clearer probably than any thinker either of his own or of the following century, of the stupendous change which scientific method was destined to effect in human affairs. The various branches of science which he followed, as his works and above all his letters show, with such intense eagerness, were interesting to him simply as fragments of a great whole—as illustrations of the orderly development and procedure of the universe, by wise obedience to which man's life would be infinitely ennobled. He was a great geometer—some think, the greatest. But he cared for geometry because he thought to find in it the key by which the secrets of the universe could be unlocked.

And there is a special reason for estimating Des Cartes' work at the present time. What he attempted anticipates in very many ways the efforts made by modern men of science to found an Objective

Synthesis—a comprehensive view, that is to say, of the universe viewed as an outside series of phenomena. His failure, conspicuous and honourable as it was, throws light on their failure, and makes it far less excusable to reiterate the attempt. It throws light also on the solitary and contrasted effort made by Auguste Comte to found a scientific synthesis from a wholly opposite point of view.

Des Cartes was an Evolutionist. His “*Principia*” is the first, the most elaborate, and certainly not the least successful attempt to explain the world around us by an elaborate and clearly defined process of Evolution. Granted one or two first principles, he undertakes to show that by successive differentiations of a homogeneous mass filling space, the stars arose, planetary bodies arranged themselves round each star, in each planet water and earth were formed, with all the thousandfold varieties of shape and substance. The activities of matter—weight, light, heat, magnetism—are all shown to be consequences of the same elementary principles. The more complex activity of life itself was no exception.

Evolution philosophies are for the moment in fashion. It is perfectly safe to acknowledge them; it is even somewhat dangerous for a man’s intellectual reputation to doubt them. But those who remember the vehement outcry raised thirty years ago by the *Vestiges of Creation*, may form a faint conception of the amazing moral as well as intellectual audacity shown in raising such questions as these in the middle of the seventeenth century. And when we look at the strenuous pertinacity with which the problem was handled from youth to death, at the force and clearness of the language, the rigorous amputation of every pre-existing prejudice, the keen ingenuity in working out minutest details, we may think, perhaps, that Columbus alone in the world’s history shows a rival type of sustained, deliberate, solitary courage.

“ The intellectual power, through words and things
Went sounding on, a dim and perilous way ! ”

The problem which Des Cartes set before him was to explain the evolution of the universe by assuming the smallest possible number of “first principles,” and reasoning down from them upon strictly mathematical methods. He was no doubt far too great a man to be consistent in this. He gave a stimulus both by precept and example to inductive and experimental methods very far greater than that of Bacon. But his avowed purpose was to frame his Synthesis upon Deduction. Let us see how he succeeded.

He begins, then, after the fashion now so popular, but then so astonishingly new, by assuming space filled with a perfectly homogeneous indivisible substance, endowed with none of the properties which we are accustomed to consider as inseparable from matter,

excepting Extension. Weight, temperature, and the other features, optical, electrical, or chemical, which characterize all matter known to us—these things as yet are not. They are subsequent differentiations, not as yet evolved.

How long this condition of homogeneity may have lasted there is no means of telling. It has indeed been laid down in one of the most ingenious of modern imitations of Des Cartes,¹ as a first principle of Evolution, that the "condition of homogeneity is one of unstable equilibrium." In what respects a homogeneous mass of gold, or of carbon, isolated from surrounding matter, would be necessarily unstable, it is not very easy to determine. If it be said that incident forces, as heat, continually change its volume, yet the same would hold good of a heterogeneous mass, as an oxide or an alloy, and perhaps with the result of dislocating the equilibrium altogether; so that it would be equally true, or perhaps truer, to say that "the condition of heterogeneity was one of unstable equilibrium." At any rate, such a doubtful thesis as this was far too uncertain a foundation for Des Cartes to build upon.

Given Extension as the one essential property of matter, Des Cartes proceeds to postulate Motion. His views on this subject were for his time extremely original, and anticipatory of much modern speculation. Motion, he observed, could only be predicated of anything relatively to the matter surrounding it. A man on a vessel sailing down a river is at rest with regard to the vessel, in motion with regard to the shore. The wheels of a watch in the man's pocket, in addition to their own motion, participate in that of the man, of the ship, of the earth's motion on its axis, and of that round the sun. To say, therefore, of anything that it is absolutely at motion, or absolutely at rest, is impossible.² Motion and Rest are purely relative terms.

Further, Des Cartes postulated what is commonly known as the First Law of Motion: the law of Kepler, as Comte was wont to call it; the law of Inertia, as it is often called—viz. that a body tended to remain in the state, whether of rest or of rectilinear motion, in which it was at the moment, and that any deviation from the straight line must be the result of a disturbing force. Now that careful observation has shown the tendency of all bodies in motion to obey this law, the contrary of it has been recently asserted to be "unthinkable." Possibly it may be so to the instructed mind of our day; it seems to have been "thinkable" enough, however, by the highest minds of antiquity, since all who examined the subject at all did actually think it.

(1) Mr. Herbert Spencer's "First Principles," chap. xix. I do not, of course, imply that the imitation was conscious.

(2) "Principia," ii. 30.

Finally, Des Cartes advanced the position so attractive to modern speculators, although so absolutely beyond the reach of human powers to demonstrate, that the quantity of motion in the universe remained invariable. The belief that light and heat are simply forms of motion, none the less real, none the less amenable to the ordinary laws of motion, because imperceptible to sense, is frequently hailed as a great modern discovery. But Des Cartes has stated it as clearly and emphatically as any modern physicist:—

“The number and variety of motions in the world,” he says, “is infinite; independently of the motion of the planets, of the atmosphere, of the seas and rivers, I remark a process of decay in the most solid buildings, of growth or corruption in animals and plants: not merely in flame, then, but in every kind of substance, there is constant motion, though differing in velocity, and in the degree to which our senses can appreciate it.

“The primal cause of these motions I do not care to inquire; enough for me that they began with the beginning of the world; and once begun, I am led to the conclusion that they never cease, though the subject of them may constantly vary: that is to say, the power of moving, which at any moment exists in a body, may pass from it to a second, and exist no longer in the first, but it must still remain somewhere in the world.” (“Monde,” ch. iii.)

“What is flame?” he asked. “In a piece of burning wood we can see with our eyes that the small particles of the wood are moved, are separated from each other; the fine particles changed into fire, air, and smoke, the coarser into ashes. Others may suppose, if they choose, the essential principle of fire, the attribute of heat, and the action of burning to be three different things: but I, who fear to fall into error if I make any supposition beyond what is absolutely necessary, am satisfied simply to state the fact of the motion of the particles. Suppose fire, suppose heat, suppose burning to go on as long as you choose, yet unless you have this intestine movement and separation of particles, I can conceive no change to proceed. Conversely, take away your fire, your heat, all that you call burning, if only you admit a force which violently stirs the more subtle particles and separates them from each other, and you have, I conceive, the same results as you experience in burning.”

The sensation of Heat, he goes on to say (and this important thesis he develops at great length), has nothing to do with the external actions causing it. Heat is molecular motion; and all molecular motion artificially produced, as that of friction, is capable of exciting the sensation of heat (“Monde,” ch. xi.). These and many other passages of the same kind show that Des Cartes had grasped the transference of molar into molecular motion with a clearness which Newton never attained.

Here, then, we have the foundations on which Des Cartes proceeded to rear his gigantic edifice. Space filled by homogeneous Matter with no property but that of Extension. In this Matter Motion initiated by the Deity. The quantity of motion in the world invariable, though it may be communicated from one body to another, and may pass from sensible to insensible modes. The laws of motion: first, the law of inertia, that a body remains in its state of motion or of rest, until acted on by a disturbing force;

secondly, the law of the direction of motion, that each portion of moving matter tends to move, not in curved, but in straight lines; thirdly, the law of communicated motion, that a body impinging against another of greater inertia than its own changes the direction, but not the quantity, of its motion; if, on the contrary, it impinged against one the inertia of which was less than its own, it retains the direction, but loses in the quantity, of motion, transferring the portion so lost to the second body. "All the special causes of changes occurring in bodies are contained in this rule."

Imagine, then, motion to begin, by Divine volition, in this homogeneous *plenum*. Such motion could not be rectilinear, from the nature of a *plenum*; it could only be circular. Fish swimming in a basin do not, he observes, ripple the surface; the water that makes way for them in front pushes against other water that fills up the gap behind. Of such a nature he conceived the primal motion; initiated at the same moment in infinite numbers of equal portions of space, so that while each portion rotated round its own centre, vast groups of these rotating particles revolved round a common centre. Each mass of rotating particles constituted a vortex, or *cælum*; evolving ultimately, as we shall see, a star or sun at the central point, and a planetary system with all its differentiated forms of matter in various portions of the whirlpool. But we are yet far from this.

The form of each rotating particle could not have been in the first instance spherical; for spheres in contact have intervals between them, which is contrary to the hypothesis of a *plenum*. They must have been polyhedral therefore. But the friction of rotating polyhedra must inevitably have ground them down, as pebbles are rounded by the sea waves, leaving thus between them a dust, so to speak, of incomparably finer texture, occupying the interstices between the spheres. Here, then, we have the first great differentiation occurring in the primal homogeneous mass. We have the whirling Ether, consisting of hard spherules; and in the interstices between the spherules we have a yet finer substance, ethereal, so to speak, to the second degree. In the revolutions of the vortex the coarser kind of ether, called by Des Cartes "the second matter," tended to recede from the centre; the finer kind, or "first matter," to accumulate at the centre, although never ceasing to ramify throughout the whole. It is this central accumulation of the purer ether which constitutes the solar mass; and light, or fire, for the two in Des Cartes' mind are substantially the same, is nothing more than the propagation of motion in this finer ether.

Neither in the finer nor in the coarser ether have we as yet got anything in the least resembling matter as known to human senses. The genesis of this, the third form of substance, is as follows.

The finer ether, in its passage through the interstices of the revolving spherules, assumed necessarily the form of grooved prisms, not straight, but more or less twisted; and the twist, as he explains at some length, is in opposite directions—i.e. either right-handed or left-handed, according as these prisms approximate to either pole. In this way, were there time to explain it, does Des Cartes elaborate an extremely ingenious hypothesis accounting for magnetic phenomena. The result is, that in the centre of the vortex, where there is no “second” matter to interfere with the “first,” portions of these prisms, oppositely twisted, get entangled and cohere. They float on the surface of the central sphere like foam on a fermenting liquid, and form something like a solar spot, obstructing the passage of light. The material of these spots, thrown off from the central substance as a nebulous mass, constitutes Des Cartes’ third matter—that to which the name is commonly given, which ultimately differentiates into the world of gases, liquids, and solids known to our senses.

The planets are conceived as growing similarly to the sun—i.e. as the centres of smaller whirlpools or sub-vortices, which, losing their motion gradually by surrounding friction, fell nearer towards the sun, till once more in a position of equilibrium with the ethereal motion around them. Each of them, therefore, consisted of a central fire, kept under by an envelope of compacted ether, and surrounded by a gradually differentiating mass of nebulous third matter, through the pores of which the first and second variously mingled.

Des Cartes feels himself now in a position to “explain” the various properties of sensible matter. These properties are all simple results of oscillation and agitation of the first and second kinds of ethereal substance. The ether is conceived as passing with extreme rapidity through the pores of matter. In its passage it makes for itself ways through the molecules capable of transmitting the impulse called Light. It sifts the grosser molecules from the subtler, and then differentiates substances of various qualities. It accounts for the spherical state of liquids, &c.

But the crucial test of the hypothesis was its power of accounting for that fundamental quality of all matter known to human sense which we call Weight. The phenomena of Gravitation have harassed the speculative minds of Europe for some centuries. The stupendous results following from Newton’s researches diverted men for a century from the previous inquiry, which Newton made no attempt to handle, what Gravitation was. It was enough for Newton to find out how it acted; and there the Positive thinker is content with him to leave the problem. Certain modern physicists in their incessant attempts to scale the skies, to explain how the universe was made, and to reduce all the activities of matter to a single force, find Gravitation a stumbling-block. Every attempt to demonstrate a

correlation between gravity and the other physical activities, such as light, heat, or electricity, has utterly failed. The latest hypothesis as to the ultimate origin of matter, viz., that the molecule is a small eddy or vortex of ether, owing its rigidity to rapid rotation, may or may not be more satisfactory than the Cartesian hypothesis we are considering, but it throws no light whatever upon gravitation. Lesage in desperation climbed outside the universe and saw a system of *extra-mundane* particles, which, by impinging against the ether and thus producing universal pressure, caused between two masses of matter, i.e. two portions of rotating ether, that tendency to approximate which we call attraction. These things are called by many learned professors of our time "scientific hypotheses," and are regarded as of immense value. Newton and Comte thought otherwise.

But to return to Des Cartes. All kinds of matter in the vortex, first, second, and third, were conceived to be acting under strong centrifugal repulsion from the centre. But the different vortices must, he thought, exercise mutual pressure on each other at their surfaces of contact. Those portions of each vortex on which the centrifugal action was strongest, from their greater rapidity of motion, would therefore recede towards the limits of the vortex, and force the less rapidly moving matter downwards towards the centre. Light bodies, being more porous, would have more of this ether, and would tend to press the heavier bodies down, as a balloon filled with heated air is pressed up by the denser air around it. This pressure constitutes Gravitation, whether that of the planets to the sun, or of falling bodies to the earth. Newton is sometimes spoken of as the first to connect planetary motion with that of bodies falling to the earth's surface. But Des Cartes had very clearly realised the identity of these two phenomena; however chimerical and unreal his attempt to account for them by the introduction of agencies as unknown and as impossible to grasp by sense as the Deity himself.

Such being Gravitation, it remained to account for Light and Heat. These in Des Cartes' mind were closely correlated. Light was an impulse or oscillation communicated to the finer ether (the "first matter"), and travelling in it through the pores of matter and through the interstices of the second ether till it impinged upon the eye. Des Cartes is careful to explain that between sensation and the object which arouses it there is no similarity whatever. Sound is perceived as sound, not as an oscillation of the air. A sleeping child is tickled by a feather, a soldier is wounded by a sword;—the tickling and the pain have no likeness to the object causing them. So with vision. It is simply a mode of feeling far-off objects, as a blind man might feel them with a staff. And as the staff need not be straight, so the path of light need not be straight: as, indeed, passing through the interstices of the spherules of the second ether, it could not be.

Heat, again, was very carefully separated by Des Cartes from the

sensation connected with it. He regarded it, like light, as an oscillation or impulse, beginning in the "first matter," but propagated thence to bodies of the ordinary kind, and continuing in them as a molecular motion, communicable from one to another. It is hard to say in what respect Des Cartes' conception falls short of modern views as to the nature of heat, except of course in respect of precision and quantitative measurement.

With these forces or modes of activity thus developed, Des Cartes found but little difficulty in the Evolution of the Earth. As in other planets, a central core (A) consisting of the first or finer ether, was held in check by an envelope of the same ether firmly compacted. Around this was the outer layer or crust, composed of chaotic irregular clouds of the third matter, freely permeated of course by the rapidly whirling particles of the second, the finer substance pressing the coarser more and more towards the centre by its centrifugal force. This material nebula subdivides into two layers: an upper and thinner layer formed of round small hard particles (B); a lower opaque layer formed of large irregular-shaped branching particles, which catch and entangle one another (C). Here we have the differentiation of the gaseous and the solid state. Between these two soon appears an intermediate layer (D), consisting of slender smooth cylindrical particles, pressed out by the revolving ether from C, and forming the basis of liquid matter. To this many of the airy particles from B joined themselves, and much of B descended further down through D to the solid C, and mixing with it in various proportions produced the various metallic substances.

But it would be wearisome, and for the purposes of this article needless, to follow Des Cartes step by step through the labyrinthine process of evolution. How a crust forms above the watery mass, and, swollen from beneath by internal air and heat, breaks down, forming by its fragments mountains and valleys; how the tides are formed; why the trade winds blow; how it is that the principal chemical differences of solid matter show themselves, ranged under the three classes of sulphur, salt, and mercury; how it is that metals are found in certain places; why earthquakes come; the explanation of flame and combustion; the meaning of the various properties of spirit, gunpowder, glass; the deductions, very elaborately worked out, of the properties of the magnet from the twisted shape of certain ethereal particles; all these things, and many more, are evolved with the most amazing fertility from the resources of his scientific imagination, and are all deduced from the three or four elementary principles with which he started.

Such was the Cosmogony of Des Cartes, the precursor of so many subsequent attempts to form an Objective Synthesis of the world; to account for it as though one stood outside it; to explain its Evolution.

Those who reverence Des Cartes as one of the three or four strong thinkers of the world will feel the need of dwelling on the broad and deep distinctions of power and of circumstance which divide him from his modern imitators. They will remind us in the first place that his audacious initiative stamped for the first time, and ineffaceably, upon the mind of Europe the conception of the Universality of Law. Others had been before him and had surpassed him in this region and in that. The special scientific results attained by him, infinitely important as they were, were of less immediate and obvious import than the discoveries of Kepler in astronomy or of Galileo in physics. His glory was to have ranged through the whole domain of phenomena, cosmic or vital, and to have taken possession of it in the name of Positive Science. The impulse given by him to the progress of Positive Thought is felt to this hour.

But further, his work was something other than an eloquent appeal to the scientific imagination, though that too was needed. It rested—and here lies the immense intellectual superiority of Des Cartes to Bacon—upon the basis of new and enlarged positive truth, upon a transformation of geometrical method, from which the mathematical results of Leibnitz and Newton fifty years afterwards flowed by a process of natural and gradual development. If ever there was a *saltus* made in the organic growth of science, it was made here. The reduction of questions of form to questions of magnitude, by which every curved line could be represented by an equation, and equations multipliable at will became the means of investigating new curves, opened a wholly new passage into the arcana of nature. The mediæval algebra, which, even in the hands of Vieta, had been little more than a fine logical gymnastic, became now an engine of stupendous inventive power. A single curve, which had absorbed half the life-time of a Greek geometer, was now treated rapidly and easily as one of a group, having mutual relations and common properties; and inexhaustible possibilities of new curves revealed themselves, all probably capable of solution.

See now what to a mind like that of Des Cartes, and to the great physicists and mathematicians who followed him, was the import of this great conception. A curved line is the representation of motion, changing always in direction, almost always in velocity. But to Des Cartes the whole universe was made up, as we have seen, of infinitely varying motions. The rectilinear tendency pointed out by him as inherent in all moving matter has no existence, as he remarks, except as a tendency; it was never actually visible. Everything in the world was in constant circular or at least cycloidal motion, the molecules of solid bodies no less than the winds and waters and the revolving ether whirling the planets round their sun; but the forms, velocities, and directions of this motion were infinite and ever-varying. It followed from this that the

power of expressing all complicated curves by equations, and of solving these equations, meant the power of grasping the precise quantitative relations of all physical phenomena. That this was the way in which Des Cartes regarded geometry there can be no doubt whatever. His immortal "*Discours sur la Méthode*" contains a distinct record of his views and aims upon this subject.

But finally, it would be a complete misapprehension of Des Cartes' work to regard it as based upon pure deductions from a few abstract principles, whether of metaphysics or of mathematics. He was far too great a man to be consistent in this. A very large proportion of his intellectual energies were put forth in the direction of observation and experiment. His mathematical theories rendered his questionings of nature far more fruitful than those of Bacon, and they were followed up with greater patience and strenuousness. Nothing comparable to Des Cartes' discoveries as to the reflection and refraction of light was effected by Bacon. Those who still retain the notion that Des Cartes' was a metaphysical dreamer had better glance at his correspondence. Discussions on free-will or the nature of the Deity appear occasionally; but they are few and widely scattered amongst the far greater number that are filled with condensed records of physical experiments or eager suggestions for new inquiries. Mechanics, optics, acoustics, the nature of musical effects, the growth of language—of these things he went on thinking and writing to the end. Biology was probably the science which most profoundly interested him. He was the first great thinker since Aristotle who, not being a physician, gave close attention to anatomy and physiology; the first to rate at its due value the discovery of Harvey.

And underneath the scientific zeal of Des Cartes we see the deeper and stronger fervour of a social purpose. "To keep my speculations hid would," he said, "be a grave infringement of the law which obliges us to seek the universal good of man; for they have shown me that it is possible to make knowledge of great utility to human life, and that instead of the speculative philosophy taught in schools we may find one more practical, by which, knowing the force and activities of fire, water, air, the stars, the heavens, and all the other bodies which surround us, as clearly as our workmen know their different trades, we may employ them in such fit ways as to become the masters and possessors of nature. And this is not merely to be wished for the invention of numberless artifices enabling us to enjoy the fruits of the earth and the comforts which it contains, but more especially for the preservation of health, which, beyond doubt, is the first blessing of life and the foundation of all others; for so much does the mind itself depend on the temperament and arrangement of the organs of the body, that if it be possible to find any way to make men wiser and more skilful than they have been hitherto, I think it is in the art of medicine that it should be sought. And though the medicine

now in use has little that is very useful, yet all, I am sure, will allow, even those who practise it, that what we know is as nothing compared with what remains to be known, and that we might become exempt from numberless diseases both of mind and body, and even perhaps from the infirmities of old age, did we know enough of their causes and of the remedies which are to be found in nature. In the study of science such as this, it is my purpose to spend the whole of my life."

That life was prematurely closed, but not before a work was done of stupendous import to the life of Western Europe. Of Des Cartes' metaphysical philosophy nothing is said here, though it was the first of a long series of revolutionary impulses which even yet have not ceased to vibrate. His speculations on God and the soul, his interrogations of consciousness, and his whole scheme of thought on such matters, which has received so much attention from the historians of modern metaphysical philosophy, are interesting to us in this place chiefly as proofs that in the region of man's social and moral life Des Cartes was not a Positivist. His work in this direction was of temporary and of provisional value, and was, we may well believe, so regarded by himself. Such at least is the impression derived from reading his long series of letters to the Jesuit Mersenne. It cleared the ground of previous incumbrances, and prepared the way for permanent and solid thought, much in the same way in which Richelieu at the same moment, by the abolition of feudal fortresses, was preparing the way for the Revolution.

But in this place we are concerned with Des Cartes as the first and greatest type of the modern scientific spirit; alike in its well-founded strength of conviction that the future of Man is its own, and in its wild chimerical hopes and dangerous shortcomings. The acquisitions of Des Cartes in positive science were vast and fertile. Of these his geometry was incomparably the greatest. It was the announcement and a large instalment of a mathematical revolution, which has become a very potent factor in other more modern revolutions, industrial and moral. His achievements in optics were of great importance, and in acoustics his clear conception of the nature of oscillations was pregnant with future results. In every part of the nascent science of physics he suggested new observations and experiments. And, apart from these special matters, he conceived as clearly as Bacon had done the subordination of all science to the welfare of Man.

These were his services to positive science. And so vast are they that to dwell upon his errors would be thankless and idle, were it not for the light they throw upon certain singular "reversions" and "survivals" which scientific speculation is exhibiting in our own day. Des Cartes constructed a scientific Synthesis. This Synthesis failed because it was objective. He attempted, as modern thinkers are

now doing, to *explain* the evolution of the universe on mathematical principles. It was the most gigantic exhibition of Materialism, in the broad and philosophic sense which Comte has affixed to the word, which had been yet seen. He applied to the more complex phenomena of nature—electrical for instance, or chemical, or biological—the methods of the more simple and general science of geometry or mechanics. The enormous exaggeration of Man's deductive power implied in this attempt was one of those aberrations in our intellectual progress through which we can see that it was necessary to pass; though when once explored, and the "no thoroughfare" once clearly seen, it is an inexcusable waste of man's scanty store of intellectual energy to repeat the attempt. A full discussion of this view would involve an exposition of the points of contrast between the Subjective Synthesis of Comte and the Objective Synthesis of Des Cartes, and this must be left for a future article. Enough here to say that for the work to be done the hour and the man were singularly fitted. The enormous importance of geometrical truth, as well as of mathematical method, had yet to be realised; for Bacon knew it not, and even the great algebraist Vieta had a most imperfect conception of it. The science of indirect measurement had yet to attain that wide generality which should make it competent to deal, not merely with a few elementary lines, like the circle or the ellipse, but to follow with some degree of adequacy the vast complexity of motions found in moving things around us; the track of a point on a travelling wheel, the oscillations of a pendulum, the form of a suspended chain, the material action of gravitating planets, the undulations of resonant air. To this vast region of discovery Des Cartes did more than any other man to open the way. It was no wonder that with such a prospect before him, with Huyghens, Newton, Leibnitz, and the Bernouillis in the immediate future, he should have exaggerated sometimes the length of his deductive lever, and have imagined a fulcrum for lifting the world when none was to be found. "I am now engaged," he writes to Mersenne, "in disentangling chaos, so as to explain how light came therefrom." We should be thankful to the builders of a Tower of Babel; for they teach men, if nothing else, not to waste their strength in building another.

But the warning has not been taken. The builders have again assembled; and, undismayed by the confusion of their tongues, are again essaying to scale the skies, and to reach that point outside them from which they may get to know how the universe was made. The process is a strange one to watch, so confused are their tongues, so doubtful their materials. The bricks must be of the newest; there is hardly time to bake them; for "physiological facts," we are now told by a distinguished professor, and apparently the facts of mathematics also, "only last for three

years." The scaffolding is no longer of the old-fashioned sort, firmly planted on the earth's surface; planks and beams are suspended in the sky by the largest balloons that hypothesis can inflate.

In one of the most aspiring passages of his "Principia," Des Cartes, having poured out with exhaustless fertility his "explanations" of the properties of various forms of matter—having shown to his satisfaction why oil was lubricant, glue glutinous, gold yellow and hard, iron magnetic and brown, air light and transparent, lead heavy and dull, and having found that after these rapid conquests of hypothesis other worlds remained yet to conquer—lets fall, half in weariness, the naïve admission, "*Mais il est impossible d'expliquer tout.*"

But modern Hypothesis is bolder, and the word "impossible" has no place in her vocabulary. All the forms of life, all the properties of matter, are embraced within her web. *The three restraining considerations of the verifiable, the useful, or the beautiful, which have hitherto controlled her operations, limit them no longer. Some of her votaries undertake to account for all the infinite variations of Life, and think the processes observed in the few centuries of human destiny a sufficient basis for conjecturing, or rather for firmly asseverating, the precise laws which have regulated the succession of vital forms through the countless abysses of the past. Difficult though it be to study the laws of life when the two factors of the problem, environment and organism, are wholly known to us, yet conjecture, by this time petrified into certainty, fearlessly explains the vital phenomena of a million centuries ago, though the organism is represented by a few bony fragments, and evidence of the environment, whether physical or vital, is absent and irrecoverable. Others endeavour to deduce life from the facts of electricity and chemistry; though this particular speculation, a comparatively sober one, is for the moment thrown into the shade, and it is thought simpler to account for the first form of life upon the earth by supposing it brought there by an aerolite.¹

On the whole, however, the scientific imagination of our times shows itself to greater advantage in Physics than in Biology. The molecular view of the constitution of matter, upheld many years ago by Comte as a subjective artifice or logical tool, susceptible in wise hands of most valuable results, has long since been elevated to an objective reality. We are told what the precise size and weight of a molecule of matter is, what its shape is, how rapidly it moves. The atom itself is not only called into objective existence, but that existence is mathematically explained. For this purpose the Ether is invoked—the Proteus-Ether, filling all space, the explainer of all

(1) Helmholtz and Sir W. Thompson incline to this view. Ordinary minds find it hard to realise the satisfaction felt in thus replacing one inscrutable mystery by another.

things, gifted with strange attributes, elastic yet incompressible, imponderable yet possessing weight,¹ fluid yet solid, self-repulsive but continuous, frictionless yet absorptive of radiant energy—a catalogue of qualities in fact surpassing in length and difficulty those of the Athanasian Creed. The Ether is called in to explain the Atom. Matter is now alleged to be made up of rapidly revolving rings of ether, which, if ether be indeed frictionless, are proved by hydro-dynamics to be indestructible.² And thus we are brought back again to a cosmogony extremely similar to that of Des Cartes; again, though in a slightly different way, we manufacture the particles of visible matter from the rapid motions of invisible imponderable ether; from hydrogen, or whatever else may be selected as the primal matter, the molecules of the sixty-four elementary substances, each with its own particular vibrations, can again be built up; and so attractive is the romance that we are almost reluctant to ask, as the child asks when the story is done, But is it all true? Is it even “founded upon fact”?

All these views of the universe, however, would seem to be thrown utterly into the shade by the vast possibilities revealed to us by some very eminent modern mathematicians. Des Cartes, as we have seen, strove energetically to make a *tabula rasa* of his mind, to sweep away all pre-existing prejudices, and to begin again. But Descartes clung firmly to the received truths as to number and space. He believed in Euclid's axioms. He was satisfied to think that parallel straight lines did not meet. The three dimensions of length, breadth, and height commonly attributed to space or matter were enough for him. He sought for no fourth. But we are about, it seems, to change all this. The possibility that the axioms of Euclid may be only “approximately true” is regarded as “one of the most remarkable speculations of our century.”³ The laws of space, if we

(1) It is now asserted by some eminent physicists that a cubic mile of ether has a mean weight equal to one thousand-millionth of a pound.

(2) In the elaborate treatise under the head “Atom,” in the last edition of the “Encyclopædia Britannica,” this speculation receives the approval of Professor Maxwell. He admits, however, that it utterly fails to account for the phenomenon of gravitation. A further effort of speculation is needed for this purpose, of which more hereafter. It may be remarked that the notion of explaining the property of resistance, or hardness, by rapid atomic motion is not new. Leibnitz, in his correspondence with John Bernouilli (Epist. lv.), mentions that one day, when walking in the gardens of Versailles, and remarking that the jets of water issuing from the fountains had shapes as regular as if they had been made of glass, and offered resistance to the touch, the thought had occurred to him that all bodies might owe their rigidity to a similar rapid motion of their particles. “Imagine,” he says, “the velocity of the motion to be indefinitely increased, and you would get solidity. The substance would be always changing, but the form, as in the case of the fountain, would be constant.” The same thought seems to have occurred to Bernouilli, but neither of them regarded it as a key to the mysteries of nature.

(3) See in *Nature*, April 12th, of this year, a paper read before the London Mathematical Society.

know them, may possibly be such that not merely will parallel straight lines meet, but that intersecting straight lines will ultimately a second time intersect. In plain English, the two ends of a straight line, if you make it long enough, will come together again.

“Perfectly self-consistent schemes of propositions,” in fact a new mathematical system, have been founded on this conjecture—on the supposition, that is to say, that Euclid and the whole human race along with him have made a great mistake. This is no mere freak of algebraists amusing themselves with a highly intellectual fairy tale; it is a matter discussed with much seriousness and solemnity. It leads them—and here lies the whole interest of the subject—by a right royal road to the El Dorado of their desires, to an Objective Synthesis, to a stand-point from which man can survey the universe. “On this hypothesis,” says one of the most eminent of them, “the universe, as known, is again a valid conception, for the extent of space is *a finite number of cubic miles*. And this comes about in a curious way. If you were to start in any direction whatever, and move in that direction in a perfect straight line according to the definition of Leibnitz, after travelling a most prodigious distance, to which the parallax unit, 200,000 times the diameter of the earth’s orbit, would be only a few steps, you would arrive at—this place. Only if you had started upward, you could arrive from below.”

The Tower of Babel is complete; man has touched the sky.

J. II. BRIDGES.

(To be concluded in the next Number.)

NOTE.—In what I have said about certain modern hypotheses, I would wish to guard against misconception. Hypothesis is necessary for scientific discovery; and indeed, for almost every intellectual process, however humble. But it should conform to one of these conditions: it should be either a forecast of reality; to be tested by observed fact; or a logical tool, pretending to no reality at all, and frankly used as a subjective artifice; or finally, it should be a poet’s dream. The astronomer who, from two observations of a comet, makes a forecast of its future course, illustrates the first. Another instance would be Gall’s hypothesis of the functions of the brain, or Comte’s improvement of it. Of the second, Euclid’s definition of a line, or of a surface, is an example. Length without breadth, or length and breadth without depth, are not real, but they are scientifically useful. The corpuscular theory of matter falls under the same head, most valuable as an artifice, were it not so often treated as though it were demonstrably real. For the third form, not the least important, perhaps, either in the past or future, consult the whole history of religion and of poetry. Shelley’s or Comte’s dream of the earth, as instinct with blind energy and love before the dawn of man’s intelligence, may serve as a type. But the important thing is to distinguish these three forms of hypothesis—real, useful, and beautiful—clearly from one another. This is very rarely done. The result is, that much modern hypothesis is as useless as a chess problem, less real than dream-land, and uglier than fact.

Those who would see how rapidly the crude conjecture of vortex-atoms has become accredited as a scholastic doctrine capable of unravelling all the secrets of the universe, should read the treatise of M. Felix Marco, Professor of Physics at Turin, called *L’Unité Dynamique des Forces et des Phénomènes de la Nature*. Paris, 1875.

A LEAF OF EASTERN HISTORY.

INTRODUCTORY NOTE.—In the month of June, 1855, M. Ferdinand de Lesseps visited England for the purpose of inducing the British Government to withdraw their opposition to the proposed construction of the Suez Canal. He had been for some years the French Consul-General in Cairo. His father had filled that post before, and it was mainly by the advice of the elder M. de Lesseps that the Sultan selected Mehemet Ali to be Pasha of Egypt.

Mehemet Ali reposed great confidence in M. Ferdinand de Lesseps, and entrusted to him in a great degree the education of his favourite son Saïd Pasha, who consequently was prepared to view with favour M. de Lesseps' important scheme. A firman was submitted to the Sultan, who, however, delayed its ratification until the formal consent of England could be obtained, and M. de Lesseps was empowered by the French Government to negotiate with the members of the British Cabinet. M. Thiers gave him a letter to Mr. Senior, in whose house he became a frequent and a welcome guest.

A commission, consisting chiefly of engineers from various countries, was appointed to proceed to Egypt in the following winter, and Mr. Senior (who, unlike most of his countrymen, had believed from the first that the proposed canal would rather forward than impede the interests of England) was invited, with three or four other personal friends of M. de Lesseps, to join the party. They were royally entertained by the Viceroy. The best apartments in the best hotels were put everywhere at their disposal, carriages, camels, and running footmen, were always in readiness for them, and a small steamer conveyed the whole party up the Nile. According to his practice when abroad, Mr. Senior kept an elaborate journal, which still retains its interest, for the East does not materially change. This journal contains records of his conversations with people of all nations; a fact well known, for on one page he writes: "The Viceroy said to Ruyssenaer after I left him, 'J'ai donné à M. Senior une belle page pour son journal.'" Among his interlocutors there was none more interesting and instructive than Hekekyan Bey, an Armenian, who had in early youth been sent by Mehemet Ali to be educated in Europe. Throughout the reign of that Pasha he and his family had retained great influence: his brother-in-law Kosrew Bey being first Dragoman, another brother-in-law, Artim Bey, Prime Minister, and Hekekyan himself director of the *École des Arts et Métiers*. Abbas, the next Pasha, hated his grandfather's friends, and dismissed them all. In 1855 they were still out of office.

In 1862 Hekekyan Bey came to England with his wife and his son to see the second Exhibition. He was at that time an exceedingly handsome man, apparently about fifty, tall, and rather like an Italian from the north of Italy. He was full of animation and good-nature, and his manners and conversation were most agreeable. He spoke both French and English perfectly well. His wife spoke nothing but Arabic, so it was difficult to get on with her. On one occasion she put on, as a favour, her Eastern dress. It was composed of black satin, and, it must be owned, was far from becoming to an elderly lady; but those were the days of crinoline—in 1877 it would probably not appear so extraordinary.

It is difficult to make selections when there is so much that is interesting and instructive. This story of Mehemet Ali, related by Hekekyan, is perhaps the most striking of the following extracts.

Extract from Mr. Senior's Journal.

“Mr. and Mrs. Lieder, Hekekyan Bey and his wife, and Mr. Bruce drank tea with us.

“It is a remarkable indication of Oriental morals that of our four Egyptian guests, two, Mrs. Lieder and Hekekyan, believed themselves to have drunk poisoned coffee. In each case it was detected by its peculiar and extreme bitterness, and not enough taken to do serious mischief. Mrs. Lieder received hers at Nazleh Hanem's; Hekekyan's was given to him at Meneelee Pacha's. It was in 1840. He was at that time out of favour with Mehemet Ali: his boldness of conversation and perhaps his boldness of character, partly natural and partly acquired in England, unfit him for Eastern courts. He has seldom continued long in favour or long in disgrace. His talents, knowledge, and industry force him into employment, and some unguarded speech or the performance of some duty offensive to the master, or to his minister, or to his cook, or to his barber, turns him out: when they cannot do without him he is recalled.

“‘In 1840,’ he said to us, ‘after the bombardment of Acre, some weeks passed without any news from Ibrahim Pasha, or from his army in Syria. A strong suspicion arose that he had made his peace with the Sultan at his father's expense and that Mehemet Ali's reign and life were drawing to a close.

“‘I was then the engineer charged with the defences of the coast. We were expecting an attack from Sir Charles Napier, and I had been to Rosetta to inspect the batteries. It was on a tempestuous night that I returned to Alexandria, and went to the palace on the shore of the former island of Pharos to make my report to Mehemet Ali.

“‘The halls and passages which I used to find full of mamelukes and officers, strutting about in the fulness of their contempt for a

Christian, were empty ; without encountering a single attendant I reached his room overlooking the sea ; it was dimly lighted by a few candles of bad Egyptian wax with enormous untrimmed wicks. Here, at the end of his divan, I found him rolled up in a sort of ball, solitary, motionless, apparently absorbed in thought. The waves were breaking heavily on the mole, and I expected every instant the casements to be blown in. The roar of wind and sea was almost awful, but he did not seem conscious of it.

“ ‘ I stood before him silent. Suddenly he said, as if speaking to himself, ‘ I think I can trust Ibrahim.’ Again he was silent for some time, and then desired me to fetch Motus Bey, his admiral. I found him and brought him to the Viceroy. Neither of them spoke, until the Viceroy, after looking at him steadily for some minutes said to me, ‘ He is drunk ; take him away.’ I did so ; and so ended my visit, without making any report.

“ ‘ Was Motus drunk ? ’ I asked.

“ ‘ He was drunk,’ answered Hekekyan, ‘ as all the naval officers were ; they expected to be sent out to fight Napier, and kept drinking to keep up their spirits.’

“ ‘ The Viceroy,’ he added, ‘ was not pleased at my having witnessed his emotion or his neglected state ; but what completed my disgrace was my having alluded some months after to the events of that night. He immediately sent me off to Cairo, on a trifling errand about the fortifications of the Citadel, and kept me there for three months.

“ ‘ At the end of that time I received a summons from Meneele Pasha, the man who has just returned from Eupatoria, who was the Minister of War. He placed me by him on his divan and gave me a pipe, but said nothing. Then came coffee. I just sipped mine, and found it totally unlike anything that I had ever tasted before ; it was nauseous and intensely bitter. I gave it back to the servant. Meneele looked hard at me, but said nothing. I sat a few minutes longer, waiting for him to tell me why he had sent for me, and hearing nothing, went away, without a word having passed between us. Half an hour after Mehemet Ali arrived from Alexandria at the Citadel.

“ ‘ I cannot but suspect that I had become disagreeable, and that he had directed Meneele to dispose of me before his return to Cairo. It certainly seemed that the only purpose for which Meneele summoned me was that I might drink that cup of coffee.’

“ ‘ But,’ I said, ‘ if Mehemet Ali wished to remove you, might he not have had recourse to a more certain expedient ? ’

“ ‘ There were objections,’ answered Hekekyan, ‘ in my case to the use of the dagger or the cord. I was not then as I am now, alone ; one of my brothers-in-law was his Prime Minister, another was his

first interpreter. It would have been inconvenient to part with them, and they certainly would have quitted him.

“ ‘He wished me to die, but he did not wish to be suspected of having killed me. I believe that it was for the same purpose that he sent me a few months after, at the beginning of the hot season, to pass some months in the Southern Desert ; and I am not sure that he did not take means to increase the dangers of the desert. The only place at which I halted was Berenice, in the Red Sea, where I spent a month, time enough for my sojourn there to be known at Cairo. A few days after I had left Berenice a party of armed Bishareem arrived there, inquired anxiously for me, and finding that I was gone followed me ; luckily I left Komsko on the Nile before them ; and in my boat I was safe, for the Bishareem are not aquatic.

“ ‘Are they coarse or scientific poisoners,’ I asked, ‘in Egypt ?’

“ ‘Scientific,’ answered Lieder. ‘The poisons are vegetable, and are not often intended to produce an immediate result, or even to operate by a single dose ; they undermine the health by frequent repetition. The custom of giving coffee to every visitor affords great facilities to what may be called dietetic poisoning. In Europe, unless you live in the same house with a man, it is difficult to poison him unless he dines with you, and even then, without accomplices. The accomplices cannot be easily obtained, and they would possess a dangerous secret, which would make them your masters. You seldom can repeat the dose, it must therefore be violent. The fact of his having dined with you would be easily proved, and his death by poison connected with it. The poisonings of Europe therefore are family poisonings.

“ ‘In Egypt a man may drink coffee in the course of the morning at ten different houses. A single accomplice is all that is necessary ; there is no difficulty in prevailing on him to accept the office ; it is as natural to him as any other service. He does not think much about it, and is not likely to talk about it. If he does, you poison him, or have him strangled and bury him in your garden. You run little risk by doing so ; nothing that happens in a man’s house is known. For most purposes, indeed for all purposes, except opposing the will of the Pasha, a man’s house is his castle in Egypt more really than it is in England. The reverence paid to the hareem extends to everything that is under the same roof. The Egyptian thinks himself well recompensed for being a slave abroad by being absolute at home. He would not accept freedom or security for himself if the condition were that it should extend to his household.

“ ‘In this country,’ said Hekekyan, ‘the disappearance of an unprotected man is not noticed. If I were to walk out to-morrow and not to return, no one except Madame Hekekyan would think about it. She would be alarmed the first night, and more so the second,

and on the third she would give me up for lost. But she would infer that I had been removed by the higher powers, and that if she made complaints or even inquiries, she would share my fate; and in a short time it would be forgotten, at least among the Turks, that Hekekyan Bey had ever existed.'

" 'Mr. Lieder,' he added, 'says truly that our poisonings are seldom rapid. When the existence of a man has become offensive to the master he is impoverished, his villages are resumed, claims against him are countenanced, it is whispered about that it is imprudent to visit him or to receive him, he soon finds himself alone as if he were in the desert. A Mussulman who has no resources, who neither sports, nor gambles, nor converses, nor reads, nor writes, nor walks, nor rides, nor travels, soon smokes himself into dyspepsia. If he be, what few Mussulmans are, a man of quick sensibility and self-respect, he is also oppressed and irritated by the intolerable feeling of wrong. Then perhaps he is suddenly recalled. He is again in favour, he is soon to be again in power; at every visit that he pays to the palace or to one of the divans, he gets a cup of coffee slightly impregnated; the moral and the physical excitement combine. His death follows an illness which has not been scandalously short.'

" 'The remark,' said Lieder, 'that Orientals are not to be judged according to European notions, is so obvious that it has become trite; on no point is the difference between the two minds more striking than in the respect for life.'

" 'The European cares nothing for brute life; he destroys the lower animals without scruple whenever it suits his convenience, his pleasure, or his caprice; he shoots his favourite horse and his favourite dog as soon as they become too old for service.'

" 'The Mussulman preserves the lives of the lower animals solicitously. Though he considers the dog impure, and never makes a friend of him, he thinks it sinful to kill him, and allows the neighbourhood and even the streets of his town to be infested by packs of masterless dogs whom we should get rid of in London or Berlin in one day. The beggar does not venture to destroy his vermin, he puts them tenderly on the ground. There are hospitals in Cairo for superannuated cats, where they are fed at the public expense. But to human life he is utterly indifferent: he extinguishes it with much less scruple than that with which we shoot a horse past his work.'

" 'Abbas,' said Hekekyan, 'when a boy, had his pastrycook bastinadoed to death. Mchemet Ali mildly reproved him for it, as we should correct a child for killing a butterfly; he explained to his little grandson that such things ought not to be done without a motive.'

" 'When Nazleh Hanem,' I asked, 'burnt her slave to death for giving her cold coffee, did her father interfere?'

“‘No,’ said Hekekyan, ‘he could not. That took place in a hareem. The murdering the messenger at Shoobra is another instance: it would have cost little to shut up the poor old man until any danger of his telling from whom he came was over; but it was simpler to drown him. Perhaps, however, in that case Mehemet Ali merely followed instructions which he might have thought it dishonourable to disobey. There was probably at the bottom of the letter some mark indicating how the person who brought it was to be disposed of, as we write “burn this note as soon as you have read it.”’

“‘That incident,’ I said, ‘is mentioned by Cadoleone and Barrault in their history of the East in 1839 and 1840, and they affirm that the messenger was drowned for having refused to disclose the name of his employer.’

“‘That is a mistake,’ said Hekekyan. ‘I was the only person present when Mehemet Ali received the messenger. He was obviously a man of the lowest class, who would not have refused to disclose anything. Mehemet Ali asked no questions and indeed had none to ask.’”

Mr. Senior heard the sequel to this story some time afterwards at Alexandria from Artim Bey, Mehemet Ali’s Prime Minister:—

“I asked him if he recollected the night described to me by Hekekyan when Mehemet Ali lay alone in an empty palace thinking over the chances of Ibrahim’s fidelity.

“‘Certainly I do,’ he answered, ‘and I recollect the day that followed it. Napier appeared off the old port and sent in a letter requiring the Viceroy to surrender the Turkish fleet, and to submit to the award of the four powers.’

“‘What was his force?’ I asked.

“‘I forget,’ answered Artim: ‘five or six ships. We had about eighteen sail of the line and twenty frigates—not less than fifty ships—but we could not rely on the Turkish sailors. They would have joined the English if we had allowed the ships to quit the port, nor could we indeed trust the Egyptians, and as for the artillerymen they had spiked the guns on the batteries. Mehemet Ali was still in his mood of resistance. I took to him Napier’s letter. He asked fiercely—“What does the Englishman say?” “Let the letter be translated to you,” I answered. This was done. He rose from his divan and began to walk up and down the room exclaiming, “I will not give up the fleet, they may burn it if they can, they may burn Alexandria, they may drive me out of Egypt and I will live a Hadji in Mecca; but they shall not drive me out of Egypt, or even out of Alexandria. I will fight until further

resistance is impossible. I will make my last stand in the powder magazine, and when all is lost, *je sauterai*." "This may be well," I said, "in your Highness's high position, but it will not suit your subjects. *Si vous sautez, vous sauterez seul*."

"He came up to me in a fury, and I own that I trembled, and that my knees shook. I moved back, and he advanced until I was close to the wall. Then we stood face to face. He looked at me for some time, probably considering whether he should give a sign for my being strangled. At last he said, "Send an order to the Englishman to come on shore to me."

"I wrote to Napier to say "that the Viceroy thought that the matter could be best arranged in a personal interview, and to request that he would visit his Highness at the palace." The next day Napier came. Mehemet Ali had had a night to reflect, and he had profited by it. He seized him by both hands, placed him on his right side on the corner of the divan, gave him diamond-topped pipes, and coffee in gold cups, and acceded without remonstrance to all his demands, and in the same evening Napier was wandering alone over the bazaars of Alexandria in a round hat. I offered him a "tchaous," but he said he had objects with which an attendant would interfere.

" 'Mehemet Ali,' he continued, 'was not a safe master, but he was an agreeable one. He was very generous; he had a quick and correct appreciation of character, and his conversation was charming.

" 'Although he did not learn to read until he was forty-seven, he had more literary taste than any Turk that I have known. He had every book about Napoleon that he could find translated for him, and read them or had them read to him with avidity. He made me translate the *Esprit des Lois*, and read it with great interest. Of course I rather paraphrased than translated. He would not have understood Montesquieu's terse epigrams.

" 'He told me one day that he had read much about Machiavelli's "Principe," and begged me to translate it for him. I set to work, and gave him the first day ten pages, and the next ten pages more, and ten more the third; but on the fourth he stopped me. "I have read," he said, "all that you have given me of Machiavelli. I did not find much that was new in your first ten pages, but I hoped that it might improve; but the next ten were not better, and the last are mere common-place. I see that I have nothing to learn from Machiavelli. I know many more tricks than he knew; you need not translate any more of him."

" 'Though passionate he was not cruel, nor indifferent to human suffering. I went with him one day to one of his farms. He found that his manager had been buying straw. He was very angry. "A farm," he said, "ought to furnish its own straw, there must have

been speculation or mismanagement." He ordered the manager to receive three hundred blows. I was shocked, and ventured to remonstrate; but he kept repeating that his farms must provide their own straw.

"The next morning I found him on his divan in tears. 'A dreadful thing,' he said, 'has happened to me. The man whom yesterday I ordered to be beaten is dead. You must find out his family, give his widow a pension of 100 dollars a year, and provide for his children, if he has left any.'

" 'Mehemet Ali's sons,' continued Artim, 'by his old Macedonian wife, Ibrahim, Ismail, and Toussoun, were all men of ability, far superior to those by his slaves, and they were much better educated; not that they had more learning, but that, as they were born before he was Pasha, they escaped the flattery which has ruined the others. Perhaps, however, power would have spoilt them as it spoiled Abbas and Saïd. I once said to Achmed,¹ 'You are an excellent man now, but God knows what you will be when you are Viceroy.' Abbas was good and Saïd was good in private life.

" 'Which had the most talent,' I asked, 'Abbas or Saïd?'

" 'Abbas,' he answered. 'And though he could speak only Turkish he talked well and wrote well his own language. Saïd speaks well no language but French, his Turkish is bad and he cannot write at all. Abbas hated Europeans and European education, but wished to diffuse Turkish education. Saïd hates all education of every kind. Saïd is the bolder man, Abbas was timid. Mehemet Ali used to abuse him for his indolence, and prophesied to him that if he passed all his time smoking and lolling on his divan he would be assassinated. This prophecy sank deep into the mind of Abbas, and assassination was always uppermost in his thoughts.'

" 'I wonder, then,' I said, 'that he ventured to illtreat, or even to threaten the very Mamelukes who kept guard over him!'

" 'No European,' answered Artim, 'would have done so, nor would he, perhaps, when he was cool, but in his fits of anger he was mad. He killed several of his Mamelukes—one a few days before his own death—and certainly had threatened the two who murdered him.'

" 'What has become of them?' I asked.

" 'I believe,' answered Artim, 'that they are still in the army. They have never been punished. Abbas' mother came to Saïd to ask that her son might be revenged, but Mahmoud Pasha, Mustapha Bey, and Elfi Bey, the three persons who first heard of the murder, had all been Mamelukes. To preserve the honour of the corps they made the physicians sign a certificate that the death was natural, and Saïd was anxious that that story should be

(1) The heir apparent in 1856.

believed, as he did not wish to put the assassination of Viceroy's into people's heads.'

" 'With whom,' I said, 'does Saïd live?'

" 'With his servants,' answered Artim Bey, 'like all Oriental princes. His barber, his bathing man, his pipe-fillers, form the *fonds* of his society. Then his soldiers, particularly his common soldiers, have free access to him. Turks are fond of low company. They are at ease in it.'

" 'Saïd,' I said, 'seems to me at ease in all companies.'

" 'For a short time,' answered Artim; 'but he does not like the restraints of polished society, or the sustained conversation of intelligent persons. He has quickness, apropos, and repartee, and some humorous naïveté, but there is no sequence in his ideas. He cannot reason. He has dismissed all his council, and turned his ministers into clerks; but so little is he aware of the extent of the duties he has assumed that he wastes four or five hours every day drilling recruits. That, however, is his amusement; and the amusements of a Turk are so few that he must take what he can get. A friend of mine, a native physician, was called in a few days ago by a Turk, and found him dying of dyspepsia, arising from torpor of mind and body. He advised him to ride. "I don't like riding," said the patient. "Then," said the physician, "spend a few hours every morning in your hareem." "I hate my hareem," was the answer. "Then," said the physician, "count your money for a few hours." "I don't care about money," said the patient. "Then," said the physician, "hang yourself, for how can life be endurable to a man who does not care for his horse, or his wife, or his money?"'"

EXOLOGY AND ENDOLOGY.

THE propositions I endeavoured to establish in my inquiry into the origin of the form of capture in marriage ceremonies were (1) that the form represents and is a remainder of an actual system of capturing women for wives; (2) that a practice of capturing women for wives could not have become systematic unless it were developed and sustained by some rule of law or custom, which made it necessary as a means to marriage; (3) that the rule of law or custom which had this effect was exogamy, the law (previously unnamed) which declared it to be incest for a man to marry a woman of the same blood or stock with himself; (4) (and in support of the last proposition) that wherever a system of capturing women for wives prevails or has prevailed, it can as a rule be shown that there prevails or has prevailed the law of exogamy; (5) that the occurrence of the form of capture where endogamy—that is the law (also previously unnamed) which prohibited marriage except between persons of the same blood or stock—prevails, is consistent with the supposition that the form had its origin in a system of capture sustained by exogamy among the predecessors of the now endogamous peoples. In support of the last proposition I had to examine the ancient systems of kinship to show how a people originally exogamous could become endogamous.

In this inquiry it was the existence of exogamy as an essential concomitant of capture that concerned me. I neither investigated nor had occasion to investigate its origin. At the same time I threw out, at what it was worth, the suggestion that both the system of capture and exogamy had their roots in a practice of female infanticide, the practice of capture somehow introducing exogamy, and exogamy thereafter perpetuating and extending the practice of capture. “The scarcity of women,” I observed, “within the groups led to a practice of stealing the women of other groups, and, in time, it came to be considered improper, because it was unusual, for a man to marry a woman of his own group.” (“Studies in Ancient History,” p. 230.) This, perhaps, had better have been left unsaid, for nothing but confusion can arise from the publication of notions on scientific subjects that have not been fully thought out. But its character as a mere surmise was fully disclosed. I was aware, however, of the immense importance of obtaining a correct solution of the problem of the origin of exogamy. “Perhaps there is no question,” I remarked, “leading deeper into the foundations of society than that which regards the origin of exogamy.” (*Idem*, p. 110). Elsewhere

(p. 228) I take the merit to myself of having attempted to show the importance of the problem by displaying it on the level of the foundations of civil society; and I left it and other problems connected with it for study and solution in the future. The only point on which I was clear was that the origin of exogamy was unconnected with any "natural feeling against the union of near kinsfolk," or any perception of evil effects resulting from such unions (*Idem*, p. 229).

In defining the terms exogamy and endogamy for use in my exposition, I was careful to convey their precise meaning, while desirous not to perplex the reader by the too early use of such a term as "tribe of descent." The former is the law prohibiting marriage between persons of the same blood or stock as incest—often under pain of death—and the latter the law prohibiting marriage except between persons of the same blood or stock. These meanings are distinctly brought out in the definitions (see "Studies in Ancient History," p. 37, and foot-note ff.); and, subsequently, in the glance I take at the *apparent* bearing of the facts, as to the relations of exogamy and endogamy, preliminary to the detailed investigation of their real relations. (*Idem*, pp. 113, 114.) The meaning of exogamy in particular is put beyond all doubt by the definitions, for in my note apologizing for introducing these new terms I say of it, "The rule which declares the union of persons of the same blood to be incest has been hitherto unnamed, and it was convenient to give it a name." That meaning is further amply disclosed in the long series of examples of exogamy which I adduce, showing it to be a rule whose object was "to prevent marriages between persons of the same primitive stock" or blood. (See pp. 74—84, 85, 87, 97, &c.) Indeed, an attentive reader could not miss the true meanings of the terms if he only read the definitions, for the word "tribe" is in these used as the equivalent of "family," i.e. "tribe of descent;" and the "tribe of descent," or group of kindred of one stock or blood, is elsewhere (as at pp. 220 ff.) in the most marked manner distinguished from "the local tribe" or group of persons of various stocks associated in a tribal union in consequence of the joint operation of exogamy, capture, and female kinship.

The problem for solution was thus clear. As regards exogamy it was: How came there to exist a law declaring it to be incest for a man to marry a woman of the same stock or blood with himself, however far removed from him she might be by degrees of consanguinity? Or to state the problem another way, the totem being the test of blood, how came marriage to be interdicted between persons of the same totem?

Since I stated the problem in 1864 there have been various efforts made to solve it. In 1868 Mr. Morgan, in a paper afterwards (in

1871) incorporated in his work on "Systems of Consanguinity," propounded his views on the subject. He pointed out ("Systems of Consanguinity," &c., pp. 482, 483) how, under the classificatory system of relationships in the Malayan form, "(1) all the children of several own brothers and sisters are brothers and sisters to each other; (2) the children of these collateral brothers and sisters are also brothers and sisters to each other; the children of the latter are brothers and sisters again, and these relationships continue downwards amongst their descendants indefinitely. An infinite series is thus created which forms a fundamental part of the system." Then trusting to the key with which he thought he had unlocked the secret of the classificatory system, he offered his explanation of this "infinite series." To account for it, he said it must be assumed that what he called "the privilege of barbarism" extended wherever the relationship of brother and sister was recognised to exist; in other words, that each "brother" had as many wives as he had sisters, and each "sister" as many husbands as she had brothers, whether own or collateral. It was this state of things, he conceives, that exogamy—which he calls the tribal organization—was designed to put an end to. In his paragraph on the origin of exogamy (*l.c.* p. 490) he says that it was an institution designed "to work out a reformation with respect to the intermarriages of brothers and sisters." He praises it as "an ancient, widespread, and most remarkable institution;" "the greatest of all institutions of mankind in the primitive ages," and so on, but without advancing one step towards an explanation of its origin. I have shown elsewhere that what he calls "the privilege of barbarism" is, so far as yet appears, a mere product of misapprehension, and that exogamy could not have disrupted the state of society corresponding to such a privilege in the way he supposed. But even assuming Mr. Morgan right so far, it is manifest that we are not at all helped to the origin of exogamy by his calling it a reformation.¹

In 1870 Sir John Lubbock, in his work intitled "The Origin of Civilization," briefly put on record his impressions on this as on many other important questions. He says (third edition, p. 97): "He (Mr. McLennan) considers that marriage by capture followed and arose from that remarkable custom of marrying always out of the tribe, for which he has proposed the appropriate name of exogamy. On the contrary *I believe* that exogamy arose from marriage by capture, not marriage by capture from exogamy." It is possible that there is a grave slip of the pen here through which I am made

(1) The case of the Kamilaroi, Australia, in which Mr. Morgan conceives he has, since publishing his book, discovered an instance of "the privilege of barbarism" surviving to our own day, might be taken to pieces, and shown to be a tangle of mystifications, if the scientific interest in exposing the case were equal to the trouble it would involve.

to appear to "consider" what Sir John intended to say he believed; and he to "believe" what he intended to say I considered. Anyway his "belief" jumps so entirely with what I had published as my view of the origin of exogamy, that in order to being opposed to my view his belief should have been the opposite of what it is said to be. What I had said was this:—"The scarcity of women within the groups led to a practice of stealing the women of other groups, and, in time, it came to be considered improper, because it was unusual for a man to marry a woman of his own group" (that is, exogamy arose); from which it clearly appears that I derived exogamy from the practice of capture in the first instance, while regarding it, when once established, as the main stay and invariable concomitant of a system of capture. Of Sir John's view on this matter therefore no more need be said. So far as his origin of exogamy connects itself with his doctrine of "communal marriage," and the commencement of marriage proper as monandry, I have considered it elsewhere.

Mr. Herbert Spencer's contribution on this subject, which it is the main purpose of this paper to criticize, is briefly put as follows (see "Principles of Sociology," &c., pp. 649 ff.):—

Victory is invariably followed by pillage. The taking of women is manifestly but a part of the process of spoiling the vanquished. Hence it is obvious that from the beginning woman-stealing has been an incident of successful war. But the spoils of conquest are, some of them, prized as trophies. A woman taken in war will serve as a trophy. Hence members of a tribe married to foreign women captured in war will be held to be more honourably married than those married to native women. What must result?

If a tribe becoming steadily successful in war robs adjacent tribes of their women habitually, "there will grow up the idea that the now considerable class having foreign wives form the honourable class, and that those who have not proved their bravery by bringing back these living trophies are dishonourable; non-possession of a foreign wife will come to be regarded as a proof of cowardice." As the number of those without foreign wives decreases, "the disgrace will grow more decided, until, in the more warlike tribes, it will become an imperative requirement that a wife shall be obtained from another tribe." That arrived at, in Mr. Spencer's view, exogamy is accounted for. He sees need of nothing further to account for it.

There are leaps in this reasoning. A man is not *dis-honourable* because he is not honourable, or a coward because he is not a hero. No society is made up of only two classes, the honourable and the disreputable. In every society the majority must be undistinguished. That which once was a distinction, when it becomes diffused or vulgarised to a certain point, ceases to be a distinction, and then, as

a rule, ceases to be much thought of or cared about, unless there is reason for upholding it, not as a distinction, but as involving a sound social practice. Even then disgrace cannot attach to the non-possession of it, unless this involves something noxious to the community. The successful are apt to take comfort out of ways, or weaknesses, which being harmless or harmful only to those who follow them, mark such persons as their inferiors. Let us grant, however, that "the non-possession of a foreign wife," by becoming very rare, might become disreputable,—just as, if nearly everybody took honours, it might be thought a sneaking thing to go out in the poll. Does it obviously follow that it should become "an imperative requirement" that a wife should be obtained by capture, any more than that, in the other case, a man must take honours or forego a degree? It would seem at least that different bodies of men might settle the matter differently.

But suppose Mr. Spencer's "imperative requirement" established, and he seems almost as far as ever from accounting for exogamy. For exogamy is not a requirement that a man should get a wife from another tribe by capture. It is a prohibition against his taking to wife a woman of his own blood—a prohibition so absolute as to infer the pains of incest, and, therefore, quite commonly, the punishment of death. With no scruple against polygamy existing, a man might comply with the "imperative requirement" of Mr. Spencer's argument and have a wife, or more than one wife, of his own blood also. What reason is there to think he would not do so if he could? The "imperative requirement" which is Mr. Spencer's furthest step, clearly would nowise prevent him. It might lead—we should say it certainly would lead—to a practice of polygamy, but it does not seem even capable of preparing the way for the establishment of the law of exogamy.

Even if we assume the "imperative requirement" to capture a wife to be equivalent to an absolute prohibition against marrying a native woman, we shall yet not be able to find, in Mr. Spencer's argument, any explanation of exogamy as a law of incest. The question would remain unanswered why the prohibition should be enforced by such dreadful sanctions.

There is a gulf between an act which is not creditable—which, that is, does not reflect honour on its performer—and even between an act which is discreditable, and an act which is criminal, and, more than that, sinful—the thought of which inspires horror and the commission of which may be punished with death. Mr. Spencer has not attempted to bridge that chasm. And indeed he does not seem to have noticed it.

To me it seems simply not possible to deduce from marriages with foreign women being deemed ever so honourable, that

marriages with native women should be branded as incestuous—be deemed among the most impious of actions and become capital offences.

On the contrary, since unions with native women must, at the outset, have been sanctioned by immemorial usage, it is extremely difficult to conceive how the system of wiveing resting on that usage should ever have succumbed to a system of wiveing with captives. All the facts we have—and they are numerous, as for instance in Homer—show the “captive wife” not as the more honoured wife, but as taking a very inferior place in the household of her lord, a place far below that of the native, equal-born, wife. In ruder cases than that of the Homeric Greeks, the captive wife, as sometimes in Africa, so far from occupying a position of honour, may be seen fixed by staple and chain in the hut of her lord to prevent her running away. And, to take an authority quoted by Mr. Spencer himself (p. 650), P. Martyr tells us that among the cannibal Caribs in his day, “to eat women was considered unlawful. . . Those who were captured young were kept for breeding, as we keep fowl.” It is difficult to see how the captive woman could attain the rank of “wife” at all, where “wives” and a marriage system already existed, *and there was nothing exceptional in the circumstances.*

In the case as put by Mr. Spencer there is nothing exceptional. He says nothing, for instance, of any want of balance of the sexes in the tribe. What he affects to show is how a warlike tribe, continuing to be long successful in war, will come to wive wholly with foreigners and forbid its members to marry native women. His proposition, otherwise remarkable, is in no point of view so extraordinary as when we regard it having in view the probable lot of these native women. He has left them wholly out of his account. Denied the right of marriage within the tribe, and, as a rule, cut off, by the uniform success of the tribe in war—an essential of the hypothesis—from what might be the sweet privilege of being captured by men of other tribes, Mr. Spencer obliges us to think of them as doomed to perpetual celibacy, wasting their lives in lamentations, like so many Jephtha’s daughters, or in attendance as ladies’ maids on “the living trophies” of their kinsmen. It is obvious to remark, in the absence of any saving clause to the contrary, that, the sustaining principle of the new system of wiveing being honour and not necessity, every woman born within the group, or local tribe, would be a “native” woman so far as regarded her prospects of marriage. That is, even if a tribe consisted of men and women accounted as of two or more different stocks or different bloods, Mr. Spencer’s view of the origin of exogamy would deny to women born within the tribe intermarriage with any man belonging to it. This, however, is more than exogamy ever did. It allowed

men and women of the same local tribe to marry, provided they were not of the same tribe of descent, that is, of the same blood.

Mr. Spencer's fertility has furnished him with another origin of exogamy, and it is as follows:—There are some cases showing that young men had to prove their title to marry by deeds of prowess. But a man denied a wife till he has proved his courage will steal one, and thus at once satisfy his want and prove his title to become a husband. What more natural than that "where many warriors of a tribe are distinguished by stolen wives, the stealing of a wife should become the required proof of fitness to have one? *Hence would follow a peremptory law of exogamy.*"

Mr. Spencer calls this "origin" the same as the other, only put in a different point of view. But it is manifestly different. According to the former it became so dishonourable a thing for a man not to have a foreign wife, that the possession of one was made an "imperative requirement." This solution, assuming that a man was required to distinguish himself in some way before he was allowed to marry, suggests as likely that the capture of a foreign woman would become the received test of the distinction requisite for matrimony. Not to trouble ourselves with minor objections to it, this solution, like the former one, instead of giving "a peremptory law of exogamy," does not bring us within view of exogamy. It stops short at the same point as the other. Neither offers a surmise as to how, from men being encouraged, or required, to marry foreign women, it should have become an interdicted and accursed thing for them to marry women of their own blood.

And now it is time to point out that in fact Mr. Spencer has no elements in his argument by which he could make his conclusions bear upon exogamy at all. There is not one word of stock or blood in all his exposition, and exogamy is a law which forbids marriage between people of the same stock or blood. This is the first thing that strikes one on reading Mr. Spencer's exposition. He has not assumed his tribe to be all of one blood to commence, and the tribes outside it to be all of different bloods, so as to connect capture with exogamy; and, as has already been pointed out, he has not shown that the whole conditions of the case, as put by him, might not have been satisfied by capturing women of one's own blood from foreign tribes. There is not, that is, the slightest indication given that while putting forward his solutions, the precise meaning of exogamy—or the real problem to be solved—was kept in view or apprehended by him. Immediately after reading his solution the reader comes on *proof* that the problem never was comprehended by him. We find Mr. Spencer writing as follows:—"The explanation [of the origin of exogamy] so reached, is consistent with the fact that *exogamy and endogamy in many cases coexist*; and with the fact that exogamy often coexists with polygyny."

That exogamy should coexist with polygyny is surely intelligible *per se*, as illustrating the persistence of a customary law. But what may be the meaning of "the fact that exogamy and endogamy in many cases coexist"? If a man must not—under the pains of incest—marry a woman of his own stock or blood, and is forbidden, under the pains of law, to marry a woman of any other stock or blood, it would appear that marriage is forbidden to him altogether. If in any tribe exogamy and endogamy should indeed coexist, then indeed in that tribe marriage would be absolutely interdicted. This is manifest if by "tribe" a tribe of descent or body of kindred is intended. It is equally manifest if by "tribe" a local tribe—which may contain portions of several tribes of descent—be intended. The phrase applied to a local tribe could only acquire a meaning—short of an interdict on marriage—on the supposition that the local tribe had come to comprise several clans of different stocks, one or more of which followed the rule of exogamy while one or more followed the rule of endogamy. But that would truly be a case of juxtaposition, not of coexistence, of the two principles. It is clear, however, that Mr. Spencer had in view no such case as this, that he never defined to himself what he meant by the word "tribe," and never comprehended the meanings of the terms exogamy or endogamy. Take the following passage from his exposition (p. 658):—"It is to be inferred that among tribes not differing much from one another in strength there will be continual aggressions and reprisals accompanied by mutual robberies of women. No one of them will be able to supply itself entirely at the expense of adjacent tribes; and hence in each of them, there will be both native wives and wives taken from other tribes. There will be both exogamy and endogamy." Here, if we make the supposition most favourable to him, namely, that by "native" women he means women of the same stock with the men of a tribe, and by "women of other tribes" he means women of a different stock, it would follow that since the men married more or less with women of their own stock and with women of foreign stocks, there was neither exogamy nor endogamy in the case, neither a law forbidding nor a law requiring marriage between persons of the same stock. If we do not make that supposition the case supposed is clearly unrelated to either law, is indicative merely of an absence of regulation on the subject of marriage.¹

(1) Elsewhere, as at p. 685, we may see that Mr. Spencer never had before his mind the idea of exogamy as a prohibition against marriage between blood relations. The more honourable class, whose example instituted the "imperative requirement" of his argument, there appear as polygamists with "several wives, native or foreign"; while at p. 695 he shows that in their polygamist households the foreign women would "stand in the position of concubines rather than wives"—the men, that is, instead of being "more honourably" married to them than to the others, would not be married

That Mr. Spencer has failed to grasp the meaning of the terms exogamy and endogamy appears indeed even from the opening sentences of his chapter on the subject (p. 641):—"The words exogamy and endogamy," he says, "are used by Mr. McLennan to distinguish the two *practices* of taking to wife women belonging to other tribes, and taking to wife women belonging to the same tribe." Now the words were not defined by me to denote practices at all, but *rules* or *laws*; the one law prohibiting marriage between persons of the same blood and the other law prohibiting marriage between persons of different bloods. Laws are no doubt intended to regulate practices; but practices are not laws, nor are they necessarily founded on regulation. Mr. Spencer's exposition shows, however, that he was thinking of practices and not laws; and while he seemed to be dealing with the origin of exogamy he was truly dealing with an entirely different theme—the origin of a practice of capture.

His solutions, had they been ever so successful, would obviously have accounted only for a limited practice of capturing women for wives. Apparently it has been this which has led him—without much consideration of facts and arguments to the contrary—very much indeed on *à priori* grounds, to form the opinion that "exogamy" was not normal, but rather belongs to the class of occasional or exceptional phenomena.¹

That exogamy, properly so called, was normal, seems, however, to be beyond dispute. The proof of this is of the best description obtainable in support of any fact. It consists of the evidence of independent witnesses in all parts of the world, each relating what he found in his district, unaware that anything similar was to be found elsewhere, and unaware also of his relation being of any special scientific value. Now that speculation on the subject has arisen, we shall obtain no more evidence of the same trustworthy nature. But on evidence which could not be suspected, I was able, in "Primitive Marriage," to trace this law of incest as prevailing among the Khonds of Orissa, the Kalmuck Tartars, the Circassians, the Yurak Samoyeds (Siberia), the Kafirs, the Sodhas of Northern India, the Beduanda Kallung (Singapore), the Kirghiz and the Nogais, the Warali (India), the Magar tribes, among the Hindus generally, among numerous tribes on the north-eastern frontier of India, at numerous points in the Pacific Islands, among the natives throughout Australia, and among the natives throughout North and South America. Within a month

to them at all, which would seem destructive of the very pivot of his argument as to the origin of exogamy. Thus differently do the same facts appear to Mr. Spencer at different times and in dealing with different subjects.

(1) It may be proper to warn the student that in Mr. Spencer's "Descriptive Sociology" the terms exogamy and endogamy are used in the same senses as in his "Principles of Sociology," and several times in the tables exogamy and endogamy are stated to "coexist."

after the publication of my book, Mr. E. B. Tylor, in his admirable work on the Early History of Mankind, produced a fresh list of instances of the law independently made by him, which list he has since enlarged. He exhibited it as prevailing, among other places, in Siam, Borneo and Sumatra, and among the Ostyaks. We now know it as law throughout China. Mr. Tozer lately exhibited it as now law among the Mirdites in the Turkish Highlands. It is now within my knowledge as law in various districts in Africa, and, indeed, in quarters too numerous to be here specified. I was able, in "Primitive Marriage," to show that it had been the law of the Picts and presumably of Celts in general. It can easily be shown to have been early law in Rome. I think it possible to show that it was originally law in Greece. It is the law of the Greek Church now, and was at one time the law of Catholicism. Gregory I., Hallam informs us, prohibited marriage as far as relationship could be known, and that of course is exogamy. As I have more than once stated already, in all cases the violation of this law is a specially heinous crime. It is incest, and even among many of the rudest races is punished with death.

I had hoped to be able here to indicate at least the result of an inquiry I have been making into the origin of this singular law—the origin truly of all laws of incest—laws which more than any other human characteristic, except articulate speech, distinguish man from the brutes; but the space at my disposal is wholly inadequate to that purpose. This the less matters that I expect to be able to publish my inquiry itself within a few months. Thus much I may here say, that instead of finding it a simple investigation, capable of being disposed of in a page or so of *a priori* fancies, I have found it extremely intricate and laborious, and that it necessitated several fresh inductions of fact as a condition prior to reasoning on the possibilities of the rise of so strange a law. If the reader will but reflect that marriage among kindred *must* have been the most ancient usage, and that it has to be shown not only how this usage was superseded by a contrary custom, but how it came to be superseded in such a manner that any recurrence to it would be regarded as an act at once criminal and sinful, he will see that the problem is of no ordinary difficulty. When he further reflects that the evidence, so far as we have it, appears to indicate that all races of men were at some time exogamous, he will see the difficulties of the problem to be greatly increased. For all singular solutions which would account for the law as an occasional thing only, thus appear by the conditions of the problem to be excluded.

In my paper on The Levirate and Polyandry¹ I showed how Mr. Spencer had found a new origin for the Levirate without under-

(1) See the *Fortnightly Review* for May, 1877.

standing what the Levirate was, and had pronounced against polyandry as normal without having qualified himself by a study of succession laws or otherwise to form an opinion on that subject. We have now seen how he has found an origin for exogamy without troubling himself to understand what exogamy meant. Is it too much to say that Mr. Spencer has not exhibited in these important scientific researches such a measure of care, with a view to accuracy, as might be expected from him? I will only add, as touching matters in the right investigation of which I take great interest, that in my opinion Mr. Spencer, who has found several "origins" for the form of capture, has never seriously reflected on the real nature of that form, and that of course he has misunderstood the meaning of the term endogamy.

In conclusion, I may be pardoned for noticing the three following points in Mr. Spencer's exposition:—

1. He says, p. 642: "To the habitual stealing of wives and re-stealing of them as among the Australians, Mr. McLennan ascribes that doubtful paternity which led to the recognition of kinship through females only; though elsewhere, admitting a more general cause for this primitive form of kinship, he regards wife-stealing as its most certain cause." I had myself been under the impression that the principal portion of my book—that, indeed, which gave it any title to consideration—was that in which I attempted to exhibit the development of this species of kinship, and of kinships generally, in connection with the forms of marriage and the family. But I am represented as taking my stand at a point apart from the family in looking for the true origin of female kinship; and, on the other hand, as *admitting* what are really my own main propositions in regard to the effect of forms of marriage on primitive kinships.

2. I am represented as ascribing the origin of exogamy to "a primitive instinct" against marriage between blood relations, though I expressly and repeatedly repudiate that idea. I am so misrepresented in respect of a single inadvertent use of the term applied to the sustaining spirit of the law of exogamy itself—a slip by which the phrase was substituted for the term exogamy itself. Whoever else might have misunderstood this, I should have thought—even had I not made express declarations on the subject—that Mr. Spencer would not have believed that an evolutionist could have fallen into such an error. But my declarations were express and repeated. I say in one place: "A survey of the facts of primitive life and the breakdown of exogamy in advancing communities *exclude* the notion that the law originated in any innate or primary feeling against marriage with kinsfolk." ("Studies," &c., p. 112.) Again I say: "Men must originally have been free of any prejudice against marriage between relations—not necessarily endoga-

mous, i.e. forbidding marriage except between kindred—but still more given to such unions than to unions with strangers. From this primitive indifference they may have advanced, some to endogamy, some to exogamy.” (*Idem*, p. 116.) In another place I put aside the idea of “primitive instinct” in the matter with some detail of argument. (*Idem*, pp. 228, ff.)

3. I notice lastly the strange misapprehension through which the contents of Chapter VII. of “Primitive Marriage”—which is a general survey preliminary to an investigation taking note of the views that on a first impression the facts were likely to suggest—are construed as if they were, however contradictory, all alike results at which I had arrived. No one, I think, can read that chapter without seeing its true character as preliminary to a thorough inquiry, the results indeed of which inquiry, rectifying various impressions that one might form on a first view, the chapter concludes by giving, in anticipation of the contents of the succeeding chapters, in a series of nine propositions. (“Studies,” &c., pp. 109, ff.) It is due to myself to mention that it is from this chapter that Mr. Spencer has cited most of the phrases used by me that he could find seeming to make for his own conclusions.

J. F. McLENNAN.

A SHORT REJOINDER.

To Mr. McLennan’s article on “The Levirate and Polyandry,” as well as to the foregoing article, some words of reply from me seem called for.

Forms of family produced by descent in the male line, are habitually characterized by a law of succession which gives the sons of the eldest precedence over his brothers. Contrariwise, forms of family in which descent in the female line persists, wholly or partially, because paternity is unsettled or but partially settled, are characterized by a law of succession under which brothers take precedence of sons. Hence an institution which requires a younger brother to beget an heir for an elder brother who dies without one, and which thus carries to an extreme the claims of sons *versus* the claims of brothers, seems like a result of a family system characterized by established descent in the male line. Mr. McLennan, however, considers this peculiar institution to be derived from a form of family in which, from indefiniteness of paternity, male kinship in the descending line is imperfectly established. As he interprets the matter, cause and consequence stand thus:—“On every view, then,” he says, “the succession of brothers in preference to sons must be accepted as a remainder of polyandry” (p. 705). Nevertheless he represents, as a remainder of polyandry,

this Levirate system, which gives such preference to sons that even the nominal son of the eldest brother excludes a younger brother.

Though Mr. McLennan thinks "it is impossible not to believe" that this is the origin of the Levirate (*Studies in Ancient History*, p. 162), I have ventured to suggest another possible interpretation. I have shown that where women are bought and sold as property, they are also inherited as property. I have given six cases where widows are inherited by brothers who claim them as well as other belongings of the deceased; and have pointed out that in two of these instances, the nearest relation "had a right" to the widow, in the absence of a brother. As further showing how transfers of widows are originally transfers of property, I have given six cases in which sons inherit their fathers' wives (save their own mothers).¹ Here let me add other instances having like implications. Speaking of the Kakhycns, Anderson, in his *Mandalay to Momien* (pp. 139—142), says, "the curious custom obtains that a widow becomes the wife of the senior brother-in-law, even though he be already married." And Wood tells us of the Kirghiz, that on a husband's death the wife goes to his brother, and on his decease becomes the property of the next of kin. We have, then, multitudinous proofs that the taking to wife deceased brothers' widows (not in these cases associated with polyandry, but with polygyny), is part of the succession to property in general; and this was originally the case among the Hebrews. The inference which Mr. McLennan draws from the ancient tradition concerning Tamar, does not correspond with the view which the Rabbins held respecting the original form of the Levir marriage. As shown by a passage in Lewis (*Origines Hebraeæ*, ii. 498), the Rabbins saw in Levir marriage, essentially a right of the brother, not of the widow. At first sight it is not manifest how what was originally a right of the brother, became transformed into a duty; but I have given some facts which throw light upon the transformation. Even among a people so little advanced as the Chippewas, the claim to a dead brother's wife as property, had so far changed that the assigned reason for marrying her was the obligation to take care of the brother's children; and I have cited the case of an Egyptian who said he married his brother's widow because "he considered it his duty to provide for her and her children." Following the clue given by these cases, I have suggested (*op. cit.* p. 692) that the duty of raising up seed to a dead brother was originally the duty of raising the seed the dead brother had left, that is, his children; and that this eventually passed by misinterpretation into the duty of preserving his line, not by rearing existing children, but by begetting a son in his name when he had none—a misinterpretation prompted by that intense craving to survive in name through future

(1) *Principles of Sociology*, i. 680.

times, described in Psalm xlix. 11 :—" Their inward thought is that their houses shall continue for ever. . . . They call their lands after their own names." When we remember that even now, estates are sometimes bequeathed on condition of adopting the name of the testator, and so nominally maintaining the line, we shall understand the motive which exaggerated the duty of raising a brother's heir until it became the duty of raising an heir to him. Should Mr. McLennan contend that this transformation of what was once a beneficial right into an injurious obligation is improbable, then I make two replies. The first is, that among many remarkable social transformations, there may be named one immediately relating to marriage-customs, which presents us with a no less complete inversion. Change from wife-purchase to the reception of a dowry with a wife, does not seem a change likely to result by gradual transition ; yet it did so result. The property given for the bride, originally appropriated entirely by the father, ceased in course of time to be wholly retained by him, and he gave part to his daughter for her special use after her marriage. What he gave to her grew, and what was paid for her dwindled, until eventually the husband's payment became a symbol, while the father's gift developed into a substantial dower. The second reply is that this transformation is less difficult to understand than the one alleged by Mr. McLennan. For according to him, the arrangement by which, in the polyandric family, an elder brother's death profits the next brother by devolving on him " his property, authority, and widow," is transformed into an arrangement by which, in the polygynic or monogamic family, the next brother loses by having to take steps for excluding himself from the succession.

The flaw in Mr. McLennan's argument appears to me to be this. He tacitly assumes that the succession of brothers to property, instead of sons, always implies the pre-existence of polyandry ; whereas it merely implies the pre-existence of descent in the female line, which may or may not have had polyandry as a concomitant. There are hosts of cases where descent in the female line exists, and where there is neither polyandry now nor any sign of its past existence.

In the small space available, I must meet Mr. McLennan's rejoinders to my criticisms on his theory of primitive marriage, in the briefest manner. He sets forth his leading propositions thus :—

(1.) That " the form [of capture] represents and is a remainder of an actual system of capturing women for wives." As showing that the form does not necessarily imply capture from foreign tribes, I have pointed out that actual capture, and consequently the form of capture, may originate within the tribe ; first, from the fighting of the men with one another for the possession of women ; second, from the resistance of the pursued women themselves, due to coyness,

partly real and partly assumed ; third, from the accompanying resistance of sympathizing women ; and fourth, from the resistance of parents who are deprived of the services of daughters by their marriages. I have given numerous examples of acts of capture having such origins, and these Mr. McLennan passes over unnoticed.

(2.) That "a practice of capturing women for wives could not have become systematic unless it were developed and sustained by some rule of law or custom, which made it necessary as a means to marriage." This proposition implies that some "rule of law" was first established, in some way unspecified, and that capturing women became systematic as a consequence ; which is not a solution of the problem but a postponement of it. The assumed pre-existence of such a law seems to me akin to the hypothesis of a primitive "social contract."

(3.) That "the rule of law or custom which had this effect was exogamy, the law (previously unnamed) which declared it incest for a man to marry a woman of the same blood or stock with himself." On which my comment, simply a more specific form of the last, is that we are thus required to conclude that the notions of "blood or stock" and of "incest" preceded the practice of stealing women ; though this practice, found among the very lowest men, is a natural sequence of instincts which must have been in action before the earliest social groups were formed.

From these general rejoinders I pass to more special ones.

Mr. McLennan says :—"In this inquiry it was the existence of exogamy as an essential concomitant of capture that concerned me. I neither investigated nor had occasion to investigate its origin." Considering that the title of Mr. McLennan's work as originally published was *Primitive Marriage: an Inquiry into the Origin of the Form of Capture in Marriage Ceremonies*, it seems strange that he should say he was not concerned with the explanation of exogamy. To ascribe capture to exogamy and to assign no cause for exogamy, is to give a very inadequate theory of primitive marriage. Mr. McLennan, however, while alleging that this problem did not concern him, says he threw out the suggestion that "the practice of female infanticide" originated the correlative usages of capture and exogamy. I was quite unaware till now that Mr. McLennan laid so little stress upon this part of his theory. The title he gives to Chapter VII. of his work—"Exogamy: its Origin," &c., seems to imply that the explanation of it did concern him, though he now says it did not. In this chapter (pp. 110, 111, new edition), he assigns female infanticide as the cause, without any warning that this is to be taken merely as a suggestion. And to the growth of the consequent "usage induced by necessity" of stealing wives, he ascribes the "prejudice strong as a principle of religion

... against marrying women of their own stock,"—ascribes, that is, the law of exogamy. I have given several reasons for concluding that exogamy did not arise from this cause; and, as Mr. McLennan now states that what he said about this cause had "perhaps better have been left unsaid," I presume that he admits the validity of these reasons.

Mr. McLennan makes a counter criticism on the explanation of exogamy given by me. This explanation is that in warlike tribes, capturing of a foreign woman, implying conquest over enemies, was a mark of bravery and therefore honourable; that as a tribe became predominantly warlike, the honourableness of having a foreign wife became so relatively great, that taking a native wife became discreditable; and that finally, in the most warlike tribes, it became imperative that a wife should be of foreign blood. Mr. McLennan objects that there is a gulf "between an act which is discreditable, and an act which is criminal."

"To me," he says, "it seems simply not possible to deduce from marriages with foreign women being deemed ever so honourable, that marriages with native women should be branded as incestuous—be deemed among the most impious of actions, and become capital offences."

My first reply is that though this "seems simply not possible" to Mr. McLennan, he might have found analogies which would show him its possibility. Is it not deemed honourable to conquer in war? Does it not become by consequence dishonourable to give way in battle and flee from the enemy? And are there not cases in which the dishonourableness of fleeing from the enemy became a penal offence, followed sometimes even by death? My second reply is that in the primitive state to which we must go back for the explanation of such practices as exogamy, no such notion as that of crime exists. Mr. McLennan's objection implies the belief that moral ideas antecede the earliest social state; whereas they are products of the social state, developing only as it advances. What we call crimes are thought creditable by many uncivilized men. Murder was no disgrace to a Fijian, but a glory; and his honour increased with the number of men he devoured. Among some tribes of the Pacific States, where the stronger man takes whatever he pleases from the weaker, the criminality of robbery is unrecognised. And by those many peoples whom I have instanced (*Prin. of Sociology*, § 281) as very commonly forming incestuous unions, incest is not regarded as criminal. How, then, can there be the impassable gulf Mr. McLennan supposes between the disgracefulness of marrying within the tribe and the crime of incest, when, originally, incest was not a crime?

By way of proof that among rude races a man does not gain honour from a captured wife, Mr. McLennan gives some cases showing that captured wives are not themselves held in higher estimation

than native wives, but in lower. I have neither said nor implied anything at variance with his facts. To assert the honourableness of capturing is not to assert the honourableness of being captured.

One objection raised by Mr. McLennan to the explanation I have given has a considerable appearance of validity, and some real validity; though it is an imprudent objection for him to make, since it tells against his own view more than against mine. He points out that if, in an extremely-warlike tribe, wiving with foreigners becomes imperative, and marriage with native-born women is disallowed, there arises the question, what becomes of the native-born women; and he says they must be "doomed to perpetual celibacy." In answer, I may point to the fact alleged by Mr. McLennan himself (*Studies, &c.*, p. 112), that in some cases all the female children born within the tribe are destroyed, whence it follows that, in these cases at any rate, there results no such difficulty as that which he alleges. Further, I have to repeat the objection made by me to his hypothesis, that among a cluster of tribes practising primitive exogamy, as Mr. McLennan describes it, the female children born within each tribe not only become useless to the tribe, because unmarriageable by its members, but the rearing of them benefits and strengthens hostile tribes, who alone can utilize them: whence a motive to universal female infanticide throughout the tribes. But the truth to which Mr. McLennan's objection points, I take to be this; that, save in such extreme cases as the one I have cited above, exogamy, under that primitive form which implies actual capture of women from other tribes, does not become absolute; and that it acquires the character of a peremptory law, only when the prevalence of women counted as foreign by blood within the tribe, introduces the secondary or derived form of exogamy, and makes obedience to the peremptory law practicable.

Mr. McLennan alleges that the explanation I have given could account "only for a limited practice of capturing women for wives," and that for this reason, "apparently," I have formed the opinion that exogamy is not normal but exceptional. I do not know why he says this; since the explanation I have given implies that everywhere, hostilities among tribes tend to produce exogamy in some and endogamy in others, and that thus the simultaneous genesis of the two is normal. If, however, by the words "that exogamy, properly so-called, was normal, is beyond dispute," he means that it was normal in the literal sense, as having originally been the rule and other practices exceptions—if he means again to express the belief he did originally, that exogamy has "been practised at a certain stage among every race of mankind"—if, by the additional instances of it which he now gives, he means to support this proposition; then I have simply to set against it the admission he makes (*Studies, &c.*,

p. 116) that exogamy and endogamy "may be equally archaic," and the statement that "the separate endogamous are nearly as numerous, and they are in some respects as rude, as the separate exogamous tribes" (*Ibid.*, p. 116)—an admission and a statement which harmonize perfectly with the hypothesis I have set forth, but are incongruous with Mr. McLennan's own hypothesis.

I have reserved to the last the most serious of Mr. McLennan's allegations against me. "That Mr. Spencer has failed to grasp the meaning of the terms exogamy and endogamy appears beyond dispute," he says. If this be true, the fault must be either in Mr. McLennan's statement of his views, or in my capacity for comprehension; and I suppose that in politeness I am bound to regard the fault as lying in me. I am reluctant, however, to leave the reader without the opportunity of forming his own judgment on this point; and I therefore lay before him the data as briefly as consists with clearness.

The question being how there arose the contrast between those tribes which married only with women of other tribes, or of foreign blood, and those tribes which married native women, the words "exogamy" and "endogamy," introduced by Mr. McLennan, were used by me as indicating these two systems, alike in their partially-established and in their completely-established forms. Employing the words in these unspecialized senses, I have referred to some societies as partially exogamous or partially endogamous, and have said that "exogamy and endogamy in many cases co-exist:" meaning, thereby, that in so far as the men of a tribe marry out of the tribe the tribe is exogamous, and in so far as they marry within the tribe the tribe is endogamous. This fact is cited by Mr. McLennan as "*proof* that the problem never was comprehended by" me. Giving to the words more special meanings than are necessitated by their literal significations, Mr. McLennan represents them as applicable only where marriage with women of the same stock is respectively forbidden or required. There cannot, consequently, be such things as partial exogamy or endogamy—the two are mutually exclusive. "The words," he says, "were not defined by me to denote practices at all, but *rules* or *laws*;" and he says that until there is actual prohibition of one or other, there is no law of marriage at all, and therefore no exogamy or endogamy.

Now Mr. McLennan may, of course, give what definitions he pleases to words introduced by himself. But I am at a loss to understand how an evolutionist, which Mr. McLennan declares himself to be, can ignore those antecedent stages that must have been passed through before exogamy and endogamy could become laws. Mr. McLennan's familiarity with savage life must make him fully conscious that law, in our sense, is originally unknown; and that that

genesis of laws out of customs which advanced societies show us, is implied by the state of the earliest societies in which no customs have yet evolved into laws. An evolutionist might be expected to regard it as a necessary implication that before exogamy and endogamy became laws they must have been practices.

If, instead of saying that I "never comprehended the meanings of the terms exogamy or endogamy," Mr. McLennan had said that I failed to comprehend how he reconciles his own uses of them with the meanings he gives, I should have agreed with him. On p. 230 in the chapter headed "Conclusion," (not, be it observed, in the chapter which he describes as "preliminary," and therefore only approximate in its statements) I find the following passage, in which I have italicised the significant words :—

"On the whole, the account which we have given of the *origin of exogamy* appears the only one which will bear examination. The scarcity of women within the group led to a practice of stealing the women of other groups, and *in time it came to be considered improper*, because it was unusual for a man to marry a woman of his own group."

This passage, summing up the results of Mr. McLennan's inquiries, while it tacitly asserts that "the origin of exogamy" was a chief problem (though Mr. McLennan now says it did not concern him), applies the name exogamy to a *practice* that had not yet become a *law*. Even now, on the first page of the above article, he uses it in the same sense when he speaks of his original suggestion thus—"the practice of capture somehow introducing exogamy, and exogamy thereafter perpetuating and extending the practice of capture." If, then, because I have applied the name exogamy to a growing custom that had not yet hardened into a law, I am charged with not understanding what exogamy means, I have simply to reply that the charge recoils with fatal effect on Mr. McLennan himself; since he uses the word in the same sense.

Here I must end all I have to say on these matters. In treating of the domestic relations in the *Principles of Sociology*, I could not avoid dealing with Mr. McLennan's theory. While accepting some of his minor propositions, I found myself unable to accept his major ones. My reasons for dissent were expressed in the most temperate manner I could use. Mr. McLennan has, however, introduced into his rejoinder a tone which renders it undesirable to continue the discussion.

HERBERT SPENCER.

HOME AND FOREIGN AFFAIRS.

It sounds almost incredible that the outbreak of a war in Europe should not be the most absorbing event of the month in which it has taken place. Yet the incredible is true, and for a week men almost forgot the conflict in the east, in their amazement and distress at what at first seemed to mean the unexpected provocation to new and deeper conflicts in the west. The Russian troops have advanced slowly towards the line of the Danube. In the Asiatic field they were repulsed with loss at Batoum, the coveted port in the south-east corner of the Euxine ; after the capture of Soukoum Kaleh by the Turks, they seemed to be threatened with a rising of their Circassian subjects in the rear. But these misadventures have been obliterated by the capture of Ardahan (May 17), and by the rapid approach of the Russian forces towards Erzeroum. The Turks are reported to have made a bad defence, and they are said to have lost heart for further operations. Irritation at these disasters has led to mutinous demonstrations at Constantinople, to violent and agitated debates in the Chamber, and to the proclamation of a state of siege. Roumania has thrown off the nominal yoke and declared her independence of the Porte, and Servia may be expected to imitate Roumania's example. Greece is rapidly growing more restless, and her people threaten any day to become uncontrollable. Unless, therefore, there is either an understanding between Russia, Austria, and Germany, or a fixed resolution on the part of Russia not to go beyond the point at which European opinion would be likely to turn actively against her, we may before this time next month find ourselves in the inmost meshes of those contingencies which have, even in bare anticipation, been the dread and the despair of European statesmen. We may, that is to say, see Austria alarmed into action by the formation of inconvenient governments on her borders ; Turkey thrown into anarchy by the weakness and break-up of the central power ; and Russia holding the Euphrates Valley, and commanding Syria.

Yet it is felt, and rightly felt, that even with so momentous a crisis as this coming so swiftly upon Europe, the sudden throwing aside of the mask by the conspirators of reaction in France is an event of the very first importance. It is so for many reasons. It has not only endangered the stability of government and the peace of society in France ; it has made France a mark for new enmity from Germany, and for old suspicions revived in Italy. For the moment, the President, like Lord Derby, has played the game of Prince Bismarck. It is to Germany's interest that Russia should have her hands tied by a war, and Lord Derby by refusing to join in the coercion of Turkey last October made war between Russia and Turkey inevitable. It is for Germany's interest that France should be without allies, and the President and his clerical cabinet have alienated both Italy

and England. Even the most ardent partisans of France in this country do not mean the France of Napoleon IV. for Monseigneur Dupanloup. No doubt, then, there is little risk of the instant adoption of a provocative policy by the Broglie cabinet. But what is certain is that such a government as it is the ultimate object of the Broglie cabinet to set up, can only subsist by leaning on the clerical party; and the clerical party will demand a price for their support; and everybody knows that this price can only be a policy that will give Germany a fair excuse, and Italy a solid reason for a breach. That would be the inevitable outcome of reactionary government, in whatever shape it might be restored. It is, no doubt, therefore, impossible to suppose that there is an immediate and pressing danger of the repetition of the disastrous imperial policy of the summer of 1870. The President is justified for the immediate moment in denying that his *coup d'état* at home means any change in his policy abroad. But if his *coup d'état* succeeds, then that success can only be assured by a foreign war, because nothing short of a foreign war will content his only effective aiders and abettors. If Germany were not there to prevent so detestable a crime, we can hardly doubt that the Broglie cabinet would provoke a war with the Italian kingdom. Such a stroke would distract attention, would excite the enthusiasm of the clerical party to the highest pitch, and might perhaps be approved by a certain number of unwise persons who are not clerical, but who retain the old contempt and dislike of the French towards the Italians, and still regard the unity of Italy with the jealousy that used to find its mouthpiece in M. Thiers. Germany, however, stands in the way of such a policy as this. It is not the first time that Germany has saved France from the hands of her own reactionist conspirators.

Just as the apprehensions of immediate foreign danger were exaggerated at the first shock of the President's exploit, so were the apprehensions of immediate domestic convulsion exaggerated. The manner of the presidential stroke warranted the alarm: its violent haste; the harsh and peremptory letter to M. Jules Simon; the stiff and arbitrary message to the Chambers; the sinister complexion of the new ministry; the proof of planned conspiracy furnished by the sweeping changes of prefects within four-and-twenty hours. For a few hours it seemed as if M. Gambetta and the other chiefs of the Left might be sent to Vincennes, and a new day of barricades and fusillades might open. There was so absolutely no reason for the precipitation of the President's step, that ordinary calculation was baffled, and all appeared possible. It is no wonder that men were bewildered, and almost cowed. But a less terrible interpretation is now generally put upon the President's hasty act. After the first day or two it was felt that the key-note to the whole design was honestly given in the Message to the two Chambers:—"As long as I am the depository of power I will use it to the full extent of its legal limits to oppose what I regard as the ruin of my country; but *I am convinced that the country thinks as I do—it is not the triumph of those theories that it wished for at the last elections.* That is not what was promised to the country by those who took advantage of my name, and declared themselves resolved to maintain my power, and

these persons proved the majority of the candidates. If it were again asked, and in such a manner as to guard against all misunderstanding, *it would, I am sure, reject that conclusion.*"

In other words, what the President says is this: "I am of the Right; the country, I know, is also of the Right. A majority of the Right would have been returned in 1876, if there had not been a mistaken notion that the Left were my supporters. That shall not happen again. There shall be *préfets* and a cabinet to say that the Left are my enemies, and that to vote for them is to vote against me. M. Buffet was not allowed to say this." Hence the proposed elections are designed to be a repetition of the experiment so confidently made at the last elections, with the immense difference, however, that if the next elections should go as the last one went, it will be not a minister, nor a cabinet, but the President of the Republic himself whom the nation will dismiss.

If this be the real account of what is in Marshal Macmahon's mind, then all to be said is that he has been led into the most deplorable piece of fatuity by the vanity and conceit of one adviser, and the sanguine unscrupulosity of another. By an act of inconceivable perversity, the Marshal deliberately steps down from the chair of the President of the Republic, and becomes a candidate. That the ministry will be utterly routed at the elections, is the universal belief among people who keep themselves cool. The Duke de Broglie is personally unpopular, and even, what M. Buffet never was, he is regarded as a slightly ridiculous personage. The circumstances under which the cabinet has been formed are highly unfavourable to it. It contains no strong man. It stands convicted as a cabinet of conspirators who plot in the dark. It has disloyally and unreasonably overthrown a government which was pursuing a tranquil and moderate course. It has inflicted much injury on trade; it has broken the social calm which was never more intense than on the evening of the fifteenth of May; it has damaged the reputation of France in Europe for restored sense and steadfastness. Again, what has happened to change the anti-clerical verdict of the elections of 1876, which was given by a majority of 850 liberal returns against 164 reactionary returns? It is true that some one—it is not known who, nor by what authority—issued a manifesto purporting to be official, and promising instant repression to all ultramontane demonstrations. But this declaration is in patent contradiction to unmistakable facts. The Duke de Broglie's vanity and the Marshal's panic may have produced the rash dismissal, but everybody knows that the forces on which the reactionists rely are the priests, and the *arms* the Bonapartist *préfets*. Their only true support is the priest-party. That party is in a state of intense resentment and alarm at the prospect of losing the control of the schools; it feels an intolerable chagrin at the sight of public education being in the hands of a rational and liberal person like M. Waddington. We do not ignore the power of the priest-party, any more than we ignore that of the clergy in our own politics. We only say that France is no longer of that party.

On the whole, then, there are the strongest possibilities that the next elections

—if elections there be—will ratify the verdict of February, 1876. The President has identified himself with the unknown. Behind him is, not one pretender, but three. To vote for him is to vote for what? For the Empire, for the Restoration, or for the Duc d'Anmale? How is the elector to be reconciled to a nameless policy lying in such profound shadow as this? The Marshal's clerical supporters have identified themselves with what is plainly recognised as a policy of uncertainty and war and national danger. His premier carries no weight, and has no programme. Reaction has no consistency in itself; its forces are mutually internecine, and their aims irreconcilable. The day after the Republic was trampled under foot, the usurpers would be at deadly war among one another, Legitimists, Orleanists, Bonapartists, all hating and suspecting one another more bitterly than they had hated the Republic. Nothing has happened since February, 1876, to alter the popular opinion as recorded in the elections of that time, that in spite of the extravagances of a noisy but politically insignificant section at the extreme left of the party, it is the Republicans who truly represent order, and the Republicans only who stand for national security.

Of course it is assumed in all this that there is to be no military *coup d'état*. We are the last to deny the seriousness of such an assumption. "It is certain," we wrote in April of last year, after the French elections, "that the President cannot feel any sympathy either with the Senate or the Chamber with which he is called to govern. A general, accustomed to command, is ill prepared to play the delicate, submissive, self-effacing part of a constitutional sovereign, on whom the majority imposes a ministry and laws. It is hardly likely that the President will ever make a *coup d'état* in his own favour. But exasperated by the exigencies of the Left, alarmed at the agitations which they might provoke, he might possibly think it his duty to take energetic measures to 'save the country.' Persons will certainly not be wanting in the future, who will tell him in all good faith that this is his bounden duty." And then it was pointed out that in continental affairs, "we must always take account of the undeniable fact that the constitutional system is at the mercy of the army, and only subsists by sufferance of the executive power." (*Fortnightly Review*, April, 1876, p. 696.)

At present, however, there appears little ground for apprehension. The President cannot believe that the country is against him, and it looks as if the whole affair were the work, not of violent and unflinching adventurers, like the heroes of the Second of December, but of a small company of weak and vain intriguers, who have induced the Marshal to share a most futile illusion. If there is an election, in the first place; if there is a republican victory, in the second; if there is no *coup d'état*, in the third; then on Marshal Macmahon's resignation, the two Chambers will in a common session elect as President a representative of the ideas of the majority. In that case, the master-stroke of the reactionists will have the extremely satisfactory effect of placing a Liberal President in power some years sooner than would have been the case otherwise.

One of the most important results of this will be a change in the permanent type of the presidential office. Perhaps if Marshal Macmahon had

persisted in his part as constitutional president, that might have remained as the fixed character of the post. The French, however, are singularly inapt for political fictions, nor indeed is any other nation inclined to such fictions, unless they happen to have come down by inheritance, and to be like our monarchy, the eviscerated survival of what was once a reality. The French, like the Americans, associate the highest executive office with executive power. The practice, even of a constitutional king like Louis Philippe, was to preside at cabinet councils, and to try to make his own ideas prevail. But it will be more agreeable to discuss the relative advantages of the two types of President, after France has passed through the trying and dangerous crisis that awaits her—a crisis which is as important for her neighbours as for herself, and in which the Republic will have the ardent good-will of every lover of peace and good government in Europe.

The events in France have been so astonishing as almost to efface the memory of the debate on Eastern affairs which occupied the House of Commons for five long nights, and ended in a ministerial majority of 181 (May 14). Yet it has left such traces behind, as to call for a few words of criticism. Some of the incidents that arose from it will probably leave a lasting mark both on the course of the Eastern question in English opinion, and also on the future of the Liberal party.

Of all the political surprises since the fatal January of 1874, none could have been more difficult to foresee than that Mr. Gladstone and the majority of the Liberals in the country should be on one side, and the band of ministers to whom Mr. Gladstone had given power and occasion of fame should be angrily and vehemently on the other. The tactics of the front opposition bench are open to grave, and as we think, decisive objection. It is impossible to suppose, after Lord Hartington's vigorous speeches, first on the opening of the session, and next on the motion for papers at Easter, that he dissented from the substance of Mr. Gladstone's Resolutions. These speeches point as directly to coercion as the famous fourth Resolution itself. But he and his colleagues have all along taken the position that a division, which would reveal the numerical weakness of the Opposition, was to be avoided at all hazard. In the earlier part of the session they did their best not only to avoid a division, but even to shirk a general discussion of the Eastern Question. Mr. Fawcett rightly broke away from a strategy, so artificial, unworthy, and impotent, and the leaders of the Opposition were obliged to content themselves with begging their reluctant followers to discuss, if discuss they must, but on no account to draw upon the party the catastrophe of a division. A section of the party—including Mr. Fawcett, Mr. Chamberlain, and Mr. Courtney—consistently protested against the adoption of this weak and timorous line. "We have the country with us," they kept saying: "they are looking to us for a continuance of the autumn struggle against the aims of the Beaconsfield section of the cabinet; a bad division will only show what everybody knows already, that the majority

of the house does not reflect the majority of the constituencies." But the partisans of inactivity prevailed, until Mr. Gladstone, pressed by an overwhelming sense of responsibility to the country, and justly treating that responsibility as in such a crisis paramount over even the most respectable obligations of party etiquette, at length accepted the view of the section of which we have spoken, and brought forward his Resolutions. What ought to have been the conduct of his former colleagues? So far as any of these colleagues dissented by conviction from the substance of one or all of the Resolutions, they were clearly justified in refusing to support Mr. Gladstone. Mr. Bright, for instance, as we can all understand, could under no considerations sanction any propositions that might in any contingency lead this country into war; and that Mr. Bright should have stayed away from the division would have been natural, reasonable, and open to no cavil nor complaint. But this was not the case with the other official liberals. It was not the case of men like Lord Hartington and his principal colleagues. They admitted that they had little quarrel with the matter of the Resolutions, but only with their opportuneness. But then, whether rightly or wrongly, Mr. Gladstone had insisted on thinking them opportune. The division, which the leaders deprecated, was inevitable. They could not prevent it. Why not, then, have made the best of it? If there must be a division, why not have acted so as to make it, at all events, as little unfavourable as possible? If they even objected to the substance of the third and fourth Resolutions, what reason was there why Lord Hartington and his friends should not have voted for the first and second? They pleaded, it is true, that a vote for the first two would be by implication to commit themselves to the spirit of the latter two also, even if no vote were actually to be taken upon them. But then what was to hinder Lord Hartington from definitely stating his intention to support the one, and not the other? Instead of taking this simple line, the leaders seem to have allowed spleen to conquer policy; they retreated into a Cave. Meanwhile the country was being raised upon them. Meetings were held in the great towns, and there was scarcely a liberal club or association in the land, which did not pass its resolution in favour of Mr. Gladstone. The late Premier says that he received upwards of three hundred sets of resolutions, petitions, and other forms of sympathy and support. It is quite true that there were one or two of these which were not meant to commit us to coercion. But there was a general agreement with Mr. Gladstone's policy, and a strong enthusiasm for his person; and as the parliamentary situation came to be better understood out of doors, there grew up a feeling of very decided and menacing resentment against the opposition leaders, who had themselves so vexatiously balked the national expectations, and who were now hampering a more courageous and clear-sighted statesman than themselves. It began to be seen that Mr. Gladstone would be followed into the lobby by a majority, if a bare one, of the Liberal members of parliament.

Then came the ordinary proceedings of a severe party crisis, the messages, the goings and comings, the fetching and carrying, which are so important,

which give so much work to gossips, but which are never allowed to creep into history. The end of all was that the House of Commons was astonished on the eventful Monday afternoon (May 7) by the announcement that a compromise had been arranged between Mr. Gladstone and the gentlemen who had aspired to be his leaders. The agitation was indescribable. It was no wonder that Mr. Chamberlain, Mr. Courtney, and other members of the party of action, rose to complain of the abandonment of the third and fourth Resolutions. It seemed as if the country was to be balked to the very end, and that either the debate at once would collapse, or else that at best there would be a discussion from which the real issue would be left out—namely whether England should under any circumstances join in the work of compelling the Porte to take those moderate steps towards decent government that were demanded by the European Powers. What the motives were that induced Mr. Gladstone to withdraw the two Resolutions, it would perhaps be difficult even for himself to explain in two or three straightforward categorical propositions. We can, however, easily understand how he should be eager to avoid humiliating the colleagues whom he had associated with the triumphs of his great ministerial period eight or nine years ago. We can easily understand how he should be willing to build for them one of those golden bridges of retreat, of which we have heard so much within the last nine months. They had already received a lesson, which was not without its mortifications. They had discovered that in parliament and in the ranks of their nominal followers, there are now resolute Liberals who will only follow on the condition of being led, and who can never be overawed into nullity and a betrayal of the constituencies by any amount of the pomposities of officialism. The opposition leaders had also discovered that Mr. Gladstone is still the great rallying-centre of popular Liberalism, and the only commander whose standard the liberal forces of the country are willing to recognise.

The debate that followed Mr. Gladstone's magnificent oration in introducing his Resolutions calls for little remark. The point in it upon which the country has seized with most satisfaction, was Mr. Cross's account of the conditions under which British interests might be considered to be involved. It is true that Mr. Cross's words, when carefully looked into, are looser than people have been willing to suppose. They would certainly bear interpretations, in certain contingencies by land or sea, that would be extremely disturbing to the satisfaction with which they were heard and read in the second week in May. However, under Lord Beaconsfield's government we are thankful for small mercies, and it was a comfort to sensible men, in dread of the red and flaming utterances of Mr. Hardy, to have the ministerial position defined as it was by Mr. Cross. The deep impression of relief which Mr. Cross's speech so unmistakably made upon the country, will naturally have its effect in keeping the Ministry in the path which the speech was supposed to indicate. For the rest, we need only say that the course and the effects of the debate have amply and accurately justified those of us who have urged ever since February the importance of parliamentary action, such as the country has been looking for since the autumn.

The apprehensions as to the effect of a bad division upon foreign countries have proved utterly vain. Instead of the predicted discouragement of the Liberals at home, in parliament and out, we see increased confidence and greater vigour. And to the Ministerialists themselves the debate has been most salutary; the wilder spirits have been partially sobered by the moderate language which was obligatory on their responsible leaders, and their leaders, on the other hand, have had an occasion, which only the popular verdict on the debate could have furnished, of judging the temper and leanings of the nation.

Quite in harmony with this turn and cast of public opinion, has been the almost universal reprobation of the uncouth stiffness and irritation of Lord Derby's dispatch of May 1, on the Russian declaration of war. Its temper and contents are commonly felt to be both unjust and unstatesmanlike. They are felt, too, to be in direct contradiction to our line of action since the autumn. It is not indeed the first contradiction in policy during these disastrous manœuvres of the English foreign office. •

The gist of the Berlin Memorandum, for instance, was that some immediate grievances of a local character should be redressed; that the Porte should be solemnly warned that it must reform itself; and that if after this warning it failed to do so, the Powers should consider efficacious measures to obtain the desired end. If united Europe had so settled it and had pressed some plan of the kind with sufficient firmness before the Pachas had learned to ride the high horse, before passions had been inflamed, and before great armaments had been got ready, we may well believe that a settlement might have been reached. But the Berlin Memorandum having been rejected in the spring of 1876, and so many unhappy events having occurred in the meantime, Europe came round in the spring of 1877 to the last Protocol. Lord Derby signed the Protocol, though he had refused to sign the Berlin Memorandum, yet the Protocol was really own brother to the Berlin Memorandum. It was then too late; the Porte, Oriental as it is, had learned to interpret concession and conciliation as weakness; it had discovered that there could be no immediate union of the Powers for "efficacious measures," and it felt that if it was to fight Russia alone it could do so better now than later. It replied to the Protocol by a defiance, and war necessarily resulted.

Two or three dislocated utterances of Lord Beaconsfield apart, the official tone of the British Government had been throughout the negotiations friendly and conciliatory towards Russia. Over and over again, when suspicions were raised outside, the Government volunteered the assurance that no Power had behaved in a better or more friendly way than Russia. In the Conference Russia gave up all to which we objected, and accepted what we proposed. The concord seemed to be complete. When the Turks had rejected the terms of the Conference, Lord Derby suggested in the House of Lords much easier terms—that a time should be given to them to reform themselves without exacting guarantees, and that then, if they failed, Europe should consider the treatment to be adopted. Again Russia gave way, and these views were embodied in the Protocol which she proposed,

and we in some sense accepted. So far as the official communications published in the blue books go, the justification of Russia in regard to the Protocol and her subsequent conduct is complete. She has only planned the course which she has all along publicly announced that she would follow, and it is after acting with her for six months in apparent acceptance of the views which she had openly avowed that we have now turned and denounced her.

It is hardly necessary to recall the public pledge of the Emperor of Russia in November, that he would obtain justice for the Christians of Turkey in concert with the other Powers if possible, but alone if it must be; nor to the persistent acceptance and use of the Russian declaration, both by Lord Derby and by Lord Salisbury, when, not once but repeatedly, in the name of their own Government and in that of the united Powers, they solemnly and officially warned the Porte of the danger to its existence from an attack by Russia, which must result if the proposals of the Powers were rejected. In proposing and discussing the Protocol, the Russians were again, so far as the official papers show, perfectly explicit and straightforward in their communications. Lord Derby's dispatch of March 13 shows that, in first handing in the draft Protocol, the Russian ambassador declared that "the Emperor was sincerely desirous of peace, but not of peace at any price." "After the sacrifices of Russia and the enormous expenditure incurred, she could not retire without having some tangible result."

Again, Lord Derby's dispatch of March 24 shows that on that date the Russian Ambassador had stated, in writing, the precise terms of the declaration which Russia would make in signing the Protocol; viz., "if the Porte accepts the advice of the Powers, shows itself ready to replace its forces on a Peace footing, and to take in hand seriously the reforms mentioned in the Protocol, and will send a special envoy to St. Petersburg to treat of disarmament, the Emperor of Russia will also on his side consent." Three days later these terms were formally settled after reference to St. Petersburg, and after consideration by the English Cabinet. (See Lord Derby's dispatch 405 of March 27.) Prince Gortchakoff at the same time proposed, without objection, that the Protocol, as soon as signed, should be forwarded to Constantinople by telegraph. And, indeed, the terms of the Protocol of 31st March, rendered its formal communication to the Porte absolutely necessary. The Powers "invite the Porte to replace its armies on a peace footing," and they otherwise solemnly advise and warn that power. In Lord Derby's dispatch of April 4 he states the wish of the Russian Minister, that Her Majesty's representative at Constantinople should "communicate the Protocol to the Porte simultaneously with the representatives of the other Powers." And it was communicated by all the Powers. It is impossible to understand, then, how expressions can be used which seem to suggest that the Protocol was a mere agreement between the Powers themselves; or that Russia improperly presented it to the Porte, when it was never intended that she should do so; or that it should be contended that Russia took us by surprise and made the Protocol ineffectual by her

declaration, when, in fact, she had formally settled that declaration with our Government some time before the signature of the Protocol.

Lord Derby no doubt stipulated that the Porte should not be required to sign the Protocol. All that was required was that Turkey should tacitly accept the advice of Europe, not protesting against it; should show in practice a readiness to commence reforms; and should send an envoy to treat for mutual disarmament. In accordance with that arrangement, Lord Derby did formally warn the Porte—see his dispatch of April 5—that a “protest against the Protocol” would be “a reckless refusal by Turkey of the overtures made by Russia, and will have the effect of putting her in the wrong in the eyes of Europe.” The Porte did protest in the most insolent terms. Yet our Government, after having so recently and formally declared that in this case the wrong would be with Turkey, has turned round and denounced Russia as being in the wrong. What can be more unintelligible? How was it possible for Russia to draw back in the face of the open defiance of the Porte? What seems to be implied by the declarations of the organs of the Government is, that while the ostensible declarations of Russia and arrangements with the Powers were what we have described, there was some secret understanding that it was all a sham to deceive the Russian people, and to give the Emperor a pretext for retreat; that while the Russians said officially that if their terms were not complied with they meant war, yet secretly they led our Government to suppose that they were determined to have peace at any price, and that if the Protocol were only signed they would disarm, whatever might be the conduct of Turkey. If all this was so, it should be a warning against entering into these tortuous and equivocal ways.

Till we have evidence of some secret understanding, not expressed in the blue books, we must judge Russia by the official papers. Whether she really meant and wished for war nobody can pretend to say. Probably different Russians had different views. Probably the Emperor wished for peace. Possibly some of his ministers counted on the obstinacy and the delusions of the Porte to put them in the right, by rejecting the most moderate proposals. But if Russia has done what is right, has throughout the negotiations accepted the advice and arbitrament of Europe, and has so put Turkey in the wrong, we have no sort of right to go behind her acts and say, without evidence, that though in the quarrel she has been in the right, she was probably determined to quarrel whether right or wrong, and therefore we shall consider her in the wrong.

The antagonism to Russia created by the dispatch of May 1 is therefore most deeply to be regretted, most mischievous, most dangerous. That this dispatch is in the highest degree unfriendly and antagonistic is the view of all foreigners. The other Powers took no such step; concerned as they are as much as we, they have let the action of Russia pass in silence. If we thought it necessary formally to wash our hands of the business for the present, we might have done so without this bitter condemnation. The fear is that a breach thus commenced may widen. Speeches in the House of Commons are often judged more by the notoriety of the speakers

than by their contents, and, though it has been little noticed, one of the most telling was that of Mr. Hussey Vivian when he recalled the history of the Crimean war, and showed how our unfriendly comments when the Russians crossed the Pruth gradually ripened into war nine months later.

The profound silence of the Prime Minister is not more re-assuring than the dispatch of his Foreign Secretary. Throughout his career, whenever he was unable to have his own way, Mr. Disraeli knew how to hold his peace, and to await his moment. This time, if his moment comes, and he finally succeeds in committing us to a war against Russia, the probability is that he will ruin the future of his own colleagues. Even if we can suppose that a bare majority of the country might be stirred up and blindly misled into approval of such a war—a supposition that we at least are not yet ready to admit as likely—there would still be a powerful, determined, and very articulate minority, and in the face of the activity of such a minority, the first steps towards the repetition of the mismanagement of the Crimean War—and all experience shows that such mismanagement may be counted on in every English war on the Continent of Europe—would be the instant shipwreck of the ministry. But all this is not hidden from the eyes of the sensible men of the cabinet. Responsibility brings weightiness of judgment. On this account, we may almost be content that the Liberals are out of office, and that the men who would in opposition have been sure to cry loudest against the policy which is now their own, as a surrender of national honour, dignity, safety, and the other shibboleths, are now silenced by the necessities of their own situation.

Let us return for a moment to the relations between the Liberal leaders in parliament and the Liberals in the constituencies. Mr. Gladstone's visit to Birmingham, to which, while we write, the attention of all the political part of the country is directed, is in one respect only the natural outcome of his avowed policy since last September; namely, the policy of urgent, pertinacious, and incessant appeal from the present Parliament, the Ministry, and the opinion of London society, to the nation at large. Mr. Gladstone's visit has, however, a more general aspect than this. It gives his sanction, countenance, and encouragement, to that Confederation of Liberal Associations, which is to be definitely organized on the occasion. Now what is the object and principle of such a Confederation, and why has it appeared desirable to its originators to promote it? In the first place there can be no intention of mechanically imposing a programme upon such constituencies as enter into the scheme. No doubt one effect of discussion among delegates from popularly chosen associations will be gradually to lead to a certain consensus as to the improvements in our legislative structure which it is desirable to press. Men will naturally not take the trouble to combine, to meet together, and to stir the energies of local wards and districts, all for nothing more definite than the return to power of a party without a programme, and leaders without initiative. But the essential aim of the new organization is to secure a certain unity of action among the Liberals of the

country. It is a means, and the only means, of getting at their mind and wishes. It is an elementary attempt to ask the constituencies the question—What improvements in government do you want? We cannot summon English Liberals in a mass out into Salisbury Plain. Representation is the only plan for ascertaining the popular temper, and these representatives, in turn, meeting as they will with those of other towns, and having their ideas widened and their vigour stimulated by the intercourse, will inevitably influence the electors by whom they are chosen. All this will stimulate and brace the constituencies, and it will convince the parliamentary leaders that in the present condition of liberalism, at all events, it is not true that “they also serve who only stand and wait.” The shrewd hostility of the Whigs of the *Saturday Review*, for instance, already shows them that the section of action are the Liberals of the future, and that when the next spell of power comes, it will mean not only a redistribution of electoral power, but first the emancipation of landowners from long settlements and of farmers from vexatious and restrictive covenants, and second, the relegation of ecclesiastical and spiritual functions to those whom they concern.

May 28, 1877.

BOOKS OF THE MONTH.

Supernatural Religion: an Inquiry into the Reality of Divine Revelation.
Vol. 8. Longmans.

Mainly an analysis of the Acts of the Apostles, and of the testimony to the Resurrection.

St. Clement of Rome. By J. B. LIGHTFOOT, D.D. Macmillan.

A supplement to the author's previous edition of Saint Clement, containing the newly-discovered portions of his epistles, and a translation of the whole.

Recollections of the Irish Church. By R. S. BROOKE, D.D. Macmillan.

Extends from 1822 to 1862.

Life and Teaching of Theodore Parker. By PETER DEAN. Williams and Norgate.

A warm and eloquent eulogy.

The Authorship of the De Imitatione Christi; with many Interesting Particulars about the Book. By SAMUEL KETTLEWELL. Rivingtons.

An exhaustive discussion of the vexed question of the authorship of the "De Imitatione," determining the point in favour of Thomas a Kempis.

A Critical Account of the Philosophy of Kant; with an Historical Introduction. By EDWARD CAIRD. Maclehose.

American Addresses. By T. W. HUXLEY. Macmillan.

Reports of the addresses, chiefly on scientific subjects, delivered by Professor Huxley during his recent tour in the United States.

A Comparative Survey of the Laws in Force for the Prohibition, Regulation, and Licensing of Vice in England and other Countries. By SHELDON AMOS. Stevens and Sons.

A collection of everything relating to the subject in a legal point of view, to which is appended a powerful argument against the public countenancing of prostitution as a social necessity.

914 *The City: an Inquiry into* **FOREIGN AFFAIRS.**
Administration of their
GILBERT. Daldy, Isbister, & Co.

An impeachment of the general management of the property of the Corporation and the Companies; especially on the ground of the alleged systematic exclusion of the poor from the precincts of the City.

Turkey in Europe. By JAMES BAKER, Lieutenant-Colonel Auxiliary Forces.
 Cassell, Petter, and Galpin.

Treats, among other subjects, of the Turkish army, navy, and finances, the national means of defence, and foreign instigation to insurrection, especially in Bulgaria.

Sind Revisited. By RICHARD F. BURTON. Bentley.

A comparison of the Sind of to-day with Sind as known to the author twenty years since, with especial reference to political and administrative considerations.

The Literary Remains of Charles Francis Tyrwhitt Drake. Edited, with a memoir, by WALTER BESANT. Bentley.

A collection of papers chiefly relating to the topography of Palestine.

Memoir of James, First Lord Abinger. By the Hon. P. C. SCARLETT.
 Murray.

An unfinished autobiography of the great advocate, with some slight additions, and half a volume of forensic arguments.

Renaissance in Italy. By JOHN ADDINGTON SYMONDS. 2 vols. Smith,
 Elder & Co.

The first of these volumes treats very fully of the revival in literature, the second of the revival in art: they form a continuation of the author's "Age of the Despots," and are to be succeeded by a fourth volume treating of Italian literature in general.

Thomas De Quincey: his Life and Writings. With unpublished correspondence. By H. A. PAGE. 2 vols. John Hogg & Co.

Partly a reproduction of De Quincey's autobiographic sketches; but also containing much unpublished matter of great interest respecting the latter period of his life.

Charlotte Brontë: a Monograph. By M. T. WEMYSS REID. Macmillan.

Founded principally on hitherto unpublished letters addressed by Charlotte Brontë to an intimate female friend; and "meant to be a companion, not a rival, to Mrs. Gaskell's Life."

Garth. By JULIAN HAWTHORNE. 8 vols. Bentley.

L'Art d'être Grand-père. Par VICTOR HUGO. Calmann Lévy; Barthès and Lowell.

Poems on infancy, inspired by the veteran poet's accustomed affection for the young and compassion for the weak.

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Represents the condition of France after the war under a transparent disguise, and with an energy of patriotic feeling that has already carried it through fifteen editions.

Dictionnaire Géographique de l'ancienne Egypte, contenant plus de 2,000 noms géographiques qui se rencontrent sur les monumens égyptiens. Wörterbuch, &c. Par H. BRUGSCH BEY. Hinrichs; Williams and Norgate.

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The portrait of a mediæval ecclesiastic celebrated for his erudition, who combined the characters of a zealous patriot and a zealous churchman.

Feldmarschall Graf Moltke's Briefe aus Russland. Paetel; Williams and Norgate.

Private letters on the occasion of the coronation of the present Tsar, which the author attended in an official capacity.

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A copious but compact encyclopædia of literature ; biographical, æsthetic, and bibliographical.

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A great repertory of accurate financial information, in two parts : the first treating of the principles of taxation ; the second of the public credit, loans, and paper money.

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A general survey of Colbert's administration.

Un Homme d'autrefois. Souvenirs recueillis par son arrière petit-fils le Marquis COSTA DE BEAUREGARD. Barthès and Lowell.

The memoirs of a French emigrant during the Revolution, who took refuge in Piedmont and fought against Bonaparte, with whom he was subsequently employed to negotiate.

Mes Souvenirs, 1806—1833. Par DANIEL STERN. Calmann Lévy ; Barthès and Lowell.

Reminiscences of the authoress's youth, marriage, and the revolution of 1830.

Les Pyrénées et le Midi de la France. Par ADOLPHE THIERS. Charles ; Barthès and Lowell.

Notes of a tour performed in 1822. Highly characteristic of the writer.

Types et Silhouettes. Par LOUIS HYMANS. Lebégue ; Barthès and Lowell.

Sketches of the leading men and reviews of the most pressing questions in modern Belgium.

Voyage à travers les malentendus et la plaisanterie de l'Existence humaine. Par l'Abbé H. DUCLOS. 2 tom. Didier ; Barthès and Lowell.

Discussions in a lively strain on numerous questions of ethics and manners, especially such as illustrate the divergence between modern ideas and the traditions of the Catholic Church.

with grass for some centuries. No fresh seed has been artificially sown within the last fifty years certainly ; nor is there record of any having been sown since the grass was first laid down. The experiments on the Permanent Meadow Land commenced in 1856. During the first nineteen years of the experiments, the first crop only, each year, was mown, made into hay, removed from the land, and weighed. As a rule, the second crops were fed-off by sheep having no other food, the object being not to disturb the condition of the manuring. A given number—according to the amount of produce—was allotted to each plot, penned upon a portion of it, and the area extended, day by day, until the whole was eaten down. Frequently, however, the animals suffered considerably ; and in 1866, 1870, 1873, and 1874, the second crops (and third, if any) were cut, and spread on the respective plots. In the twentieth season, 1875, the second crops being unusually heavy and the weather favourable, they were, for the first time, cut, weighed as hay, and removed. In 1876 they were cut and spread on the plots. In 1877 and 1878 the second crops were again made into hay, weighed, and removed. In 1879, 1882, and 1891, the second crops were cut, sampled, carted, and weighed, green ; the dry matter in the weighed samples was determined, and the produce reckoned into hay by adding one-fourth to the calculated dry matter per acre. In 1880, 1881, 1883, 1886, 1888, 1889, and 1890, the second crops were again made into hay, weighed and removed ; and it is intended in future to adopt this plan whenever the weather will permit. In 1884, 1885, and 1887, owing to the dryness of the seasons after cutting the first crops, there was but little growth ; the second crops were therefore again cut, but were spread on the respective plots.

There are about twenty plots of this grass land, each plot being about half an acre in extent. Two of these plots are permanently unmanured, the rest are treated with farmyard or artificial manures. Though there is no division between each plot of grass, it is easy to distinguish one from the other by the variety in colour of the herbage grown on it.

The mode of taking samples of the experimental grass for botanical investigation is as follows : Eight or ten mowers are put upon an experimental plot, and small quantities of grass are taken immediately after the scythe from each swathe, until nearly the whole of the plot is down. The quantities so taken, amounting to very much more than the required sample, are then carefully mixed on a cloth so as to shake out as little seed as possible, and, from the bulk, a sample of 10 lbs. is immediately weighed, before any material change in the condition of the grass can take place by evaporation. The samples taken are spread out to dry at the ordinary temperature, and afterwards carefully preserved for future operation. Twenty samples which were thus submitted to botanical analysis occupied one specialist about four months, and an assistant and from three to half a dozen boys a period of nearly six months.

Before the date of cutting, three or four weeks were devoted to making observations on the predominance and character of development of the various plants on the different plots; as also just before cutting. Then, after the crop was cut, and before its removal from the ground, further notes were taken; and, lastly, notes on the second crop were taken.

The general result of these investigations is that the largest amounts of produce were obtained where the largest amounts of nitrogen were applied in the manure; provided only that a sufficiency of mineral constituents was at the same time supplied. Further, that much larger crops were obtained by means of artificial manures supplying nitrogen and mineral constituents than by a heavy dressing of farmyard manure, with all its carbonaceous organic matter in addition to its large amount of nitrogen and mineral constituents. And again, a complex mineral manure alone gave about as much total produce as ammonia salts alone, or nitrate of soda alone; but the description of herbage developed was very different in the two cases. As a rule, whatever the description of manure employed, any considerable increase of crop was accompanied by greater simplicity of herbage, and greater predominance of grasses proper; while the unmanured crops, and the light ones grown by manure, were by far the most complex in character, consisting of a comparatively large number of species of plants.

The unmanured herbage contains about fifty different species of plants, while the plots most heavily dressed with nitrogen and mineral manures contain only about fifteen different species; but while in these latter more than 99 per cent. of the hay consists of grasses proper, in the former there is only an average of 65 per cent.

The experiments on the growth of barley year after year on the same land, without manure, and with different descriptions of manure, commenced in 1852, and the forty-second crop in succession on the same land is now growing.

The experiments on the growth of wheat commenced in 1844. The previous cropping had been—1839, turnips with farmyard manure; 1840, barley; 1841, peas; 1842, wheat; 1843, oats; the last four crops unmanured. The fiftieth crop in succession is now growing.

From the commencement of the experiments the mineral manures, the ammonia-salts, and rape-cake, &c., if any, were sown in the autumn, before the seed; excepting when, owing to the preceding wet autumn and winter, both seed and manure were spring sown. Nitrate of soda has, however, always been sown in the spring. But, in consequence of the ascertained great loss of the nitrogen of the manures by drainage, especially in wet winters, it was decided to apply only the mineral manures (and farmyard manure) in the autumn, and the ammonia salts, as well as the nitrate, in the spring.

For the crop of 1884 and since, each ammonia-plot has received 100 lbs. of ammonia-salts in the autumn with the mineral manures, and the balance of their ammonia-salts as a top-dressing in the spring.

The result of these experiments shows that the plot of wheat which has been unmanured for fifty years in succession grows *not only more wheat per acre than the whole of the United States, including its rich prairie land, but also more per acre than the average crop of the whole world!*

Since 1862 Sir John Lawes has published each year an estimate of the yield of the wheat crop of the United Kingdom founded on the yield of selected plots in the Permanent Wheat Field, and he has just published a paper on the home produce, imports, consumption, and price of wheat for forty years; from this we learn that in 1852-3 the value of wheat from home produce amounted to 23,749,918*l.*, and that from wheat imported was 13,413,750*l.* In 1891-92 the value of the home produce was 13,965,684*l.*, and that of the imports 41,839,131*l.* This shows that in the earlier years we imported about one-fourth of the whole of our wheat, and grew nearly three-fourths; whereas in the later years we imported two-thirds, and grew only one-third; consequently the price has gone down, and, where formerly each individual of the population had to pay 37*s.* 6*d.* a year for wheat, the cost per head during the last eight years has only been 24*s.* 8*d.* a year.

On a field adjoining the Permanent Wheat Field experiments are conducted to show the produce of wheat obtained on the Rothamsted soil for many years in succession after bare fallow, compared with that of wheat grown continuously year after year on the same land without the intervention of fallow; in both cases without manure.

The first experiments on the growth of oats were made in 1869, the last in 1878, since which, owing to the wetness and foulness of the land for several years, it was left fallow. The experiments are now discontinued.

Experiments on the growth of leguminous corn crops (beans, peas, and tares) with different descriptions of manure, were commenced in 1847, about nine acres being devoted to the purpose. Experiments with beans were continuous, but during the later years the crop fell off very much, and the land became very foul.

The general result of the experiments with beans has been that mineral constituents used as manure (more particularly potash), increased the produce very much during the early years; and, to a certain extent, afterwards, whenever the season was favourable for the crop. Ammonia-salts, on the other hand, produced very little effect, notwithstanding that a leguminous crop contains two, three, or more times as much nitrogen as a cereal one grown under similar conditions as to soil, &c. Nitrate of soda has, however, produced more marked

effects. But when the same description of leguminous crop is grown too frequently on the same land, it seems to be peculiarly subject to disease, which no conditions of manuring that have hitherto been tried at Rothamsted seem to obviate.

Experiments with peas were soon abandoned, owing to the difficulty of keeping the land free from weeds, and an alternation of beans and wheat was substituted, the beans being manured much as in the experiments with the same crop grown continuously as above described.

In alternating wheat with beans the remarkable result was obtained that nearly as much wheat and nearly as much nitrogen were yielded in eight crops of wheat in alternation with the highly nitrogenous beans, as in sixteen crops of wheat grown consecutively without manure in another field, and also nearly as much as were obtained in a third field in eight crops alternated with bare fallow.

Experiments with tares, like those with peas, were soon abandoned, and for the same reasons. Beans were at first substituted, with some variation in the description of the manures employed; but this experiment has likewise been abandoned for some years.

Experiments on the growth of red clover (*Trifolium pratense*), on ordinary arable land, with many different descriptions of manure, were commenced in 1848-9, and, with the occasional interposition of a corn-crop or fallow, were continued up to 1877 inclusive.

As with other *leguminous* crops, the result was that mineral constituents applied as manure (particularly potash) considerably increased the early crops. Ammonia-salts had little or no beneficial effect, and were sometimes injurious. It may be added that the beneficial effects of long previous applications of potash have been apparent whenever there was any growth at all.

In view of the failures in the attempt to grow clover continuously on ordinary arable land, it is a fact of much interest that in 1854 red clover was sown in a garden, scarcely half a mile distant from the experimental field, on soil which had been under ordinary kitchen-garden cultivation for probably two or three centuries and it has shown very luxuriant growth almost every year since.

The present crop of 1893 is the fortieth in succession on this rich garden soil, but, so far as Sir John's present knowledge goes, the only means of insuring a good crop of red clover on ordinary arable land is to allow some years to elapse before repeating the crop upon the same field.

For several years in succession, experiments were made to determine the amount of water given off by plants during their growth. In this way various plants, including representatives of the gramineous, the leguminous, and other families, have been experimented upon. Similar experiments have also been made with various evergreen and deciduous trees.

Experiments were commenced in 1857, and conducted for several

years in succession, to determine whether plants assimilated free, that is, uncombined nitrogen, and also various collateral points. The conclusion arrived at was that our agricultural plants do not themselves directly assimilate the free nitrogen of the air by their leaves.

Recent experiments at Rothamsted have confirmed those of others in showing that, by adding to a sterilised sandy soil growing leguminous plants, a small quantity of the watery extract of a soil containing the appropriate organisms, a marked development of the so-called leguminous nodules on the roots is induced, and that there is, coincidentally, increased growth and gain of nitrogen. There is no evidence that the leguminous plant itself assimilates free nitrogen; the supposition is rather that the gain is due to the fixation of nitrogen in the growth of the lower organisms in the root-nodules, the nitrogenous compounds, so produced, being taken up and utilised by the leguminous plant. It would seem, therefore, that in the growth of leguminous crops, such as clover, vetches, peas, beans, lucerne, &c., at any rate some of the large amount of nitrogen which they contain, and of the large amount which they frequently leave as nitrogenous residue in the soil for future crops, may be due to atmospheric nitrogen brought into combination by the agency of lower organisms. It has yet to be ascertained, however, under what conditions a greater or less proportion of the total nitrogen of the crop will be derived—on the one hand from nitrogen compounds within the soil, and on the other from such fixation. It might be supposed that the amount due to fixation would be the less in the richer soils, and the greater in soils that are poor in combined nitrogen, and which are open and porous. On the other hand, the most recent results obtained at Rothamsted indicate that, at any rate with some leguminous plants, there may be more nodules produced, and presumably more fixation, with a soil rich in combined nitrogen, than in one poor in that respect. In conclusion, as referred to above, the question remains—how far the failure of clover, and other leguminous crops, may be due to the exhaustion of available combined nitrogen, or mineral constituents, within the range of the roots, and how far to the exhaustion of the organisms necessary for the bringing about of the fixation of free nitrogen?

Experiments with turnips were commenced in 1843. Eight acres, divided into numerous plots, were set apart for the purpose, and the crop was grown for ten consecutive years on the same land: 'Norfolk Whites' 1843—1848, and 'Swedes' 1849—1852; on some plots without manure, and on others with different descriptions of manure.

Barley was then grown for three consecutive seasons, 1853—1855, without manure, in order to test the comparative corn-growing condition of the different plots, and also to equalise their condition, as far as possible, by the exhaustion of some of the most active

and immediately available constituents supplied by the previous manuring.

A new series of experiments with Swedish turnips was arranged in 1856, having regard to the character of the manures previously applied on the different plots, and to the results previously obtained. This second series was continued for fifteen years—namely, from 1856 to 1870 inclusive. During the five years 1871–1875 the land was devoted to experiments with sugar-beet. In 1876, experiments with mangel-wurzel were substituted, and are still in progress.

Experiments were commenced in 1884, and continued for several years, to determine the changes and losses which food crops undergo in the process of ensilaging; and it is found that there is a more or less considerable loss of nitrogen, which is, however, very variable according to the conditions of temperature, and other circumstances. These experiments also show that there can be no doubt that *good* food may be preserved in a favourable state for future use by being properly ensilaged; but the results obtained at Rothamsted do not favour the idea that produce which is itself *not* good food can be made good food by being ensilaged. The United States have a great advantage in being able to grow Indian corn, which is a more suitable crop for ensilage than anything we have in England.

Experiments have been made to determine the comparative value, as food, of red-clover-silage as against red-clover-hay-chaff and swedes, when given (with other foods) to fattening oxen; of red-clover-silage and meadow-grass-silage, as against mangels, when given (with other foods) to milking cows; of silaged green oats, against oats (grain and straw) allowed to ripen, given (with other foods) to fattening oxen; and of meadow-grass-silage, as against corresponding meadow-grass-hay, given (with other foods) to fattening oxen. A mixed crop of beans, peas, tares, and oats was silaged in 1886, 1887, and in 1888, and the changes and losses determined by weight and analysis; but the silage was not fed experimentally. A similar mixed crop was sown in June, 1889; but it failed, and was ploughed up.

Experiments have also been made on potatoes; and on an actual course of rotation, turnips, barley, leguminous crop (or fallow), and wheat. These latter experiments were commenced in 1848. One-third of the land was continuously unmanured. One-third was, for the first nine courses, or thirty-six years, 1848–83, manured with superphosphate of lime alone, once every four years, that is for the turnip crop commencing each course; but for the tenth, eleventh, and twelfth courses, a complex mineral manure (including potash) was applied. Lastly, one-third was manured (also for the turnip crop only) with a complex mineral and nitrogenous manure.

From half of each of the three differently manured plots the turnip crops (roots and leaves) are removed; and on the other half they are either consumed on the land by sheep, or cut, spread, and ploughed

in. In the case of all the other crops, the total produce is removed from the land.

Experiments were commenced in 1857 under the Royal Commission to inquire into the best mode of distributing the sewage of towns, and applying it to beneficial and profitable uses. Experiments were undertaken by order of the Board of Trade to determine the relative value of unmalted and malted barley as food for stock in 1863-4; for which twenty milking cows, twenty fattening oxen, sixty sheep, and 48 pigs were experimented upon. The general conclusion from the results of the direct experiments on these animals was that a given weight of barley is more productive both of the milk of cows, and of the increase of live weight of fattening animals, than the amount of malt and malt-dust that would be produced from it. In the malt tax the farmers of England had a valuable protective duty which almost excluded foreign barley. A tenant farmer had, however, carried out some experiment which led him to declare that malt as a food was much superior to barley. His opinion was unfortunately adopted, and, consequently, the duty was taken off malt. But it is now admitted that the conclusion Sir John deduced from his experiments was the right one; that is, that malt is not so good a food as the barley from which it is made.

Experiments with the animals of the farm were commenced early in 1847, and have been continued at intervals up to the present time.

The general plan of experimenting was as follows:—

To provide data as to the amount of food, or its several constituents consumed in relation to a given live-weight of animal within a given time, and to produce a given amount of increase in live-weight, several hundred animals—oxen, sheep and pigs—have been experimented upon. Selected lots of animals were supplied, for many weeks, or for months consecutively, with weighed quantities of foods, selected and allotted according to the special point under inquiry. The composition of the food was determined by analysis. The weights of the animals were taken at the commencement, at intervals during the progress, and at the conclusion of the experiment.

The amount, and relative development, of the different organs and parts were determined in two calves, two heifers, fourteen bullocks, one lamb, 249 sheep, and 59 pigs.

The percentages of water, mineral matter, fat, and nitrogenous substance, were determined in certain separated parts, and in the entire bodies, of ten animals—namely, one calf, two oxen, one lamb, four sheep, and two pigs. Complete analyses of the ashes, respectively, of the entire carcasses, of the mixed internal and other 'offal' parts, and of the entire bodies, of each of these ten animals have also been made.

From the data provided, as just described, as to the chemical

composition of the different descriptions of animals in different conditions as to age and fatness, the composition of the increase whilst fattening, and the relation of the constituents stored up in increase to those consumed in food, have been estimated; and among other points investigated was, the yield of milk in relation to the food consumed to produce it; and the influence of different descriptions of food on the quantity and on the composition of milk. Two of the chief points of interest with regard to experiments on animals are:—1. As to the source, in the food, of the fat of the fattening animal. 2. As to the chief demand for constituents of food induced by the exercise of force.

About 120 papers have been published by Sir John Lawes and Dr. Gilbert, many of them in various scientific and agricultural journals; and, as before mentioned, there are more than 40,000 bottles in the laboratory, which contain, amongst other things, soils, and the ashes of vegetable and animal products, &c., so that in these bottles there is the soil and crop history of the various experiments from their commencement.

The above is a short sketch of some of the principal experiments which have been carried on uninterruptedly at Rothamsted since 1834; the whole of the expense having been borne by Sir John Lawes, who, some twenty years ago, set aside a sum of 100,000*l.*, in order that they might be continued after his death.

Thousands of people from all parts of the world have visited, and still visit, the farm and laboratory, and in this the jubilee year of the principal experiments H.R.H. the Prince of Wales has graciously headed a list of subscriptions for a suitable memorial to Sir John Bennet Lawes and his colleague Dr. Gilbert. It is interesting to note that the jubilee of the experiments is also the jubilee of Sir John and Lady Lawes' married life, as, only four months ago, they were presented with an address by the villagers of Harpenden on the celebration of their golden wedding.

CAROLINE CREYKE.

THE POLDI-PEZZOLI COLLECTION

AT MILAN

THE conditions attached to the bequest under which the city of Milan acquired, about twelve years ago, one of the most interesting art collections formed by individual taste and energy in modern Italy, may to some extent account for the apparent lack of appreciation from which it suffers. If the pictures, the sculpture, the tapestries, the arinour, the *bric-à-brac* and treasures of ceramic art, stored in the residence of the late Cav. Gian Giacomo Poldi-Pezzoli d'Albertone, were housed in an ordinary museum, they would lose much of their local interest, but it is probable that they would attract a larger number of visitors. Why this should be so it is not easy to explain. The wealthy connoisseur, who during his lifetime has enjoyed the pleasure of adding gradually to his possessions, and has learned to associate them with his home, may be excused for regarding that home as the best and most suitable repository which could be devised for them. But this conviction is not always shared by posterity. The Poldi-Pezzoli collection is in a private house, where the owner lived and died. The great charm of the place is its genuine domestic character. The very furniture is just as it was left by the public benefactor to whom Milan owes so much. But the occasions on which more than a dozen visitors are to be found there at the same time must be extremely rare. Many an enthusiastic tourist who has studied the contents of the Brera and the Ambrosian Library requires to be reminded that in the Via Giardino there is a choice collection of pictures well worth inspection.

About fifty individual masters are represented—the greatest number of them by one work each, though in a few instances there are three or four paintings by the same hand. In a private gallery at Milan it is but natural that the schools of North Italy should predominate; but it also includes examples of Tuscan, Umbrian, and Sienese art, as well as a few works by German and early Flemish painters.

The room known as the *Sala Dorata* contains a small but charming picture by Luini, viz.:—‘The Marriage of St. Catherine’ (16). The Virgin supports the Infant Christ, who sits before her. He places a ring on the hand of St. Catherine. Through an open window in the

background is a peep of landscape with a river and mountains in the distance. The figures are about half life-size. All three heads are beautiful, and that of St. Catherine somewhat recalls a type which at one time found favour with Raphael.

In the *Stanza a Quadri* there is an early work by Luini (85), St. Jerome kneeling before a crucifix, with a landscape background. The aged saint's figure is admirably modelled, and if the flesh tints incline—perhaps unduly—to warmth, they are qualified in tone by soft and transparent shadows. The venerable head, with its snow-white hair and beard, is finely conceived, and most of the landscape has been deftly rendered, though there are traces here and there of restoration.

The third picture by Luini—if it be really by his hand—is a diptych (125). In the right-hand panel our Lord is represented bearing His Cross, with an executioner in the background. In the left-hand panel the Virgin is seen in tears, followed by one of the Holy Women. It is difficult to accept the attribution of this picture. The execution is somewhat pinguid in parts: the flesh tones are deficient in vitality, and the shadows grey and cold. Physical beauty and pathos may indeed be recognised in the features of Christ; but the defacement of the body, back, shoulders, and arms, with cruel bruises, has more affinity with the coarse realism of early Flemish art than with Luini's usually refined treatment, while the forced tenebrosity—especially of the left-hand panel, tends to place the work below the level of excellence which is generally maintained in this collection.

Of Andrea Solario there are four examples. A St. John the Baptist (26), whose chestnut-coloured hair falls, in clusters on his shoulders; and the companion picture (29) representing St. Catherine, who stands before a rocky background. She bears a palm branch in her right hand, while her left rests on a fragment of a wheel, the emblem of her martyrdom. The face is of a pretty but somewhat conventional type, pale in complexion, with downcast eyes.

A far better picture by the same painter is an 'Ecce Homo' (106). Our Lord, whose figure is seen to the waist, is semi-draped in a crimson robe thrown over the left shoulder. His hands are bound with cord, but in the right, which is beautifully modelled, He bears a reed. The features are refined, but sad, even to sternness, in expression, and would be pathetic without the tear which falls upon His cheek, or the dark stream of blood which trickles down from the crown of thorns upon a placid brow, set between long clusters of brown hair. It is hardly possible to overrate the taste and skill with which this admirable work is painted. It is not only one of the gems of the collection, but approaches an excellence rarely reached in the treatment of this sacred subject.

The remaining picture by Solario is a 'Riposo' (130), which well

sustains the reputation of this interesting painter. In the outskirts of a wood, with a charming distant landscape intersected by a river, Madonna sits, supporting the Infant Christ, who stands on the bank by her side, with His arm on His mother's shoulder, while with the other hand He offers fruit to St. Joseph, who kneels on the right. The heads both of the Virgin and the Child appear to have been repainted—that of St. Joseph probably retouched—and the same may be said of other portions of the picture. But, after making allowance for restorations, much of the work remains in its original state and is well worthy of the painter's hand. It is finished in parts with the minute care of Van Eyck, and is as brilliant in chromatic quality as a Bellini, while its fidelity to nature is extraordinary, when we remember the date of its execution, A.D. 1515.

In the *Sala Nera* is a St. Catherine (25) by Borgognone. She wears a crown from which long wavy hair falls on her shoulders, and is represented with a sword in her right hand and a palm branch in her left. The face, which is of an oval type, with a high forehead, wears a gentle but rather dull expression. The half-closed almond-shaped eyes and general conformation of features are characteristic of the painter, but the complexion retains more colour than is usual in his flesh tints. A more attractive example of Borgognone hangs in the *Stanza a Quadri*, a Virgin and Child with youthful angels (121). Here the figures are seen at half length. Madonna stands behind a parapet tenderly supporting with both hands the Infant Jesus. On the parapet lies a half-opened service-book, and on either side of the Virgin is a child angel singing. The carnations, throughout, are of that pallid hue which distinguishes this master's work; but the shadows are soft and transparent in quality, the draperies well managed, and the action of the figures is marked by an unaffected grace.

In the same room is a small panel representing the Annunciation (91) by Bramantino. Madonna kneeling at a marble fald-stool turns round with rather a dramatic gesture from her prayers, as the white-robed angel, bearing a lily in his hand, enters hurriedly on the scene from the left, raising his right arm in salutation. Between these figures hovers the Holy Spirit in the form of a dove. The sense of motion realised in the hastening angel deserves especial notice, but the chief charm in this little work lies in the admirable taste of its chromatic scheme.

Another predella picture by the same painter is a 'Presepio' (92). In the centre of the composition the Virgin kneels before the Infant Christ, who lies on the ground before her, while St. Joseph approaches in an attitude of devotion. On the left is the exterior of a rustic dwelling, with shepherds and peasants playing on musical instruments, while angels sing in a loggia above. The effect of early morning light realised in this little picture is very remarkable considering the period

of its execution. The colours are harmonious and the draperies well studied. Here, as in the preceding work, a deficiency of expression in feature is compensated by the life-like action of the figures represented.

To Marco d'Oggiono is attributed a St. Sebastian (124), who stands bound to the trunk of a tree before a landscape background. This figure is fairly well drawn, but the large round loins and abnormal shortness of the lower limbs tend to detract from that ideal of youthful manly beauty which has been so often realised in the treatment of the subject. Long clusters of auburn hair help to make picturesque a head which is otherwise devoid of interest.

Vincenzo Foppa is nominally represented by two works, viz. (19) the bust-length profile portrait of a hard-featured man, aged about fifty, wearing a red skull-cap and a gown of red brocade, the pattern of which seems to have been re-painted.¹ In the second picture, a Madonna and Child (31), the Virgin stands behind a balcony, bearing the Infant Christ in her arms. In the background, on the right, is a gold brocade curtain. Towards the left is a distant landscape. Although the restorer's brush is too plainly traceable in this picture, the grace of the original design will be readily admitted.

Another example of the Milanese School is the 'Holy Family' (123), ascribed to Andrea Salaino. In an architecturally treated room of small size the Virgin sits, bearing on her lap the Infant Christ. Towards the left St. Joseph leans upon his staff. On the right two youthful angels are kneeling. In the background is an open window through which is seen a landscape with shepherds grouped upon a hillock. Crowded in composition, and somewhat hot in flesh tones, this little picture is nevertheless interesting, if we accept it as the veritable work of a painter who was the pupil and favourite companion of his great master, Leonardo da Vinci.

In Boltraffio's Virgin and Child (109), Madonna, whose figure is seen to the waist, has a high forehead, with fair hair falling in clusters to her shoulders, and downcast eyes. On a balcony before her the Infant Christ, painted from a plump and shapely model, stoops to seize a flower. The Virgin's arm, which extends behind His head towards the right of the picture, is somewhat constrained in action. The features fall short of actual beauty in proportion, but the tender and deftly handled facial shadows invest them with a charm which is eminently characteristic of the master.

The collection includes two unnumbered works by Gaudenzio Ferrari. That which hangs in Room II. is painted on a panel. The Holy Virgin sits holding the Infant Christ to her breast, inclining her head towards Him with a gesture of affection but a somewhat soulless face. On either side stands an angel. All have fair hair and

¹ According to the late Signor Morelli, this is a portrait of Francesco Brivio, by Ambrogio de Predis.

dark eyes. The carnations are unduly warm, and perhaps this fault is accentuated by the sombre background.

A finer picture attributed to the same hand will be found in Room III. Here Madonna holds the Child undraped on her knees. On the left hand stand St. Peter Martyr and another male saint; on the right St. Mary Magdalene and another holy woman. The latter offers fruit to the Infant Jesus. At the feet of the Magdalene crouches a demon. The heads, with the exception of that of the unnamed female saint, are not remarkable for physical beauty but the draperies throughout are excellent, and the colours admirably assorted, though their brilliance in certain parts is such as to suggest the probability of restoration, especially in the Virgin's robe.

The earliest example of Venetian art in the collection is an attractive altar-piece by Alvise Vivarini (147). In the centre of the composition are the Virgin and Child. Above hover two *angioletti*, fantastically draped and bearing a crown over Madonna's head. On the pavement below are two boy angels, one on either side, bearing a violin and mandolin respectively. Behind the Virgin hangs a curtain, above which, and finely relieved against a background of blue sky, is a festoon of fruit, such as one sees in the designs of Crivelli and Mantegna. Still higher is seen a figure representing God the Father with the Holy Spirit. This is a most interesting and apparently well-preserved work. The children are all charming, and admirably modelled, and though Madonna's features suffer from the fact that her hair is entirely concealed by drapery, they are of a beautiful type in form and expression.

Of the two pictures by Carlo Crivelli, one is a small panel representing Christ appearing to St. Francis (20). Our Lord bears His Cross on which are suspended emblems of the Passion. He points to the wound on His side as St. Francis kneels before Him with a chalice. Behind the group hangs a gold-brocaded curtain, beyond which, under an archway, is seen a distant landscape. This is a highly-finished work and more interesting than the one numbered 78, in which St. Sebastian stands bound to a tree-trunk before a landscape background. But neither of the pictures can be regarded as adequately representative of the great painter to whom they are ascribed.

This cannot be said of the fine arch-topped altar-piece by Antonio da Murano (83), wherein we find the Virgin wearing a tall crown richly set with jewels, and sitting on an elaborate Gothic throne. The Infant Christ stands on her left knee, resting His hand on her chest—finely modelled and dignified in pose. Behind the throne are two red-robed angels with dark wings. Madonna's face is full even to plumpness, and instinct with the beauty of youth: the flesh tones inclining to delicacy, and relieved by soft grey shadows. The draperies

are all cast in natural folds and admirably rendered. The picture is in excellent condition, and well worth study.

A little panel painting, apparently enclosed in its original frame and representing the Holy Family (108), is associated in the official catalogue with the name of Domenico Moroni. The principal figures are seen at half length across a balcony on which the Infant Christ lies, adored by the Virgin and St. Joseph. The head of the latter is of a venerable type, and remarkable for its devotional character.

Among the specimens of later Venetian art are two pictures by B. Montagna. In the first (98) St. Jerome, a bald-headed and white-bearded old man, kneels on the edge of a rock, holding a stone in his right hand and a crucifix in his left. In the background rises a rugged cliff, at the foot of which is a building with a staircase leading up into a cavern above. The execution of this work presents a curious combination of fidelity to nature with pure conventionalism. While the draperies are cast in stiff and papery folds, they are painted with minute attention to the ordinary conditions of light and shade. The flesh tones of the Saint are leathery and lifeless, but his features are endowed with an earnest and lifelike expression, which could only have been realised by a master hand. The companion panel (100) is a more uniformly attractive work. It represents St. Paul as an elderly man, with a long and bushy brown beard. The features and extremities, especially the feet, are well modelled: the eyes large and intelligent, the flesh tones warm and relieved by grey shadows. Here, as in the preceding picture, the figure is painted about two-thirds the size of life, and is seen at full length standing on a plateau of conventional rock, with a landscape and buildings in the distance. The style of the draperies is marked by the same characteristics as in 98.

The single work ascribed to A. Bonvicini (Il Moretto)² is a votive picture of important size and horizontal composition (142). In it we find the Donor presented by his patron St. Benedict to the Virgin and Child, who are raised on a marble throne of rich design, in the midst of a large and carefully painted landscape. The chromatic scheme is admirable. Madonna, whose fair hair falls to her shoulders, sits with her feet resting on an Oriental carpet of elaborate pattern. Above hover two *angioletti* bearing a crown, while a third sits on the steps of the throne. On the right stands St. Benedict. On both sides of the throne are trees, with conventional, but carefully-detailed foliage, beyond which we see St. Benedict again, doing penance among the brambles, and St. Jerome, with his usual surroundings. This highly interesting and beautiful work is executed on canvas, and though some portions of the Virgin's robe bear evidence of restoration, is on the whole extremely well preserved.

² Dr. Bode believes this picture to be by Romanino. Signor Morelli ascribed it to Calisto da Lodi.

The bust-length portrait by Andrea Cordeliaghi (108 *bis*) represents a young man with dark bushy hair and dark eyes, wearing a black gown and beretta. His face is clean shaven and remarkable for well-modelled features, sharply defined by high lights and grey shadows, relieved against a blue background. The upper part of the panel bears the following inscription :—

HIC DECOR · HEC · FORMA · MANET HEC · LEX · OMNIBUS · UNA

A more attractive, but unfortunately much restored, picture is the Portrait of a Lady (144), by Palma Vecchio. Her figure is seen to the waist draped in a white linen *camicetta*, which has fallen from her shoulders, half revealing her bosom, and finely relieved by a pale crimson brocaded scarf or mantle, which is thrown over the left shoulder and lightly held by her hand. Her features are delicately modelled—the nose straight and refined in outline, the lips charmingly drawn, the eyes pensive and beautiful. The crisp flaxen hair which falls round her neck enhances the delicacy of flesh tones remarkable for their purity and lifelike rendering.

It is difficult to believe that the dark—nearly black—background which surrounds this delightful portrait was the painter's work, and we may fairly presume that it has been added by a later hand.

The name of Giovanni Bellini appears on a little 'Pietà' (149) in Room III., but it may be noted that the second L of the surname is not larger than the first—a peculiarity which usually distinguishes this painter's signature.³ The emaciated body of our Lord, erect and draped only with a hip-cloth, is seen at half length in an open tomb or sarcophagus. The arms are folded : the eyes closed : and from the crown of thorns on His head, chestnut-coloured hair falls on either side of features wearing a sadly pathetic expression, but suffused with the pallor of death. In the background is a landscape with Mount Calvary in the distance.

Of the three works associated with the name of Carpaccio, the first (93) is a school picture, and represents the Virgin and Child raised on a throne elaborately enriched with inlaid marble and gilding. Madonna supports the Infant Christ on her lap with one hand and offers Him flowers with the other. Below, on the marble floor, are two *angioletti* playing on musical instruments. This is a finely composed altar-piece—retouched perhaps here and there, but without marring the original design, which is dignified and beautiful. The simple, all-unconscious grace in the Virgin's pose and expression, the naïve and unconventional action of the Child, the deftly associated colours and rich decorative character of the painting, combine to make it a most attractive work.

The portrait of a Venetian Senator (127), ascribed to Carpaccio, represents a burly middle-aged man with a sallow complexion and

³ According to one well-known authority, this signature is a forgery.

lack-lustre eyes, dressed in a scarlet gown crossed by a black stole and wearing a black beretta, from which his bushy brown hair falls to the shoulders. The face is clean-shaven and singularly devoid of expression.

A far more attractive work by this master is the 'Samson and Delilah' (146). On a bench covered with a black cloth bordered with stripes, Samson, dressed in Venetian costume of the early sixteenth century, lies at full length with his head on the lap of Delilah. She raises her mantle over the head of a young and handsome Philistine, who is cutting Samson's locks with shears. In the distance is a landscape. Considered apart from the subject, this is a most attractive work. The draperies are well cast and lighted without excess of shadow: the colours subdued, but exquisite in harmony, find an admirable foil in the cool and low-toned landscape background.

There are not many Umbrian pictures in the collection. Beginning with the room known as the *Sala Dorata*, the first on the list is a bust-length Portrait of a Lady (21), by Piero della Francesca, painted in profile on a blue background, and somewhat larger than life. The nose is slightly *retroussé*: the hair strained back from the forehead to a knot at the back of the head, where it is confined by a string of pearls and a narrow blue cord, from which a curious little veil falls over the ear. The hair is most carefully detailed, but there is little or no modelling discernible in the face, from which the carnations have entirely flown—and the eyes would seem to have been retouched. Nevertheless the costume and characteristic handling of the picture make it extremely interesting.

To Luca Signorelli is ascribed the study of a female saint bearing a golden vase (24). She is very tall, and wears an ample robe of plum-brown material. From her head falls a muslin veil, half shrouding her fair hair. The features are pretty, but invested with an affectedly sentimental expression; the hands and feet abnormally slender. In the landscape background are introduced distant figures and a curious structure, surrounded by a scaffold, on which workmen appear to be engaged. This is a noteworthy picture, though whether by Signorelli or not may be questioned. The late Signor Morelli regarded it as the work of a pupil.

The gem of Stanza III. is a little panel painting by Perugino, representing the Virgin and Child with two angels (150). Madonna bears the Infant Christ, undraped, on her knees. Behind the group are two angels; above is a serenely blue sky. For grace, charm of colour, and devotional sentiment, this will compare with any work on a similar scale by the painter's hand. The Virgin's face, though somewhat prim and conventional in expression, is exquisitely refined and thoughtful. The Child is painted from a beautiful model; the draperies are arranged with consummate taste and in excellent harmony of colour. With the exception of the

robes of the angel on the left hand, this delightful little picture appears to have escaped restoration.

The Umbrian group is completed by an interesting work ascribed to a rare master, Giovanni Bocatis da Camerino: the Virgin and Child with angels (115). Raised on a marble canopied throne, Madonna, arrayed in a plum-coloured robe and mantle of blue and gold brocade, wears a shallow jewelled crown from which a white head veil descends to her shoulders. The Infant Christ—a beautiful child both in form and features—stands on a little cushion on her lap, with a muslin kerchief round His loins, but otherwise undraped. Behind the group are seen *angioletti* singing. At the foot of the throne other angels kneel in adoration. Notwithstanding the precise formal modelling of the Virgin's oval face, her abnormally small mouth, and high forehead where the hair is shrouded by the head veil, a sense of beauty and refinement pervades her features. The 'masks' are well modelled, without accentuation of facial shadows; the hands less skilfully portrayed; but minor defects may well be forgiven in so generally attractive a picture.

Among examples of Tuscan art in this collection, Botticelli holds a distinguished place. His Virgin and Child (17) in the *Sala Dorata* is a charming specimen of his work, though evidently restored in parts. Madonna, pale but beautiful in features and expression, sits at an open window with the Infant Christ standing on her knees. A light gauze veil is confined to her head by a blue kerchief, and her *nimbus* is of that semi-transparent type which we so constantly see repeated in this painter's designs. The Child looks up towards His mother, pointing to an open service-book which lies upon a *prie-dieu*, where her hand rests. The Infant Christ's arm is enriched by a little gold chaplet of thorns, and He holds in His tiny hand similar emblems of the Passion. The whole picture is imbued with deep religious sentiment and unaffected grace.

A second work by Botticelli, 'The Deposition from the Cross' (35), hangs in the *Stanza da letto*. The Virgin Mary, bearing on her knees the dead body of Christ, sinks swooning in the arms of St. John. Our Lord's head is supported by one of the Holy Women on the right hand, while another, on the left of the composition, buries her head in her mantle in an agony of grief. Behind, an aged man (Joseph of Arimathea?) raises the crown of thorns and nails of the Cross with an expression in which sorrow and anger seem to commingle. In the background is the entrance to the Holy Sepulchre. Their features and hands are modelled with care and precision, especially those of the Virgin, but the flesh tones are artificial, and the draperies are cast in large and somewhat graceless folds. The head of Mary Magdalene, who crouches on the ground, embracing the feet of her Master, is the most physically beautiful in the group.

To Pollaiuolo is attributed a *predella* picture representing the

'Martyrdom of St. Sebastian' (97). In the centre of the composition the saint appears bound; on the right and left hand are archers taking aim at him, while two more appear in the middle distance of a landscape background. All five faces are singularly ugly, but the action of the archers is spirited and lifelike. The sense of colour in this little work is also very notable, and the painting, though sketchy, is dexterous in execution.

The single work coupled with the name of Filippo Lippi is a school picture, viz. the 'Virgin and Child attended by an Angel' (64). Before a landscape background Madonna sits, with downcast eyes, supporting the Infant Christ undraped and standing on her knee; by her side stands a beautiful child angel bearing a glass vase of flowers. The latter are deftly painted and find an excellent foil in the white robes of the angel. The Virgin's features are characterised by refinement rather than by any physical charm; but the brilliant quality of the carnations, relieved by transparent shadows, and the tasteful arrangement of draperies make this a most attractive picture. It would be unsafe to ascribe it to Lippi, for many reasons on which it is hardly necessary to enter; yet one cannot help regretting that so interesting an example of Tuscan art should remain unnamed.

It is unfortunate that restoration should be so apparent in the only work ascribed to Mantegna—'The Blessed Virgin caressing her Infant Son' (122)—for the present state of the picture does but scant justice to the painter's name. Madonna, who is represented sitting, bends tenderly over the sleeping Child, whom she supports with outspread hands clasping his chest and shoulder. This action is no doubt true to nature, but hardly graceful in a pictorial sense. The Virgin's face has been much repainted.

Lorenzo Costa's 'Portrait of a Female Saint' (111) is of bust-length and nearly life-size. It is painted in tempera and apparently on linen. The face, though not faultless in drawing, is of a refined type, with delicate features and soft brown eyes. The light chestnut-coloured hair, confined to the head by a fillet of seed pearls, falls to the shoulders, where a square-cut bodice leaves the throat and part of the chest open.

A large altar-piece by Ippolito, the son of Lorenzo Costa, represents the 'Virgin and Child with three Saints' (50) on a life-size scale. In the centre of the composition the Virgin sits enthroned, with the Infant Christ on her lap. On the right hand, at the foot of the throne, stands a bishop bearing a mitre, and on the left are two other saints, one of whom (St. Laurence) is kneeling. Above the throne is a green canopy, with a peep of landscape on either side. The head of St. Laurence—by far the best in the group—is of a classical type and very beautiful. The Virgin's features are refined, but deficient in expression, and the action of the child is somewhat constrained. Luminous flesh tones, clever modelling, and dexterously managed

draperies are among the chief merits of this work. Yet they fail to make it attractive, and its tone of colour is unfortunately cold.

Bolognese art is represented by two works. The first, ascribed to Francia, is a small panel (114), in which 'St. Anthony of Padua' appears as a young man, with a landscape background. Though somewhat cold and grey in colour, and by no means a typical example of the painter, this little picture is not devoid of interest.

The name of Cesaro Tamaroccio—a pupil of Francia—who painted two of the frescoes in the Oratory of St. Cecilia at Bologna, is not very familiar to English connoisseurs. His 'Virgin and Child with the infant St. John' (136) in this collection is somewhat Raffaelesque in feeling, but it is hung in a dark corner, where it is difficult to judge of its technical merits. Madonna sits supporting on her lap, with both hands, the Infant Christ, whose otherwise rude form is partially draped by a puce-coloured veil, which falls from the Virgin's head. In the right-hand corner is the child St. John in adoration. The flesh tones in this work are naturalistic, the shadows slight and transparent in quality, and the smile which lights up the Virgin's features would lend them vitality if they had been better modelled.

Under the general head of the Venetian School should have been included two pictures by the Brescian painter Vincenzo Verchio (or Civerchio), who lived early in the sixteenth century. They are numbered respectively 137 and 141—small circular panels, formerly perhaps portions of a predella, and each representing two 'Doctors of the Church.' In the first the figures are seen to the waist. One, an aged man with a long grey beard, appears in a cardinal's hat and robe. He sits, pen in hand, before a table, on which an open missal, an inkpot, a manuscript, and two closed volumes are lying. The other Doctor wears a mitre and episcopal vestments over a white robe. He, too, has his books and inkpot before him, as though engaged in literary work. The faces in each instance are evidently portraits, and marked by great individuality of expression. The colours are remarkably well preserved.

In the companion panel one of the writers is a pope wearing his tiara and a richly embroidered chasuble over a white surplice. He is writing somewhat awkwardly—in gloves—upon an open book which lies before him. His companion wears a white mitre enriched with jewels and a brocaded cope. He is also occupied in transcribing, and pauses for a moment to raise the pen to his eyes, as if examining its point—a homely touch of nature which in a work of this class is noteworthy and almost humorous.

In Sala III. hangs a little triptych (139) of great interest, not only on account of its intrinsic merit, but also because of the doubt which exists as to its probable authorship. The compilers of the official catalogue give us the choice of two names—Bartolommeo di S. Marco, or Albertinelli—and considering how closely these painters

were united by friendship, affinity of style, and even partnership in their productions, the doubt will not seem unreasonable.⁴ In the central panel the Virgin is represented suckling the Infant Christ, who sits on her knees. On the left shutter St. Catherine kneels in a porch with her hands crossed on her breast. On the right shutter St. Barbara kneels over the body of a man, who looks up at her. Here, as in the opposite wing, a little landscape forms the background. It may be noted that the figures depicted on the side wings or shutters of this triptych are far better executed than the central panel, which has evidently suffered from restoration. Both the adoring Saints are charming in pose and feature, and though painted in different keys of colour, the draperies in each case are admirably harmonised. This lovely little work is well worth examination.

The name of Giulio Campi, a Cremonese painter of the sixteenth century, appears on a curious allegorical picture (48) hung in the *Sala Nera*. It represents a cavalier and a lady on a balcony; the former dressed in a black slashed doublet, with dark blue sleeves laced with gold, and a yellow brown cap of peculiar shape. His companion is clad in a sort of *négligé* robe of rose colour. Her arms are bare, and she raises her left hand with a gesture of surprise at a human skull which lies on the balcony. In front of her is an open music book (whereon, by the way, appear the name of the painter and the date of the work). These figures, which are less than life-size, are seen to the waist only. The background is of an architectural character, with the distant view of a sea or lake crossed by sailing vessels, and castles on the shore. Below the balcony on the right hand is an *amorino*. The subject of this picture is mysterious. In point of workmanship the faces are inferior to the dresses and accessories, which are painted with great care.

In addition to the picture by Lorenzo Costa already mentioned, the Ferrarese School is represented by three works ascribed to Cosimo Tura. The first of these is the bust-length Portrait of a Man (77), painted in profile and rather less than life-size. He wears a scarlet gown and plum-coloured cap, or rather head veil like that which we associate with portraits of Dante. His aged features, which include an aquiline nose, a small almost *lipless* mouth, and a keen penetrating eye, are most skilfully modelled and lighted. They are those of a well-bred man, and marked also by great character and expression.

In Room No. II. hangs the same painter's allegorical picture of Charity (94), personified by a fair-haired woman seated on a throne, on the back of which is thrown some olive-green drapery. She wears a handsome dress of stone-coloured grey, richly brocaded with crimson in a pineapple diaper, and a blue mantle which falls over her knees. Immediately in front of her dance three naked children

⁴ Morelli ascribes it unhesitatingly to Albertinelli.

Their action is distinguished by great spirit, and their forms are well drawn, though rather coarsely painted. In the background is a blue sky crossed by bars of white cloud. On the base of the throne is this inscription :

EX DEO EST CHARITAS ET IPSA DEUS EST.

Although Italian pictures form the chief attraction of this Gallery, it includes a few early Flemish and German works of no mean excellence. Among these, the most important is an altarpiece in the *Sala Nera* (23). It is divided into five compartments. The central panel is occupied by a picture of the Annunciation. In the side compartments on the right hand are painted St. Gregory and Anthony the Abbot, St. Anthony of Padua, and St. John the Baptist. In those on the left appear the two St. Catherines, St. Francis of Assisi, and St. Jerome. It will be observed that the design of this interesting work is far better than its execution, and some allowance must be made for the restorer's brush. But the character of the details and the delicate handling of the landscape background—to say nothing of the unrepaired cracks, or rather open joints (of which there are two extending down the whole length of the picture)—are presumptive evidence of genuineness. The draperies are quite in accordance with the taste of early Flemish art, brilliant in colour, crisp and somewhat 'papery' in fold, but carefully studied. The faces are not remarkable for physical beauty, but realise strong individuality of expression.

This necessarily condensed description of the principal pictures in the Poldi-Pezzoli collection has been based on notes made during a recent visit to Milan. Perhaps even a brief record of its attractions may induce other English travellers to devote a spare morning to the examination of an interesting, but rarely frequented, Gallery.

CHARLES L. EASTLAKE.

POST OFFICE

'PLUNDERING AND BLUNDERING'

Six years ago I published in the *Times* a list of sixty postal reforms and grievances, and since that period no less than thirty-seven of these have been carried out or remedied.

It may be worth while to continue this process of purging the postal administration of its failings; and I therefore propose to make public a series of arbitrary decisions by the postal authorities, expounding and enforcing the regulations in the *Post Office Guide*. These regulations, tolerably severe in the original text, are made infinitely more oppressive by the official interpretation of them. In the hands of the Secretary to the Post Office and his staff they are as elastic and full of traps as were the statutes against Dissenters in the hands of Lord Jeffreys and his bench of Justices. Perhaps the most distinguishing characteristic of the decisions alluded to is their consistent meanness towards the public, which is even more striking than the ingenuity displayed in whittling down every postal privilege to an irreducible minimum, and hampering every branch of the service with provisoes, vetoes, warnings, and conditions that may trip up the unwary purchaser of a stamp.

If a man would travel by railway he buys a ticket, takes his seat, and is smoothly whirled away to his destination; but if he would have a letter, newspaper, or parcel transmitted it must be weighed, classified, inscribed with certain particulars, tied up, or left unfastened in a special fashion, and so forth, in accordance with some thirty or forty pages of rules (in small print), not one word of which can be ignored without imminent risk of fine and confiscation. The web of petty ordinances spun by the official spiders at St. Martin's-le-Grand is marvellous for tenuity and symmetry, but it is ill calculated to withstand the broom of reform. We are above all things a business people: we pay handsomely for our post office; we look to have the service made as cheap, efficient, and accessible as possible. Hence it continually happens that some indignant Briton, smarting under the scourge of one or other of the innumerable 'regulations,' remonstrates with the local postmaster, who, blandly inflexible, makes the unhappy complainant feel that he is regarded very much as a refrac-

tory tramp in a casual ward. As a rule the sufferer's wrath finds harmless vent in a naughty word or two; but sometimes he is weak enough not to know when he is beaten, and he 'writes to the Secretary.' Such a rash man is then tantalised with dilatory official circulars until he insists on a categorical reply. Upon this his attention is called to one of the regulations, which is quoted for his information, and the local postmaster is pronounced to have done no more than his duty.

In a recent article Sir Arthur Blackwood wrote that 'the British public, seen through Post Office spectacles, is a mean public;' and, after loftily referring to the fact that he and his colleagues are 'officers of the Crown,' he mentions, incidentally, that 'the Secretary receives a lot of complaints,' reprimands the complainants for being dissatisfied with 'the usual stereotyped answer that it shall receive consideration,' but finally, in a burst of candour, observes, 'I do not say that we are by any means immaculate, or incapable of improvement.'

At first sight it may appear strange that the public, after paying the department so lavishly that the latter nets an annual profit of between 3,000,000*l.* and 4,000,000*l.*, should be accused of shabbiness. The explanation lies in the fact that the officials and the public look upon the service from opposite points of view. The unsophisticated taxpayer, as already pointed out, regards it as an organisation which he pays to perform certain work for him. The Secretary appears to think that the Post Office still exists by virtue of the royal prerogative, and poses rather as a benevolent despot than a dutiful retainer.

It is easy to understand the feelings of such a magnate when 'a lot of complaints' come pouring daily into his office from aggrieved outsiders, who pooh-pooh the prerogative, and, not content with such privileges as are graciously conceded to them in the *Post Office Guide*, actually have the audacity to 'ask for more.' Such conduct he can only stigmatise collectively as 'meanness,' and his customary replies to such *canaille* are worthy of the Grand Monarque in his palmiest days.

A large number of these snubbed and baffled petitioners have in the last resort brought their grievances to my notice, in the hope, perhaps, that the machinery of Parliament might be made available. It will probably be sufficient, however, to direct public attention to a few of these complaints, with a view of discovering on which side the 'meanness' lies. I propose to select a few representative cases from letters which I have received during the last month or two.

Let us first take the refusal of the postal authorities to transmit duplicates or imitations of type-writing at the book-post rate. As is well known, it is possible to print off in a few hours, by lithography, or the mimeograph, a large number of copies of any type-written

document. The Post Office refuses to carry these copies at the half-penny rate, on the ground that it cannot distinguish them from original type-written letters. I have laid before the department a plan for protecting the revenue against any such fraud, but of course in vain. My correspondent writes—

The Edison Mimeograph Company, London, E.C.

By the regulations of the Post Office, handwriting on the mimeograph will go by book rate, but the imitation of the type-writing the authorities refuse to pass.

I think that the time has now arrived, seeing that the type-writer is getting so much used, when the authorities could well undertake to distinguish between matter written on a type-writer and matter duplicated by either the printing press or the mimeograph.

Any intelligent lad can distinguish one from the other. If an absolute safeguard be required, the Post Office authorities have only to require that the copies shall be fastened together, to facilitate comparison.

Again, I have long urged the department to permit the transmission through the post of any card whatever of the regulation size, bearing an adhesive halfpenny stamp. By adopting this plan the Post Office would save many thousands a year, since they would be free from the necessity of providing the material of post cards, the manufacture of which costs 283*l.* per million. The halfpenny stamps only cost 16*l.* a million.

I may next give a typical instance of what I may call (borrowing from Sir A. Blackwood's vocabulary) 'Post Office meanness.' Our postal authorities, not content with an annual profit exceeding 3,000,000*l.*, have contrived to turn an honest penny by clipping the post cards which they supply for transmission to foreign countries. To clip a post card—the poor man's only vehicle of communication with his friends in the colonies—is to my mind hardly less hateful than to clip the coin of the realm. The British post card is sold to us (or was until lately, I am told) composed of 22½ per cent. of clay; and it is at once the smallest and dearest sold in the Postal Union.

The late Postmaster-General wrote to me that the department had received no complaints on this subject, and that the large cards cost more for carriage. I replied—

House of Commons.

Dear Sir James Fergusson,— . . . The impression is generally prevalent that any complaint to the secretarial department at St. Martin's-le-Grand will merely produce one or more of those courteously-worded but inflexible printed circulars with which we are all so familiar. To obtain redress or reform public opinion must be brought into play. . . .

Even if the weight of the old and favourite card were to affect the payments for carriage to any notable extent, they might surely have been brought down preferably by employing a lighter material, or, better still, by inducing foreign governments to revise their scale of transit charges. In the case of a post card

the writing space is so limited that any diminution of it largely impairs the usefulness of the card.

J. HENNIKER HEATON.

If the public hits upon any device for accelerating the delivery of correspondence, not bearing the official *imprimatur*, it is promptly tabooed. Thus a gentleman writes to me from the Carlton Club—

Formerly I used regularly to send a stamped letter to the railway station and a penny with it, which was handed to the guard, and the guard took it straight on to his destination. Now a regulation has been issued against this, and I have to pay twopence to the railway authorities, besides the penny on the stamped letter.

In France and Germany in all through trains there is a railway letter box. Why cannot we have such a convenience attached to all our trains in this country?

I would go further and ask, why should we not have a letter box on every tram-car and omnibus, to be cleared at the terminus?

Another complaint needs no elaboration. It appears that the Post Office authorities regard the fragment of an old handbill, used for a newspaper wrapper, as 'a communication in the nature of a letter.' Hitherto people have used such scraps for the sake of economy. The department discourages such thrifty notions, and requires a new, special wrapping sheet in all cases.

Next we meet with a piece of brilliantly red tape. An official letter announces that a person may not drop an important letter into the bag of a postman who has just emptied a pillar box. He must march to the next pillar box, a yard in front of the postman, and drop in his letter just before the latter comes up. The actual facts of this case were that a gentleman asked a country postman returning from his round to take a letter for him to the post office, as there was no messenger available. Of course, in view of the regulation, the postman declined to run any risk. I cannot see why a postman should not allow his bag to be used, on emergency, as a collecting receptacle for letters.

Another subject of frequent complaint appears to be the levying of excessive 'portage' charges for telegrams, when the addressee lives outside a certain radius. In some country districts, peopled by farmers, this charge amounts to a denial of the privilege of telegraphic communication with markets, and the outer world generally. It has been proved to me that a boy will often earn for the Government perhaps 10s. for 'portage' in a morning, while his weekly wage only amounts to 5s.

A correspondent has recently recalled my attention to the rapacious charge (against which I have so often protested) of 2d. instead of 1d. on the receipt for a telegraphic message, the cost of transmission of the message itself being only sixpence, while a penny stamp is sufficient on a receipt for 100l.

The Post Office will not use its despotic power to soften and refine the manners of the people, and anything in the nature of

politeness introduced into a paper sent by book post is pounced upon as a pretext for a fine. Such a document must contain only the skeletons of sentences; it must demand a debt with brutal frankness, and convey descriptions of quality and indications of route with military brevity and mathematical precision. The subjoined is a case in point:—

Deptford, London, S.E.

Dear Sir,—Some few years ago we had *printed* at the foot of our invoice forms the words, 'The above sent to your esteemed order per . . .' The Post Office authorities objected to our invoice being sent at *circular* rate, on the ground that the above *printed* words were regarded as of the nature of a *letter*. We could put simply 'sent per . . .' (which we now do), and it would be allowed to go at circular rate.

Too often when Parliament encourages the department to adopt a real reform, much of the expected benefit to the public is intercepted by some pedantic requirement or unconscionable extortion. Thus, when the privilege of the telegraphic remittance of money was tardily conceded, it was made to bristle with charges and commissions. A gentleman writes—

Smethwick Hall, Staffordshire.

Dear Mr. Heaton,—I had occasion to make a remittance of 3*l.* the other day, and paid a commission of 8*d.* and a telegraph charge of 6*d.* (1*s.* 2*d.* in all). I found, after three days' trouble, however, that the expense of the remittance was further increased by a separate and distinct telegram having to be sent to the payee, advising that the amount is lying to be claimed at the post office. This brings the cost of the remittance of 3*l.* up to 1*s.* 8*d.*, which seems extortionate.

When the great towns are sucking the population from our rural districts, and we are paying 30,000,000*l.* a year to the foreigner for dairy and garden produce which British cultivators might supply, it would seem good policy to furnish exceptionally cheap postal facilities to our own countrymen. I have proposed an 'Agricultural Parcels Post' rate of 1*d.* a pound, but the postal officials exhaust themselves in finding objections to it. A gentleman (farming 4,000 acres) has written to me, 'I believe that, if properly worked, an Agricultural Parcels Post would do more than anything to make small holdings profitable.' And others point out that when the present rates have been met the price secured for the articles posted does not cover the cost of production. A collection of these letters will be found in the *Mark Lane Express* for the 18th of May, 1891.

The subjoined communication irresistibly recalls the story of the conscientious Scottish innkeeper who would only supply small glasses of punch on Sundays, sternly replying to all remonstrances, 'We dinna sairve lairge glasses on the Sawbath:—'

6 Wedderburn Road, Hampstead, N.

Dear Sir,—The post office is open all Sunday for the sale of stamps, &c. I asked there this morning (Sunday) for a packet of *reply post cards*, and was told that ordinary post cards were sold there on Sundays, but not reply post cards.

It is impossible to contemplate with patience the effects of the

regulations respecting the registration of newspapers. In order that a publication may be 'registered,' and thus become transmissible by post at the cheap halfpenny rate, two Seventeenth-century conditions must, amongst others, be complied with.

1. 'The publication must consist wholly or in great part of political or other news, or of articles relating thereto, or to other current topics, with or without advertisements.

2. 'It must be printed and published in the United Kingdom, and in numbers at intervals of not more than seven days.'

Both of these absurd rules, based upon a legislative enactment, would long ago have been abolished, with the newspaper stamp duty, the tax on paper, and other hateful imposts, if the departmental chiefs had only taken a firm stand with the Treasury.

The effect of them is not only to confer valuable bounties on the proprietors of daily newspapers—no man objects to that—but to place a formidable obstacle in the path of those who disseminate useful and entertaining information in larger proportion than accounts of current events. A paper consisting wholly of market prices is in effect subsidised, while a religious, scientific, or educational periodical is fined at each appearance. Many proprietors of periodicals actually pad their columns with bald discussions of 'current topics,' so as to become qualified for registration. Thus the editor of the *British and Colonial Druggist* says—

You may, perhaps, be amused to hear that when special issues of this journal take place we are obliged to increase the weight of each copy by about two ounces, in order that it may go at the newspaper rate.

Again, Messrs. Oscar Sutton and Co., of Preston, say—

It is necessary to take out the tiny tissue paper pattern that is given as a supplement once a month with the *Queen* to prevent surcharge. It is stated on the front page of the *Queen*: 'Postage without pattern, one halfpenny; with pattern, 4½d. or 5d.'

Sir Arthur Blackwood, in the article referred to, is particularly severe towards those members of the public who object to some of the established charges for telegraphic transmission. The following communication from a person well acquainted with the subject will, I fear, once more stir up his wrath:—

If a member of the public addresses a telegram to, say, Harrison, Coleman Street, London, E.C., the name will be traced in the directory and the message delivered. If it were addressed Harrison, 3 Coleman Street, E.C., and Harrison's were at 2, it would be charged 6d. for 'amended address,' though well known.

It has been pointed out how jealously the officials watch for anything resembling 'a communication in the nature of a letter' on the cover of a newspaper. In one case brought to my knowledge the matter of fact details, 'Published every Saturday. One penny. Offices: 2 Bridge Street. Works: Bankside, Darwen,' were printed on the

cover; and for bearing this announcement, intended for the eyes of all mankind, each newspaper was pronounced liable to full letter postage. Surely absurdity could hardly be carried farther. When a man pays letter rate, he pays for the privacy of his communication; there is no other consideration for the extra charge. In this case there was no attempt at concealment, and the matter printed was an essential part of the contents. The fine cannot be regarded as a punishment intended to keep the address on the cover free from other matter; for it is distinctly divided from the space reserved for the address by two ruled lines; and, moreover, the sender of a newspaper is already permitted to write or print on the cover 'a reference to any page of, or place in, the newspaper.' It seems unreasonable that one may write on the cover, 'See round seventeen of "Great Fight," top of p. 4,' or, 'See Gladstone's peroration, bottom of p. 5,' and not, 'Published every Saturday. One penny.'

Again, the 'name and address of the sender' may, according to the *Post Office Guide*, be inscribed on the cover. In this case the publisher was the sender, yet he is not allowed to add his address. Into this trap many an unlucky publisher must have fallen.

Only yesterday (March 15) I received the following—

31 Parliament Hill Road, N.W.

Sir,—I recently received a copy of the *Scottish Leader* newspaper for which I was charged letter rated 3*d.* because the halfpenny stamp was affixed partly to the wrapper and partly to the newspaper. The Post Office authorities maintained that this closed the newspaper against inspection. This does seem a very vexatious regulation, and I pray you to urge its abolition.

Another draconic ordinance is the one providing that double the deficiency shall be exacted from the receiver of an insufficiently paid letter. Being unable to punish the real offender, the sender, the postal officials visit his negligence on the innocent receiver. So the Arab in the story, having been beaten by his master, revenged himself by kicking a stray dog, which, being afraid to retaliate, bit a passing child. There can be no justification for levying more than the actual deficiency, as is done in Canada and other colonies.

Let a victim be heard.

I can't be expected to spend an additional 1*d.* on a foreign post card to demand this overcharge of 5*d.* from the party who has let me in for it, particularly as she is my wife's aunt, who sends me the formal announcement of her daughter's approaching marriage with a young captain.

I should, perhaps, willingly pay the post office 2½*d.* for this interesting news, but why 5*d.*?

We now approach the subject of the Express Letter Service, which was forced upon the postal authorities by public opinion, and which they undertook with about as much grace and cheerfulness as a bucking horse displays while being saddled and mounted. Not only are the portorage charges, as in the case of telegrams, far too

high in comparison with the wages paid to the messengers, but the service is hampered with the necessity of filling up a complicated form, writing certain words on a particular part of the cover, and, above all, attending at some post office to hand the message over the counter. This last provision is puerile and vexatious. Why cannot an express letter be stamped with a special crimson stamp, or a stamped crimson envelope used, and posted in the nearest pillar box overnight, so as to be delivered the first thing in the morning, as in every country wherein common sense governs the postal administration? I append a pregnant note from a correspondent:—

England. I sent express letter, addressed to City. Found nearest post office did not forward express letters. Had, of course, to take it to one that did, which was some considerable distance away. Had to pay 1s. postage.

Belgium. Express letter would only require to be posted in the first bus passing. Postage, 3d.

Among the regulations which seem to have been ingeniously devised for the sole purpose of worrying trade is that fixing the minimum of the pattern or sample post at 1d. A book packet weighing two ounces may be sent for $\frac{1}{2}$ d., but a sample weighing two ounces costs 1d. An enterprising manufacturer, who desires to scatter broadcast small shreds of linen as patterns, has thus to face an expenditure for postage of nearly four guineas per thousand shreds. He naturally shrinks from submitting to such extortion, and refrains from pushing his trade.

It is to be regretted that the postal authorities have fixed so high a charge as twopence for the registration of a letter. Out of the total of 1,767 $\frac{1}{2}$ millions of letters posted last year only 12,000,000, or 1 in 417, were registered. With a penny fee this number would be at least trebled, and the heavy loss in stolen postal orders, to say nothing of the temptation to the employees, would be done away with.

If there be one direction in which, by general consent, the authorities have neglected their duty, it is in the postal service of rural and especially outlying districts. From all directions complaints pour in of the neglect with which country residents are treated. Letters take a day to reach them from London, while London letters reach Paris or Brussels in eight hours. There are but one delivery and one collection a day—always at the most inconvenient hours. Thus I know of one case in which the outgoing post starts twenty minutes before the incoming one has arrived, so that nobody writing to that village can expect a reply until the next day, or third day. It is unwise to add to the disadvantages of provincial life. We all lament the crowding of country folk into the congested centres of population; and here is the Post Office doing its best to drive the remaining population of our hamlets and farm-houses into the towns.

There is, moreover, a growing tendency in the postal administration to neglect the less remunerative branches of the service. It seems to be an established rule, for instance, that remote and sparsely peopled localities should not be supplied with a telegraph office unless the householders will guarantee the department a certain sum per annum, and the consequence is that nobody who wishes to keep in touch with the markets or to feel the pulse of trade will reside in such districts. Such a policy intensifies the discomforts incidental to residence in out-of-the-way places, keeps away capital, and drives the labouring population into the towns in search of work. Here are a few words from a country rector about this matter:—

Avering Rectory, Stroud, Gloucestershire.

We have a population of 894, mostly within a mile of our village office, and yet we have to send a distance of three miles for a telegram message, a savings bank, or a money order, while our own post office, close at hand, could afford us all these needed facilities.

The Secretary of the General Post Office requires a guarantee of 28*l.* before he will grant us a telegraph office.

One of the most obstinately persistent postal perversities is the dead set made at all kinds of 'halfpenny business,' as it is elegantly called. This is probably connected with the Secretary's mistaken belief that there is a loss on all such business. Not content with refusing to Englishmen the privilege enjoyed by foreigners of sending any card of the proper size through the post with a halfpenny stamp on it, the authorities have drawn up a bewildering list of forty-six different charges for post cards, the smallest being three farthings for a single card. The term 'halfpenny post card' is, in fact, a misnomer in this country; our Post Office knows of a three-farthing post card (the smallest and dearest in the world), but nothing so vulgar as a halfpenny can be tolerated. History repeats itself. When postage stamps were introduced, the haughty clerks of the department formally remonstrated against the indignity of being required to sell these tiny adhesive labels, at a penny each, across a counter, like any common grocer or draper. One would have expected this wealthy administration, whose thousands of croupiers are raking in gold for it by millions, would disdain to wring an extra farthing from a poor man or woman applying for a post card. But, as we all know, a commercial corporation has neither a nose to be pulled nor a conscience to be pricked.

The following letter calls attention to another example of the mischievous effects of Post Office blundering. It will be seen that, owing to the excessive charges made for the conveyance of parcels over small distances, trade is diverted from small country towns to the metropolis, and the postal revenue is, on the whole, a loser. My correspondent's pathetic picture of the half-ruined tradesman seeking half-bricks, not to throw at his persecutors, but in order to make his

parcels more ponderous, and so defeat the regulations, ought to touch the hearts of the tyrants at St. Martin's-le-Grand. Here is his letter:—

I am a tradesman in a country town which is the centre of a large agricultural district. Our customers in agricultural districts are widely scattered—say six, seven, or more miles in each direction.

Supposing a customer of mine wants a particular article which can be got either from a local tradesman or from London; a 7-lb. parcel would cost a shilling in coming from London. In this case the railway company would get 55 per cent. of the shilling, the remainder going to the Post Office. If the customer sent to the local tradesman—say, six miles—it would cost a shilling, just the same amount as from London, but the Post Office would get the whole shilling. This is, however, not the only difficulty, for the customer would receive the parcel from London as soon as he would from the local tradesman.

A postman said that if I would make it (my parcel) over 11 lbs. weight with a brick or stone he would take it for threepence. Lately, however, an inspector has been here and given strict orders that all parcels under 11 lbs. must go through the post.

Why should tradesmen be put to the trouble and annoyance of having to seek bricks and stones to over-weight parcels? We are handicapped in the race with large centres, like London, Manchester, &c. Uniformity of rates, as of anything else, is very beautiful in theory, but does not always work so well in practice, and this I venture to suggest is a case in point. Are the Post Office people the masters of the public, or are they servants of the public? I think it ought not to be a very difficult thing to adopt a local rate for short distances.

It should be possible to transmit postal orders from one part of the Empire to another. This reform, which is urgently needed in the interests of trade, and of the poorer classes here and in the colonies, seems to be highly obnoxious to the postal authorities. The Colonial Governments would willingly agree to adopt a uniform type of postal order, such as is used throughout the United Kingdom. There is no great difficulty in the matter, for we already receive from and pay postal orders to at least seven British possessions, including India. I may add that British orders are payable at Malta and Gibraltar. I should like to point out also that, while it costs only a penny to remit ten shillings from Hong Kong, India, or Newfoundland to England, it costs sixpence to remit ten shillings from England to Hong Kong, India, or Newfoundland.

There is one common feature in all the diversified petty tyrannies practised by the Post Office on the public: they all tend to swell the postal revenue. The dodge exposed in the next missive is particularly neat, and specially profitable.

My servant yesterday at Charlbury post office asked for a postal order for 3s. They said they had none, and persuaded her to take one for 2s. and one for 1s., and pay 1½d. poundage, thus gaining ½d. As it was *their* fault, not hers, they should either have given her two for 1s. 6d. each, or, at any rate, not charged more than 1d. This is not the first time this trick has been played there.

A correspondent calls my attention to another grievance. The

Post Office charges for the despatch of parcels to India 8*d.* per pound, and to Australia 9*d.* per pound, while the shipping agents only charge 3*d.* per pound. The only possible explanation of such an excess charge is that the Post Office would rather not be troubled with parcels for the colonies, although it is worth the while of private firms to advertise for the carrying of such parcels.

In yet another instance are our officials lagging behind the age. I allude to the unnecessarily high charge made for commission on foreign and colonial money orders of small amount. The smallest fee which the department condescends to accept is 6*d.*, which covers the transmission of a sum not exceeding 2*l.* Now it frequently happens that a person residing in this country wishes to order a newspaper or other small article from a foreign country, or some place in the colonies; or he may wish to ask a question and prepay postage on the reply. He has to pay in commission six times the price of the desired newspaper, or if he would buy a sixpenny magazine the commission increases the cost of it about 100 per cent. The effect of this fleecing is to kill small trade of the description alluded to, and to place a further obstacle in the way of the circulation of the best colonial and foreign literature in this country. That it is sheer rapacity which prescribes these heavy fees is proved by the simple fact that very much lower—in fact, quite fair and reasonable—rates are charged by France in such cases.

F. M., Boulogne, writes:—

Fancy some one in England, requiring an answer to a letter, having to obtain a post-office order for 3*d.* and to pay 9*d.* If I sent you 5*s.* from here it would cost me 6 fr. 30 plus 10 cts. 6 fr. 40 = 5*s.* 1½*d.*

One cannot help sympathising with the irritation of the complainant who next steps forward. In order to get a post card into an envelope, with a view to enclose it to a correspondent for a reply, he cut off a little of the margin, and the officials pounced on this act of 'mutilation' as an excuse for fining the recipient 1*d.* (the letter rate). Any complaint would, of course, merely produce a printed formal letter, referring to regulation No. 2 on the subject of post cards, which forbids any cutting of a post card. But what right have the officials to issue such a regulation? After they have sold the post card it becomes the purchaser's property,* and one fails to see why he cannot trim off the ends and so reduce the size of it before posting it. It is absurd to pretend that uniformity of size and shape is essential in the case of a post card any more than of an envelope; and envelopes, as we know, are of the most diversified sizes and fantastic patterns. Moreover, there are already two different sizes of post cards, the inland and the foreign. To cap all, we have only to remember that cards bearing communications in identical terms will be carried by the Post Office for a halfpenny each, though of fifty different shapes and sizes, while the size of the official post card

must not be altered. The only possible inference is that there exists at St. Martin's-le-Grand a fanatical hatred of 'halfpenny business,' as low, common, unremunerative, &c., and this is why I dwell on what may at first sight appear a minor grievance. But who has not experienced the annoyance of finding that he has no envelope at hand large enough to hold a post card, which the authorities will persist in issuing of the old-fashioned oblong shape, as if determined that it shall *not* fit the modern square envelope?

My friend writes—

I paid the 1*d.* and sent the post card so marked to the General Post Office, saying that I did not know there was any rule against cutting a post card, and that if there was it ought to be expunged, as what harm can it do to the post card, Post Office, or postal revenue?

The recent attempt to patch up the postal order system will only make the rent worse. Postal orders are fast displacing money orders for the transmission of small sums. Thus in the last ten years the annual commission on money orders has sunk from 217,000*l.* to 130,000*l.*, while that on postal orders has risen from 44,000*l.* to nearly 229,000*l.* The one drawback is that the public will not take the trouble to fill up postal orders, or to keep particulars of them, and consequently thieves still tear open and destroy large batches of letters in order to obtain blank postal orders, just as the diver destroys hundreds of oysters to secure half a dozen pearls. The wise-*acres* who control these matters would remedy the evil by inflicting additional penalties on careless persons for neglect to fill in the names of the payee and the paying office. They hope thus to *prevent* the public from posting or transmitting blank postal orders from hand to hand, instead of buying a fresh postal order for each transaction. Now, inasmuch as the Post Office has the use of the money paid for the order during several days, and a small paper currency, while not affecting the banks, is of great service to the public, this is by no means a generous policy. But the true policy, evidently, is to adopt a safer method of transmission.

This may probably be found in the Continental system of the 'Mandat-Carte,' which has proved so successful in Switzerland and Germany. The transmitter purchases a post card, on which spaces are marked to be filled in with the name of the payee, &c., and a short message. He then hands it over the counter with the amount to be transmitted, and the clerk gives him a receipt. The letter-carrier who takes the card to the payee also takes the money, and obtains a receipt, so that the transaction is complete, and no risk is involved from first to last.

Some time ago I presented to the then Postmaster-General a memorial, signed by 210 Members of Parliament, asking that the hour, as well as the date of collection, &c., might be stamped on all postal matter. This is done, with much advantage to the interests

of business, in several British colonies and foreign countries, and was formerly done in England (in 1818). The postal authorities, however, refuse to make this concession, the reason of their refusal doubtless being that it enables the public to trace, check, and control the movements of correspondence—in other words, to bring home unerringly to the officials any negligence of which they may have been guilty.

Another case of hardship to a poor man and meanness on the part of the Post Office was this: On the 30th of September last M. bought two halfpenny newspaper wrappers from the Post Office for $1\frac{1}{2}d.$ He found he had no use for them, and wishing to send a letter he cut the two halfpenny stamps from the wrappers and pasted them on it. This was against postal regulations, and the receiver of the letter was fined $2d.$ —viz. a penny postage, a penny fine—and, in addition, the postal authorities stamped over and destroyed the two halfpenny stamps, for which the sender had paid the Government $1\frac{1}{2}d.$

Mr. E. A. Phipson, Selby Oak, Birmingham, also writes—

It really requires a lifetime to find out all the tricks which the ingenious officials of the Post Office take such pains in devising to entrap the innocent public. Only to-day I discovered that if a letter is sent in a newspaper wrapper the embossed stamp does not count.

E. P. A. writes—

Another mean trick has been played by the postal authorities at St. Martin's-le-Grand in excepting post cards from the new regulation for free redirection. Why on earth should the Post Office have such a spite against post cards, which might pay better than anything else, if not so ignorantly hampered and restricted? One card (mind) costs $1d.$, not $\frac{3}{4}d.$, if one has not change.

At this point I propose to summarise under various heads some miscellaneous complaints and suggestions which have come under my notice, and which have been collected from various sources.

When a telegraph clerk makes a mistake in transmission, and an important word in the message is thereby rendered unintelligible, the department charges for a repetition of the entire despatch, instead of charging for the undecipherable word. What would be said of a cobbler who charged the price of a pair of new boots for putting on a patch?

The telegraphic money order system should be simplified; the charges should be reduced at least to the Indian rates; and, above all, in order to prevent fraud, mistake, and delay, the money should, as in India, be sent with the telegram to the residence of the addressee.

At some post offices the fee for a private box is $2l. 2s.$, as the fee goes to the Crown. At others it is $1l. 1s.$, and goes to the postmaster. There should be a uniform charge, not exceeding $1l. 1s.$

The Postmaster-General would render a vast service to trade if he would persuade the Chancellor of the Exchequer to sanction the institution of the 'cash on delivery' system, for which many of my correspondents are sighing. Under this the postman who delivers a parcel of goods at the same time receives the price of them, which is then paid over by the Post Office to the tradesman who sends them, a small commission being deducted. Every shopkeeper would hail the introduction of this plan, which is in full force in several great countries, including India. In Egypt, indeed, the Post Office actually collects bills and debts on commission. The advantages are obvious. Here is a picked, trained, trustworthy civil servant passing every door in the kingdom at least once a day. He is accustomed to the collection of fines for deficient postage, under rules which render mistake or fraud impossible. All that is required is an extension of this existing system to the parcel post, and in a moment five-sixths of our tradesmen would be made independent of vans, porters, messengers, and carriers, while customers would receive their purchases more quickly. A post card would convey an order to a shop, and by return of post the book, or other article demanded, would, without further trouble to the sender of the post card, be laid on his table.

Many thousands of commercial men would rejoice to see a parcel post established to the United States, of whose foreign trade about 50 per cent. is done with the United Kingdom. Yet an American can send parcels by post to the Bahamas, Barbadoes, British Honduras, Jamaica, and other British possessions. In view of the vast interests involved our officials should leave no stone unturned to secure this privilege for us.

Beginning at the fountain-head, one would like to see the *Post Office Guide* itself reformed in the direction of simplicity, and on the principle of consulting above all things the public convenience. It should be really a 'Guide,' and not an examination paper full of 'springs to catch woodcocks.' If a model be required the United States *Mail Postal Guide* may be recommended, which is full of suggestions calculated to save the public from falling into error, or suffering worry and delay.

It is a favourite allegation of the postal authorities that they would be happy to concede this or that privilege to the public if some wickedly worded Act of Parliament did not stand in the way of their benevolent intentions. Now, if it were not presumptuous to introduce my own humble personality, I would here undertake to get through Parliament in a week any amending Bill which would relieve the public from such vexations and disabilities as have been pointed out. Parliament is always anxious to pass without debate every suggestion in the interests of the public made by the Postmaster-General.

Before bringing this article to a close I should like to point out that most of the grievances here summarised were brought to the knowledge of the department years ago, and are still 'under consideration.' It is obvious, therefore, that any criticisms with which they are prefaced can have no application whatever to the present Postmaster-General, who only came into office last autumn.

I now leave my readers to decide whether 'a mean public' has not still much to complain of at the hands of the Post Office.

J. HENNIKER HEATON.

HABITUAL DRUNKARDS

THE results of the working of the Habitual Drunkards' Act have, after fourteen years' experience, been found trivial and unsatisfactory. Like most permissive measures, it has proved almost valueless. As no action can be taken under its provisions without the consent of the inebriate, who has to make personal petition to be deprived of his liberty for a specified period, need it be said that a very small proportion of those for whom the measure was framed have come under its action, and that the position as regards the great mass of inebriates remains unchanged. They may ruin themselves physically, mentally, and financially, bring dishonour on their families, destroy all social relations, and be nuisances to the community, without any intervention on the part of the law. • The misery produced by the presence of an habitual drunkard amongst the members of a family is greater than that resulting from the affliction of recognised insanity. In the latter case the law provides for the seclusion of the affected person, and many of the social consequences may be averted by the provisions of the Lunacy Acts being put in force ; but in the former, friends and relations are helpless and hopeless ; they are at the mercy of one who is unable to exercise mercy. Can it then be wondered at that demands are being made that further legislation should be undertaken with a view to avert the lamentable results of the unrestrained action of the habitual drunkard ?

Every medical man admits that a strong measure for this purpose is urgently called for. The profession has advocated it on many occasions in public, and supported its opinion by a mass of important and undeniable evidence before a Select Committee of the House of Commons in 1872. It appears extraordinary that a mere permissive Act was the only consequence of the Report of this Committee, which distinctly declared the clamant necessity for legal intervention, and recommended that provision should be made for the compulsory seclusion of persons, who, ' notwithstanding the plainest considerations of health, interest, and duty, are given over to habits of intemperance, so as to render them unable to control themselves, and incapable of managing their own affairs, or such as to render them in any way dangerous to themselves or others.' But the House would not listen to any such proposal.

It has been stated in public that a medical Member of Parliament believes it is hopeless ever to get any curtailment of the liberty of the subject, or any power of interference, on account of habitual drunkenness, because no specific definition of the condition for which it is proposed to legislate has ever been submitted. It is doubtful whether the most urgent in this matter would not be compelled to admit that the definition of the Select Committee, and even the somewhat better one of the Inebriates' Act of 1879,¹ are open to the serious criticism of being subject to far too wide an interpretation. It is unnecessary to adduce instances of habitual drunkenness which might come under any strict interpretation of the terms which do not require to be dealt with; they must suggest themselves to lawyers and the public alike. But I am not aware that it has ever been debated whether any such interpretation is necessary. When we turn to the Acts which legalise the restriction of the liberty* of the subject for matters outside crime (the Lunacy Acts) we find the following definition:—

'Lunatic,' when used in this Act, shall mean and include every person certified by two medical persons to be a lunatic, an insane person, an idiot, or a person of unsound mind.

Everybody knows there are thousands of insane persons at large who are not technically 'lunatics,' whom no one desires to confine, whose seclusion is not called for on account of their own or the public safety, and who can be sufficiently well cared for by their relatives. In like manner, there are thousands of persons addicted 'at times' to excess in alcohol, whom the common-sense of the community would exclude from the category of technical 'habitual drunkards,' and whom the law would exclude by adopting a definition on some such lines as these:—

'Habitual drunkard,' when used in this Act, shall mean and include every person certified to be so by the Chairman of the Court provided for in this Act, or who voluntarily submits himself to its provisions.

Before arguing this point further it may be well to consider what the constitution of such a court should be. In the Report of 1872 it is recommended that when a person refuses to go voluntarily to a sanatorium or reformatory he should be committed,

on the application of friends or relatives, under proper legal restrictions, or by the decision of a local court of inquiry, established under proper safeguards, before which, on the application of a near relative or guardian, or a parish or other local authority, or other authorised persons, proof shall be given that the party cited is

¹ 'Habitual drunkard' means a person who, not being amenable to any jurisdiction in lunacy, is notwithstanding, by reason of habitual intemperate drinking of intoxicating liquor, at times dangerous to himself or herself or to others, or incapable of managing himself or herself, and his or her affairs (42 & 43 Vict. chap. 19, clause 3, sec. b).

unable to control himself, and incapable of managing his own affairs, or that his habits are such as to render him dangerous to himself or others; that this arises from the abuse of alcoholic drinks or sedatives; and he is therefore to be deemed an habitual drunkard.' (Recommendation 2, page v.)

This recommendation is far more vague than the one suggested by the Chairman in his draft report, wherein a definite though unsatisfactory and cumbrous method of procedure was set forth.² I venture to express the opinion that it is highly improbable that any measure will receive the assent of the legislature which proposes that a person should be confined for what, to the public mind, verges on crime, on the mere application of friends or relatives, whatever the restrictions may be. It would savour too much of the *lettre de cachet* ever to meet with public approval. In the recent Lunacy Act for England this form of procedure has been superseded in regard to persons alleged to be insane: how much less likely is it to find favour when bearing on the condition now under discussion? To avoid the slightest suggestion of possible abuse, all such inquiries should be conducted in public before a court presided over by a judge—either a county court judge, chairman of quarter sessions, a sheriff or sheriff-substitute (in Scotland), a legal commissioner in lunacy, or a magistrate specially appointed for the purpose, assisted by two persons, medical or legal, one of whom should be appointed by the petitioner, and one by the alleged drunkard. If this tribunal, after hearing evidence taken on oath, finds by a majority that the subject of inquiry is so far given over to habits of intemperance in stimulants or sedatives as to render him unable to control himself, to make him dangerous to others, or to prevent him from managing his estate, it should be empowered to place him under restraint in such an establishment as may be determined by the court for a period not exceeding two years. Any appeal for liberation before the expiry of the term of seclusion fixed by the court should be remitted to the same court, whose decision should be final. Further, the court should have the power of directing measures by means of which the drunkard's estate should be placed under a committee in England, or a *curator bonis* in Scotland; the continuance of such committee or curatory not to be determined by the period of seclusion.

(Of course the action of this court would not be called into play in the case of persons submitting themselves voluntarily to treatment as provided for by the existing Act, or such as consented to their estates being placed in the hands of judicial factors. Provision would require to be made to prevent voluntary submission being used as a means of evading the more serious consequences of formal committal. This could be procured by power being given to some constituted authority to warrant superintendents of retreats or asylums to receive

² See p. xiv of *Report*.

the inebriate, as in the case of voluntary patients under the Lunacy Acts, and to detain him or her for the full term asked for. This period should not be curtailed except under order of such authority, after due inquiry. The weakest point of the Inebriate Act is the ease with which the petitioner can obtain remission of the period of confinement originally determined on.

I submit that the stumbling-block in the way of legislation presented by the impossibility of framing a definition applicable to all cases of chronic inebriety is overcome by the limiting definition suggested; that by its adoption all cases in which interference is not called for would be excluded; and that the constitution of a tribunal as above indicated would effectually protect against the possibility of abuse. Objections to such a court might indeed be raised by those who, knowing by dire experience the great hardships which result from the entire absence of protective legislation, demand an easier and more private system of procedure. It may be argued that the consequences of an open trial would be as disastrous to the patient and his family as the existing evil. The obvious answer to this is, that in a large proportion of appeals to any tribunal, markedly in the case of divorce, much the same considerations present themselves, and have to be weighed; and, further, it must be remembered that, generally speaking, the habits of the inebriate have already become matters of notoriety. It is true the legal procedure in the case of lunatics is conducted *in camera*; but it must also be borne in mind that the public is satisfied as to the necessity of action in the one case, and that in the other a large section of the community needs to be educated up to a true sense of the position. It would be inexpedient for the advocates of such legislation to ask for forcible control of inebriates unless it were guarded by open investigation and formal judicial decision. No legislation can proceed in advance of general public opinion.

There are, however, other considerations which should be placed distinctly before the public. In all the pleas for compulsory control which have been advanced, three objects are stated to be attainable: first, the cure of the inebriate; secondly, the safety of the public and the family; and, thirdly, the care of the estate. Certain important witnesses asserted before the Select Committee that 30 per cent. of all cases recovered when submitted to proper treatment, conducted for a sufficient length of time. Speaking from considerable experience, I have no hesitation in saying that, in the very great majority of cases, two years is the shortest period in which anything like a permanent cure can be effected;³ and, therefore, that recommendations of

³ There are certain cases in which drinking is connected with passing bodily conditions; where, in fact, it is vicarious of actual temporary insanity. These, however, can, for the most part, be treated successfully at home in a shorter time.

detention for six months or a year are illusory. If we are to have a measure, let it be a sufficient one, framed without blinking the real facts. Again, accepting the 30 per cent. of recoveries (which, however, must be done with a very large pinch of salt), provision for the odd 70 per cent. of irreclaimables remains to be considered. What is to become of them? Are they to be committed and recommitted, or are they to be discharged as incurable? The former would undoubtedly be the best thing for them, but is it reasonable to hope that legal provision for their permanent incarceration would ever be made? No greater difficulty surrounds the whole question than this; but it has to be fairly faced. Perhaps the best way out of the difficulty would be to authorise *any* magistrate to recommit to a retreat a person who has been an 'habitual drunkard' under the Act, and who has been brought before him, and found guilty of conduct liable to produce a breach of the peace. Must such inebriates be allowed to solve the question for themselves by drinking themselves to death or into lunatic asylums?

If we seek for cure we must attack inebriety, like all other morbid symptoms, at its outset. But how can this be carried out? ⁴ Where shall we find the enthusiast with so little knowledge of the world as to suggest that a person should be incarcerated because his misconduct may eventually lead to habitual drunkenness?

The plain fact is, the great benefits which would accrue from the passing of a strong Act to inhibit the action of inebriates would be protection to the families and the public, and the custody of estates. It is certain that a small proportion can be cured, and that a compulsory measure would act as a powerful deterrent, strengthening the hands of the relatives and physician. Probably the compulsory clauses would seldom require to be enforced, for their existence would exercise pressure in the direction of voluntary seclusion.⁵ But the benefit to the mass would be in the direction indicated. Surely this is no small matter. At present the condition of the family is unendurable, and the future is imperilled. A person who is practically irresponsible has it in his uncontrolled power to squander his last sixpence, and it not unfrequently happens that all dependent on him are reduced to actual ruin. The best they can look for is his death. Protection would be obtained if provision were made by which the inebriate in all cases (i.e. whether submitting voluntarily, or committed, to control) should be compelled to relinquish the management of his affairs, his estate being placed in the hands of committee or a curator; *the period of curatory not to terminate with the period of confinement*. Restitution of civil rights should only be procurable

⁴ I have known it to be done, but under very exceptional circumstances.

⁵ In those American states where such an Act is in force, it is said 94 per cent. of the inmates of retreats are 'Voluntaries.'

after evidence of reformation and capacity has been laid before a properly constituted authority. •

Were such measures adopted, the habitual drunkard would be pretty well in hand, and the true interests of all concerned would be fairly well guarded.

Moreover there is reason to believe that, as matters now stand, not a few 'inebriates' who originally have voluntarily submitted to seclusion are placed under circumstances which render them involuntary *détenus*. A man or woman (more frequently the latter) consents to seclusion at a distance from home, perhaps in another division of the kingdom; should such a person become dissatisfied, and demand to be discharged, no opposition is offered; but the absence of money, or the means of obtaining it, renders liberty of action impossible; and until an order of release is sent by the detaining relative, the 'voluntary' must remain in the establishment, or private house, against his or her will. Without denying for a moment that this is, generally speaking, the best thing for the inebriate, I submit it is questionable whether sailing so close to the wind of the law is desirable. At present it is warranted by the absence of legislation. The system advocated in this article would supersede all such doubtful procedure.

JOHN BATTY TUKE.

ESOTERIC BUDDHISM

(A REPLY TO PROFESSOR MAX MÜLLER)

ON any subject connected with the sacred literature of the East Professor Max Müller writes—for English readers—with great authority. His article therefore on Esoteric Buddhism will, no doubt, have been accepted but too widely as fatal to the system of thought identified with that expression. He finds nothing in the Buddhist books about any interior teaching behind that plainly conveyed, and confidently declares that nothing of the kind exists. For people altogether ignorant of theosophical doctrine this will be conclusive; others, acquainted in some measure with theosophical literature, will be puzzled at the professor's attitude. He refrains from coming in any way to close quarters with the body of belief he seeks to discredit, ignoring it so entirely that one cannot make out whether he has taken the trouble to look into it at all. And, summed up in a few words, his argument is that Buddhism cannot contain any teaching hitherto kept secret, because the books hitherto published do not disclose any secrets of the kind. If they had done so, where would have been the secrecy? When we know what the esoteric teaching is we may indeed find evidence in the published books to show that it was known to their authors; but when anyone says 'There is an esoteric side to Buddhism,' that is equivalent to saying there is a view of this subject which is not found in the books. How is he shown to be wrong by the fact that the books do not contain it?

But the present attack is further embarrassing in this way: it rests chiefly on an unfavourable survey of Madame Blavatsky's career, associated with criticisms of her book *Isis Unveiled*. That was written some years before Esoteric Buddhism was formulated, and Madame Blavatsky was not the writer who formulated that system. All students of theosophy are under deep obligations to her. But Professor Max Müller gives us the history of the movement upside down. Before I can vindicate the ideas he seeks to disparage, I must comb out the facts which he has left in such curious confusion.

In 1883 I was enabled to bring into intelligible shape a view of the origin and destinies of man derived from certain teachings with which I was favoured while in India. *It challenged the attention of

Western readers because it seemed to furnish a more reasonable interpretation of man's spiritual constitution and of the world's purpose, than any with which European thought had previously been concerned. It provided something like a scientific abstract of all religious doctrine, by the help of which it was easy to separate the wheat from the chaff in various ecclesiastical creeds. Allowing for symbolical methods of treatment as entering largely into popular religions, the new teaching showed that Brahmanism, Buddhism, and Christianity could be accounted for as growing up at various periods in India and Europe from the same common root of spiritual knowledge. But since Buddhism had apparently separated itself less widely than other religions from the parent stem, I gave my book the title *Esoteric Buddhism*, partly in loyalty to the exterior faith preferred by those from whom my information had come, partly because even in its exterior form that religion was already attracting a great deal of sympathetic interest in Europe, and seemed the natural bridge along which European thinking might be conducted to an appreciation of the beautifully coherent and logical view of Nature I had been enabled to obtain.

The name of the book clung to the system it described, and no one was more surprised or amused than its author when people, attracted by its means to become theosophists, or students of Divine science, were first spoken of by newspaper writers, dealing hastily with the new departure of thought, as 'Esoteric Buddhists.' In that form the term was a misnomer. Theosophists might just as well have been called Esoteric Christians or Esoteric Brahmins. But it is one thing for reviewers, dealing on the spur of the moment with a new school of philosophy, to apprehend it imperfectly; it is another for a learned professor, attacking it ten years later, to eclipse their worst mistakes.

To begin with, Professor Max Müller calls Madame Blavatsky the founder of Esoteric Buddhism, and describes her as a 'clever, wild, and excitable girl,' in search of a new religion she could honestly embrace. Her clever girlhood had ripened till she was close on sixty, when the term Esoteric Buddhism was first brought into use; and, whether it was a good or a bad term, she had nothing to do with its selection, and indeed quarrelled with it—as I think rather unnecessarily—in some of her later writings. What she really founded was the Theosophical Society for the study of Eastern Religions (among other objects), and it was through that Society, and through her aid in the first instance—for which I can never be sufficiently grateful—that I came into relations with the fountain of information from which my teaching has ever since been derived. But when Professor Max Müller proceeds to find fault with *Isis Unveiled*, and criticises that interesting and suggestive work by picking out a Greek word that is incorrectly written, fancying in that way to cast discredit on

a scheme of philosophy promulgated years after *Isis* was written, in a book by another author, the misdirection of his fault-finding is on a level with the pettiness of the criticism itself. It is notorious to all who knew Madame Blavatsky that she was not only capable of making any imaginable mistake in writing a Greek word, but scarcely knew so much as the alphabet of that language. To understand how it came to pass that under those circumstances the manuscripts she wrote with her own hand were freely embellished with Greek quotations would require a comprehension of many curious human capacities outside the scope of that scholarship of which Professor Max Müller is justly proud, but unfortunately too often inclined to mistake for universal knowledge.

In so far as his present article is directed to discredit Esoteric Buddhism, Professor Max Müller's rapid sketch of Madame Blavatsky's career is, for the reasons I have pointed out, irrelevant from A to Z. But the careless plan he has followed in dealing with the subject itself is in keeping with the personal notice. 'People,' he says, 'were taken aback by the assurance with which this new prophetess spoke of her intercourse with unseen spirits; of letters flying through the air from Tibet to Bombay; of showers of flowers falling from the ceiling of a dining-room; of saucers disappearing from a tea-tray and being found in a garden, and of voices and noises proceeding from spirits through a mysterious cabinet. You may ask how educated people could have been deceived by such ordinary jugglery; but with some people the power of believing seems to grow with the absurdity of what is to be believed.' There is no item in this catalogue of wonders that correctly quotes any single incident recorded in any original narrative of Madame Blavatsky's doings. My own book, *The Occult World*, is the principal reservoir of all such records, but, as usual with people who wish to ridicule its testimony, Professor Max Müller prefers to deal not with the book itself, but with some third-hand caricature of its contents. Modern psychic investigation has already harmonised with subtle forces of nature, some of the surprising powers which Madame Blavatsky exhibited. In talking of jugglery, Professor Max Müller is probably unaware that the leading 'juggler' or conjuror of America, Mr. Kellar, has recently written an article in the *North American Review* acknowledging that his experience of wonder-working in India has introduced him to some performances that lie quite outside the domain of the art he professes. That which is really absurd in this connection is the power a good many people still show of disbelieving facts supported by overwhelming evidence if these fail to fit in with their own narrow experience. Credulity is sometimes stupid, no doubt, but irrational incredulity may occasionally be even more so. On that tempting theme, however, I must not dilate for the moment. Madame Blavatsky's achievements in connection with psychic

faculties and forces not yet generally understood, have nothing to do with the really important question whether theosophical doctrine constitutes an acceptable solution of the mysteries of life and death.

Still, paying no attention to that question, Professor Max Müller says, 'No one can study Buddhism unless he learns Sanskrit and Pâli.' No one can comprehend Buddhism, he goes on unconsciously to show us, by virtue merely of scholarship in those tongues. He may do useful work in the preparation of translations for students who deal with living thought rather than with dead language, but Madame Blavatsky with all her literary inaccuracy has done a great deal more than the Sanskrit professor to interpret Eastern thinking, and what are her verbal blunders beside the confusion of the whole attack now made upon her? 'She certainly showed great shrewdness in withdrawing herself and her description of Esoteric Buddhism from all possible control and contradiction. Her Buddhism, she declared, was not the Buddhism which ordinary scholars might study in the canonical books; hers was Esoteric Buddhism.' She did nothing of the sort. She never used the term Esoteric Buddhism except in her *Secret Doctrine* to find fault with my use of it, on the somewhat technical ground that, meaning what I did, I ought to have spelled the word with one 'd.' In *Isis*, she wrote, 'it is not in the dead letter of Buddhistical sacred literature that scholars may hope to find the true solution of the metaphysical subtleties of Buddhism,' but she was not then engaged in developing the system now called Esoteric Buddhism. She was simply pouring out a flood of miscellaneous information concerning the inner meaning of old-world religions and symbologies, the mysteries of Egypt and Greece, the modern initiations of the East, and the teaching she had acquired there with reference to super-physical planes of nature already beginning to be recognised in the Western world as connecting our phase of existence, however vaguely and cloudily, with other conditions of being. The book was not designed to teach anything in particular, but to stir up interest in an unfamiliar body of occult mysteries. For many people it did this effectually. The Theosophical Society was set on foot; it came to pass that I was entrusted with the task of putting into intelligible shape the views of life and nature entertained by certain Eastern initiates who were interested in the Theosophical Society, and the movement gradually assumed its present character. Nothing is further from my wish than to claim—at Madame Blavatsky's expense—any peculiar merit for myself in the matter. I took charge of a message and carried it to Western readers. But I was a messenger from those whom Madame Blavatsky also to the best of her ability endeavoured to represent—not from herself. This is the important fact for all to remember who wish to understand the present position of Theosophy. All of us who have been concerned, one way or another, with the movement have acknow-

ledged the immense services Madame Blavatsky rendered in bridging the chasm which separated modern thought from esoteric enlightenment. But with Theosophy itself as a guide through the mazes of existence, Madame Blavatsky's merits and demerits have nothing at all to do. Individuals rise and sink in the stream of a great movement; they do not constitute it. Those who most love and revere Madame Blavatsky are doing the worst service they can render to the cause she worked for, by pinning her name to Theosophy, and making it look like a sect with one fallible mortal at its head. They might as well call astronomy Tycho-Brahism, and study the stars exclusively on the basis of the Danish observer's ideas. Not less absurd in another way is the commonplace attack on Theosophy based on the notion that Madame Blavatsky was its fraudulent inventor. The estimation in which she was held to the last by a devoted body of friends—whose contributions to theosophical literature effectually rebuke the theory that they were weak-minded dupes—is a brief but emphatic refutation of unjust accusations on which too much paper and thought have been expended. Either way the time has gone by for treating Theosophy as a question depending on Madame Blavatsky's personality. Her books remain to be considered on their merits like all other expositions of theosophical doctrine, but neither to be regarded as infallible on the one hand nor as discrediting Theosophy by their mistakes on the other.

At the time of the Oriental Congress last September, theosophical writers were beginning to hope they had drawn Professor Max Müller into some appreciation of the inner significance of that Oriental literature to the translation of which he had devoted so much industry. He spoke then of the Upanishads and of the ancient philosophy of the Vedanta as throwing 'new light even to-day on some of the problems nearest to our own hearts.' This was a great advance on earlier utterances, in which he dealt with the Vedas, at all events, as the prattling of humanity's babyhood—or in words to that effect. But now he has again relapsed, and declares there are no mysteries and nothing esoteric either in Buddhism or Brahmanism, though again, later on, he says, 'No honest scholar would deny that we know as yet very little [of Buddhism], and that we see but darkly through the immense mass of its literature and the intricacies of its metaphysical speculations.' This admission is opposed to the force of the bold statement with which he sets out, 'that there is no longer any secret about Sanskrit literature, and . . . that we in England know as much about it as most native scholars.' In view of information on the subject I have had from 'native scholars' the contention is ludicrous, but the question whether there are or are not hidden records bearing on the secrets of Eastern initiation has nothing to do with the main point. Over and above whatever written records exist, there

are traditional beliefs and views of nature amongst certain people in India that had not been published anywhere till the current theosophical movement began. I got at these by living in India and coming into relations with those who entertained them, and were willing at last that they should in some measure be made public. Professor Max Müller, without stopping to think how his own testimony corroborates my position, says there is nothing of all this in the sacred books. Of course not; but, to a greater extent than Professor Max Müller imagines, all this is darkly hinted at in the sacred books. Nobody could pick up these hints unless he had first been instructed in the esoteric doctrine, but to anyone who knows something of this the allusions are apparent. From the proper theosophical point of view they are not very important. The theosophical teaching is valuable for its intrinsic worth. It ought not to be recommended to European readers because there is authority behind it. For us the authority from which it emanates need only begin to command respect when we understand the teaching. If it had not been found worthy of respect for its own sake, it would have fallen dead. Instead of that, *Esoteric Buddhism* is read in a dozen editions and languages all over the world. And in time people who read, acquiring from the teaching itself a comprehension of the sources from which it is now derived, grow interested in questions of authority. Around these a considerable theosophic literature grows up. Professor Max Müller does not even glance at it. He hammers away at the single notion—I do not find your secret teachings in the public Buddhist writings. Why does not he argue—there cannot be any ore in the mine for there is none lying on the surface? But, coming back to the traces on the surface that may show those who can interpret them where there is ore lying below, let me offer an illustration of esoteric canonical records that are mere nonsense taken as the scholar takes them—literally—but full of luminous significance read in the light of esoteric teaching.

Rarely have the scholars blundered more absurdly than in dealing with the records of Buddha's death, and in reading *au pied de la lettre* the story of his fatal illness supervening on a meal of 'dried boar's flesh' served to him by a certain Kunda—a coppersmith at Pava. Laborious students of Oriental language—never concerning themselves with Oriental thought—accept this as meaning, in words quoted by Alabaster in the *Wheel of the Law*, that Buddha died of 'dysentery caused by eating roast pork.' Dr. Rhys Davids gives currency to this ludicrous misconception. Common-sense ought to have been startled at the notion that the diet of so ultra-confirmed a vegetarian as a Hindoo religious teacher could not but be, could be invaded by so gross an article of food as roast pork. But worshippers of the letter which killeth are apt to lose sight of common-sense. In reality boar's flesh is an Oriental symbol for esoteric knowledge,

derived from the boar avatar of Vishnu—an elaborate allegory which represents the incarnate god lifting the earth out of the waters with his tusks—a transaction which Wilson explains in his translation of the Vishnu Purana as representing ‘the extrication of the world from a deluge of iniquity by the rites of religion.’ Dried boar’s flesh clearly stands in the ‘Book of the Great Decease’ for esoteric knowledge prepared for popular use—reduced to a form in which it could be taught to the multitude. It was through too daring an attempt to carry out this policy that Buddha’s enterprise came to an end. That is the true meaning of the allegory so painfully debased when taken at the foot of the letter. The esoteric view of the story is shown obviously to be the right one by many subordinate details. For example, Buddha directs that only he shall make use of the dried boar’s flesh at the allegorical feast. The brethren shall be served with cakes and rice. None but he himself can digest such food, he says, and whatever is left over shall be buried, so that no others may partake of it; a singular order for him to give on the literal interpretation of the story, seeing that he is represented as *not* able to digest it, and as dying of its effects. Of course the meaning plainly is that no one of lesser authority than himself must take the responsibility of giving out occult secrets.

Even more glaring references to esoteric mysteries are embodied in the Akankheyya Sutta,¹ where Buddha describes the various attainments open to a Bhikkhu, or disciple who has joined his order.

If a Bhikkhu should desire, brethren, to exercise one by one each of the different Iddhis, being one to become multiform, being multiform to become one; to become visible, or to become invisible; to go without being stopped to the further side of a wall, or a fence, or a mountain, as if through air; to penetrate up and down through solid ground, as if through water; to walk on the water without dividing it, as if on solid ground; to travel cross-legged through the sky, like the birds on the wing; to touch and feel with the hand even the sun and the moon, mighty and powerful though they be; and to reach in the body, even up to the Heaven of Brahma; let him then fulfil all righteousness; let him be devoted to that quietude of heart which springs from within; let him not drive back the ecstasy of contemplation; let him look through things; let him be much alone.

So on through several pages. Does this read like nonsense in materialistic Europe? The esoteric teaching makes it all intelligible. The whole passage relates to the capacities which are possible for the esoterically-trained and initiated disciple who can live in full consciousness in the astral body, who can render that perceptible (or visible) to ordinary senses if he chooses, to whom the solid matter of the physical plane is no impediment, nor distance an embarrassment. The Sutta in which it occurs points to hidden methods of teaching and training from beginning to end. And the *White Lotus of Dharma*, edited by Professor Max Müller, refers also to the magical

¹ Vol. xi., *Sacred Books of the East*.

faculties of the Buddhist adept, while Ananda was not allowed to sit in the first convocation till he had performed the 'miracles' recognised as qualifying him to be regarded as an Arhat. Certainly the public writings do not say minutely *how* an aspirant is to acquire the abnormal knowledge and powers necessary for such achievements. The real esoteric knowledge, never written down, but handed from master to pupil in the processes of initiation, is alone competent to give practical guidance in such matters. But, as we see, the authority of the canonical books can be quoted as showing that the achievements are recognised as attainable. Does Professor Max Müller regard them as the logical outcome of mere virtuous practice? If not, the old writers clearly suppressed some branch of their teaching in addressing the world at large. It is not enough for Professor Max Müller to say that in describing Arhat powers they were talking nonsense. For the moment that is not the question. Had they in their minds the belief that certain processes of training might lead to those powers? If they had, they were conscious of an esoteric side to their teaching, and it is obvious beyond dispute that they did entertain such a belief.

Worship of the letter in dealing with sacred writings has been the curse of modern religion, stultifying the spiritual meaning of more books than those under consideration. It is hardly probable that Professor Max Müller would be fettered to that system in discussing Western scriptures, so that it is doubly amazing he should apply that disastrous method of interpretation to the Sacred Books of the East, on which he has bestowed so much of his time and energy.

He tells us that 'Buddhism was the highest Brahmanism popularised, everything esoteric being abolished.' This is a misreading even of the exoteric records. Buddhism popularised Brahmanism in the sense of showing that the attainment of high spiritual beatitude was open to all men who trod the right path—not merely, as Brahmanism taught, to the Brahmins. The esoteric initiations were not abolished—merely held out to all who should become worthy. That is the real meaning of the phrase attributed to Buddha, 'The Tathagatha has no such thing as the closed fist of a teacher who keeps some things back.'

Again, Professor Max Müller says, 'Whatever we know of Buddha and Buddhism we must try to know at first hand—that is to say, we must be prepared to give chapter and verse in some canonical or authoritative book; we must not appeal to Mahâtmas on the other side of the Himalayas.' But whether I obtained the teaching on which *Esoteric Buddhism* rests from a Mahâtma on the other side of the Himalayas or evolved them out of my own head need only interest people who begin to be seriously interested in the teaching on its own *primâ facie*, intrinsic claims. It is childish to condemn

a doctrine as wrong because it emanates from somebody unknown to the reader. It may be rationally ignored by anyone bold enough to say, 'I never trust my own judgment; I only consider ideas when they are hall-marked as fit for acceptance by some acknowledged authority.' It may be rationally attacked by anyone prepared to assail it on its merits,—if it interests the world in spite of its unknown source. But it can only be irrationally attacked by a writer who neglects the thing said, and yet denounces it because he does not know anything about the person who says it. 'What I know not is not knowledge,' as one distinguished professor is supposed to have put the idea. Professor Max Müller improves on the epigram: 'Philosophers I know not have no existence.' He tells us 'Mahâtma' is a well-known Sanskrit word applied to men who have retired from the world as great ascetics. 'That these men are able to perform most startling feats and to suffer most terrible tortures is perfectly true.' But the term meaning great-souled has become an honorary title. He himself has had letters from Benares addressed to him as Mahâtma. With the recollection of the tone in which I have heard Professor Max Müller's comments on Indian philosophy discussed by native pundits at Benares and elsewhere, it seems just possible there may have been a touch of irony in such a mode of address; but India is, of course, a land of hyperbolical compliment. The servants of any European will call him 'Huzoor,' or 'your Majesty;' everybody is a lord to the man next below him; and, in a spirit of mockery, so conventional that it has lost all sting, the humblest retainer of every Indian household—the sweeper—is habitually called by his companions 'Maharajah.' This is how it comes to pass that Professor Max Müller has been misled about the Indian ideas attached to the term Mahâtma. Seriously used, it is a term of sublime respect. Applied to the yogi or faqueer who lives in the forest and performs the 'startling feats' which our professor so oddly recognises—though so scornful of the only such feats abundantly vouched for in recent years—it would merely be a phrase of conventional compliment. I never heard it used even in that way in application to the yogi of the jungle, but negative experience does not count for much. Anyone knowing India will feel that it might be used in the way I describe.

Inasmuch as Professor Max Müller says no word concerning the views or system of philosophy set forth in *Esoteric Buddhism*, one can hardly complain that he has travestied or misrepresented them. He has talked up in the air about something else, and, as the article stands, it reads like an attack on the undulatory theory of light grounded on a contention that Sir Isaac Newton mismanaged the Mint. 'But parting company from him for a moment, to explain the teaching he disapproves of—without having been at the pains to

ascertain what it is—the leading ideas of Esoteric Buddhism may be summed up briefly as follows :

The human creature as we know him is a manifestation on the physical plane of nature of a complex spiritual being developed by slow degrees, by the aggregation round a spiritual nucleus of the capacities and most durable characteristics engendered by his experience of life through a prolonged series of existences. The body is a mere instrument on which the interior entity performs—such music as he has learned to make. Between the body and the true spiritual nucleus lie intervening principles which express the lower consciousness, active during physical life. The consciousness, both lower and higher, is quite capable of functioning in vehicles independent of the body, and belonging, as regards the material of which they consist, to the next superior plane or manifestation of nature—called for convenience and following the nomenclature of mediæval occultists—the astral plane, though it has nothing whatever to do with the stars. In every life much of the consciousness that makes up the complete man relates to transitory or ignoble things. After death, therefore, the persistence of this lower consciousness retains the soul for a time on the astral plane, during which period under some conditions it may sometimes become cognisable to still living people, but by degrees the attachment to phases of life which belong exclusively to the incarnate condition wears off, and the real spiritual soul, or in other words the original man, with only the loftier side of his character or nature in activity, passes on to a state of spiritual beatitude analogous to the heaven of exoteric religious teaching. There the person who has passed away is still himself; his own consciousness is at work, and for a long time he remains in a state of blissful rest, the correct appreciation of which claims a great deal of attention to many collateral considerations. When after a protracted period the specific personal memories of the last life have faded out—though the spiritual soul still retains all its capacities, all the cosmic progress that it has earned, it is drawn back into re-incarnation. The process is accomplished by degrees. The whole entity is not at once conscious within, or expressed by, the body of the young child. But as this grows it becomes more and more qualified to express the original consciousness of the permanent soul, and when it is mature, it is once more the original Ego, minus nothing but the specific memories of its last life.

Why does it not remember? is always the first question of the beginner in theosophic study. Because we who do not remember are as yet but nature's children. Those who are further advanced along the line of cosmic progress *do* remember. But the science of the matter meanwhile is this. The higher spiritual soul is the permanent element in the Ego, and if sufficiently grown, can infuse each new personality which it develops with memories which it, in that

case, can retain. But the lower side of ordinary human consciousness, taking the race at its present average development, is a good deal more vigorous than the spiritual nature. The higher soul, immersed again in a material manifestation, is choked as to its consciousness for the time being by the weed growth around it. There is plenty of time, however, in the scheme of nature. After many incarnations the higher soul may get strong enough to bear down the accumulated tendencies gathering round it during its earth-lives. Then an opportunity will come for remembering past lives, and for many other achievements.

The laws which determine the physical attributes, condition of life, intellectual capacities, and so forth of the new body, to which the Ego is drawn by affinities even more complicated than those of chemical atoms, are known to esoteric and less accurately to ordinary Buddhism as Karma. As you sow so shall you reap. The acts of each life build up the conditions under which the next is spent. In regard to his happiness, and all that has to do with his well-being on this earth, every man has been, in the fullest sense of the term, his own creator, creating the conditions into which he passes in accordance with the Divine law that determines the nature of good and evil, and the consequences of devotion to the one or the other. As the earth-life is thus the school of humanity, it is not an end in itself. To achieve higher spiritual conditions of being is to escape beyond the necessity for re-incarnation. Thus exoteric Buddhism talks of escaping the perpetuation of *life*—meaning incarnate life—as something desirable, in a way which leads those who imperfectly grasp the esoteric significance of the idea to suppose that the extinction of consciousness is the object treated as desirable. The end really contemplated is the permanent elevation of consciousness to spiritual conditions. In the vast scheme of nature, comprehended by the esoteric teaching as that on which the world is planned, the ultimate realisation of such spiritual beatitude is regarded as the destiny in reserve for the majority of mankind, after immensely protracted schooling. But by great efforts at any time after a certain turning-point in evolution has been passed, those who realise the potentialities of their being may enter at a relatively early date on their sublime inheritance. To show mankind at large the path which leads to this goal is the final purpose of esoteric teaching. Incidentally, it pours a flood of light on mysteries of nature that are partially penetrated in some other ways, co-ordinating the otherwise incoherent phenomena of mesmerism and psychic perception and of various occurrences inaptly called supernatural, which some people know to take place but cannot interpret, and which others, content to despise what they cannot account for, thrust aside with irrational laughter. Already Theosophy has vindicated its own teachings for many students whose interior faculties have been ripe

for development. The statements of Esoteric Buddhism concerning realms of nature imperceptible to the physical sight have already become realities for some, who are thus enabled to throw back out of their own experience a verification serviceable for others of the occult science to which they owe their progress.

This is the explanation of the fact that the ideas of Esoteric Buddhism which Professor Max Müller does not stoop to comprehend, much less to discuss, have seemed important to many people, caring more for the thing said than for the previous authority of the sayer. Though Madame Blavatsky would have been comically ill-described even in her younger days as a person in search of a religion in which she could honestly believe, that attitude of mind is very widely spread throughout the Western world. Theosophy has dealt with it by providing interpretations of established dogma that invest with an acceptable spiritual meaning creeds offensive to healthy intelligence in their clumsy ecclesiastical form. It has lifted thought above the narrowness of the churches. The first thing a broad-minded thinker, speculating on the infinite mysteries of nature, feels sure of is that no one body of priests can have a monopoly of the truth. Theosophy shows that scarcely any of them have even a monopoly of falsehood. It gives us religion in the form of abstract spiritual science which can be applied to any faith, so that we may sift its crudities from its truth. It provides us in the system of reincarnation—cleared of all fantastic absurdities associated with the idea in ages before the esoteric view was fully disclosed—with a method of evolution that accounts for the inequalities of human life. By the doctrine of Karma, attaching to that system, the principle of the conservation of energy is raised into a law operative on the moral as well as on the physical plane, and the Divine element of justice is brought back into a world from which it had been expelled by European theologians. In explaining the psychic constitution of man, Theosophy—as developed by the Theosophical Society, not in the soulless condition to which Professor Max Müller would reduce it, puts on a scientific basis—that is to say, on a footing where law is seen to be uniformly operative—the heterogeneous and bewildering phenomena of super-physical experience. Every advance of knowledge leaves some people aground in the rear, and there are hundreds of otherwise distinguished men amongst us who will probably never in this life realise the importance of new researches on which many other inquirers besides theosophists are now bent. But their immobility will be forgotten in time. Knowledge will advance in spite of them, and views of nature, at first laughed at and discredited, will be taken after a while as matters of course, and, emerging from the shadow of occultism, will pass down the main current of science. Those of us who are early in the field with our experience and infor-

mation would sometimes like to be more civilly treated by the recognised authorities of the world; but that is a very subordinate matter after all, and we have our rewards, of which they know nothing. We are well content to be in advance even at the cost of some disparaging glances from our less fortunate companions.

A. P. SINNETT.

HOW TO ATTRACT CAPITAL TO THE LAND

THE Duke of Argyll, in a recent letter to a correspondent, referred to a saying of Cobden that agriculture must be considered simply as a branch of business, and must be regulated by the same natural laws. Has agriculture in Great Britain been, in fact, considered as a branch of business and been regulated by the same natural laws? Has the life-tenant, who draws his income from this particular industry, had every proper opportunity to develop the resources of the land and to work the same at a profit? Or has our agriculturist had drawbacks which prevent him from competing with food-producers in other countries? These are the questions asked by traders, merchants, and employers of labour who are not directly interested in farming. They say, if our agriculturist labours under no artificial disadvantage nothing can be done for him, but, if he is hampered by unnatural laws, such laws can be changed.

They are aware that in some years profits dwindle away and at times disappear in all industries, however well they may be managed, that a business is sometimes badly supervised or situated so that it never could succeed, and fails accordingly, that another is paralysed by debt which absorbs all the profit in good years and leaves a considerable deficiency in bad ones.

None of these cases command sympathy from men of business. They want to know if capital invested in a well-managed property has produced fair interest over a term of years? To answer this question the land must be valued, not on the basis of the inflated prices that ruled in the years just after the Franco-German or any great war, but the average value must be taken extending over a long period of time. The hard-headed business man, who is daily contending with competitors, has little sentimental sympathy for other branches of that great growth of which he forms a part, and he is determined that one limb shall not have more than its fair share of nourishment. There is, however, one thing that will always cause the man of business to act in a friendly spirit when dealing with the landed interest. No man more thoroughly appreciates the beauties of the country than he who is bound down by the iron hand of his affairs to live in the centre of a smoky and grimy atmosphere. He

realises that if an immense sum had not been thrown away in the country to make the homesteads picturesque and pleasing to the eye, he would, when the summer comes, pass through a country not gay with gables and dormer windows, but uninteresting in the uniformity of its cheap and business-like architecture.

I am afraid this is the only side of the question that will appeal to the majority of those who live in the towns. They may worship Shakespeare or Pitt, but, as Sydney Smith said, ours is the only country in which a whole district will not turn out and die as one man for some precious relic of the past.

Agriculture has to be considered as a branch of industry, and not as a precious relic that trades on the traditions of the past. We have to appreciate in these practical days that the family of an impecunious landowner may claim to have owned certain lands since England was peopled by barbarians, but such a family is soon forgotten if succeeded by that of a wealthy man who attends to the wants of others in an open-handed and liberal spirit. Present customs favour agriculture when a proprietor is rich and liberal. The owner is content with very little interest for his money, the farmer gets every possible inducement to make the most of his land, and the labourer benefits by the affluence of both. The houses in which the tenants live are watertight, and do not breed pulmonary diseases; the drains and water supply are in good order and do not invite typhoid and other fevers. We see the other side of the picture if a landlord is in pecuniary difficulties, and it is such a case that suggests the necessity for some modification in the existing customs.

I would suggest to those who propose considering agriculture as simply a branch of business that it might be unwise to look at it from a purely utilitarian point of view. Our one aim should be to disturb as little as possible the present condition of things, to endeavour to attract as much capital to the land as possible, and to get rid of those owners who are quite unable to effect the repairs and improvements that a landed property requires.

If owners of land were satisfied, and if those who live on the produce of the soil were contented and happy, it would be criminal to propose changing any laws or customs. But, at the present time, owners are discontented, farmers are on the verge of ruin, and labourers are unable to find their accustomed occupation.

Our legislators ought, therefore, to consider if the various Acts of Parliament passed to relieve congestion have been of use to the landed interest, if they have tended to increase the produce of the soil, and to stimulate the contentment of our agricultural population, or have only acted as an incentive to landowners to tie up the land and to increase its burdens.

With the exception of Lord Cairns's Settled Estates Act, they

have all been cast in the same mould, and have encouraged owners to borrow money to make improvements, paying back the capital laid out over a long term of years. Some legislation of this sort was essential, because under the law of entail an owner has only the income of an estate for his life. He has no command of capital arising from the estate with which to improve his property, or to make alterations which novel modes of agriculture may necessitate. The Improvement of Land Act was a good sedative for existing disease, but in reality it aggravated agricultural distress by encouraging landowners to pile up debt which under the Act would not be wholly paid off until twenty-five years had passed. Money raised in such a way is easily and in many cases injudiciously spent, although no outlay is made unless a Government Inspector sanctions the expenditure and approves the work when completed. He insists on the work being of an exceedingly permanent, and consequently of an expensive, character. Are these judicious baits to hold out to the English landowner? Is it advisable to tempt him to mortgage his property, even assuming that the debt will be paid off in a given number of years? If he is encouraged to do so, is it well that he should be forced to erect buildings that are not easily converted if modes of farming change, and are a great loss on account of their originally expensive character if they become unserviceable? The system of borrowing money repayable over a term of years has one great disadvantage. Mortgages so raised are generally sold to banks, and, although the value of money may fluctuate very much in twenty-five years, improvement charges are immutable. The rate of interest during the last few years has diminished, and the value of the produce of the land has decreased in like ratio, but the sinking fund and interest of encumbrances, such as I mention, remain at the same rate at which they were originally incurred. This argument applies equally to such measures as land purchase Acts, and for this reason I do not think enactments of this description ought to be encouraged by the State.

A bank that lends money on an improvement loan and gets $4\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. for the sinking fund will have received 44*l.* 10*s.* at the end of twenty-five years for each 1*l.* of sinking fund; if the bank can only get $2\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. it will receive only 34*l.* 7*s.*; or, to put it in another way, a sinking fund of 1,000*l.* at $4\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. amounts in twenty-five years to 44,565*l.*, at $2\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. to 34,158*l.*

At the present time trustees of estates not overburdened with debt can raise money at $3\frac{1}{2}$ per cent., and in some cases at even 3 per cent., therefore we must assume if they advanced money so raised they could invest any sinking fund at the same rate. If, therefore, a landowner borrows money from the Lands Improvement Company, he, in twenty-five years, pays back 46*l.* more in every hundred than he would have done if the trustees had advanced it.

Trustees are not allowed by law to raise money for improvements, and advance it to the tenant for life, even if he agrees to pay back the sum expended by annual instalments. If he requires money for permanent improvements he is forced to raise it through the Lands Improvement Company, who fix what the rate he pays shall be.

To show what the present rate is, let us assume the case of a life-tenant of an entailed estate who wishes to make some permanent improvement. He raises a loan from the Lands Improvement Company of 100*l.*, he has to pay 6*l.* 12*s.* 4*d.* for twenty-five years, plus 10 per cent. commission; which amounts to 7*l.* 5*s.* 6½*d.* annually for the 100*l.* spent on the actual work done. Supposing the trustees of his estate can raise money on mortgage at 3*l.* 10*s.* per cent., it is necessary to deduct that sum from the 7*l.* 5*s.* 6½*d.* to ascertain what he pays annually as sinking fund. It would in this case be 3*l.* 15*s.*, which, re-invested at 3½ per cent., would amount to 147*l.* 9*s.* in twenty-five years, at 4 per cent. to 156*l.*, at 4½ per cent. to 166*l.*, and at 5 per cent. to 178*l.*, to pay back the capital sum of 100*l.* actually spent on improvements. If the rate of interest fell and money could be borrowed on landed property at a lower rate, the estate would gain in the same ratio, because, instead of 3*l.* 10*s.* being paid as interest, there would be less required for that purpose, and a proportionately larger amount added to the sinking fund annually.

Such an eventuality is quite possible, and even probable, in cases of really unquestionable security. As, under the Improvement of Land Act, loans for improvement take precedence of all debts, I should imagine money could even now be raised at 3 per cent. Mortgagees have continually of late years been paying less for borrowed money, the State has reduced the interest of her consols, railway companies of their debentures, and individuals of their private debts, and yet sinking fund payments of necessity remain the same. I would not suggest that the Lands Improvement Company are to blame if they do not lower the rate of their loans; even if they did it would not affect those already contracted for. The directors of the Lands Improvement Company distinctly state they wish it to be understood that the Company's business is of a strictly financial character. They are the middle-man authorised by the State between the life-tenant and the banker, who also has to take his risk in the fluctuations of the value of money. They have both got their expenses to which the tenants for life of land are forced to subscribe, and the banks pay large dividends partly at the expense of the landed interest. Since the Act was passed a sum of about 16,000,000*l.* has been raised for improvements; according to my calculation, life-tenants, who have been forced to pay this sum, have paid back in sinking fund, without including the interest of the money raised,

about 23,500,000*l.*, or 7,500,000*l.* more than they need have done if they had been allowed to raise the money through their trustees, paying it back by annual instalments.

Government advanced money to the landowners at a low rate of interest when the Act first became law, but I assume, for the sake of argument, that the landowner has always been obliged to pay 6*l.* 12*s.* 4*d.* per annum for twenty-five years for every 100*l.* borrowed under the Act.

Lord Cairns's Settled Estates Act, it may be urged, has to a great extent obviated the necessity of applying for loans under the Improvement of Land Act; but there is seldom trust money available to be spent under that Act, and when there does not happen to be any, the work required must be done by a loan from the Lands Improvement Company, unless the life-tenant is willing and able to do it out of his income. As in most land legislation, more consideration has been given to the embarrassed life-tenant than to the life-tenant who has endeavoured to consolidate his property, because the Improvement of Land Act has been of more benefit to the mortgagor paying a high rate of interest for the debt on his property than to the more careful or more fortunate man paying a low one. The former pays for loans from the Lands Improvement Company a rate no higher than he or his trustees would be forced to pay, but the latter is compelled to borrow money at a higher rate than necessary.

Anyone not acquainted with the working of an entailed estate might think it unnecessary to legislate for those who are in no pecuniary difficulties, but we want to attract the application of capital to the land; and life-tenants, even if they are affluent, often object to spend their incomes on permanent improvements; they are, therefore, forced to raise loans, if they wish to carry out the required work, and the mere fact of being obliged to borrow at a comparatively high rate of interest often prevents the application of capital by life-tenants. In days gone by, before the innovation of railway and limited liability companies, owners of land, who were then owners of the land in fee simple, had no opportunity of investing their surplus capital, or of spending it in the various ways which the present day affords; they were, therefore, in the habit of re-investing it in their property, and cutting off suitable slices of land for their younger children.

The land has gradually got tied up in large blocks, and the tenant for life, however rich he may be, if he wishes to make an adequate provision for his younger children, is forced to take surplus income and invest it in other securities, because, if spent on the estate, it would prevent him doing what his natural instinct prompts. He makes his improvements, therefore, with money raised from the Lands Improvement Company, and the interest and sinking fund of such loans remain unchanged for twenty-five years. If his trustees raised

the money required, they might lower the rate of interest paid for the loan at any date if they saw an opportunity of doing so.

Men are influenced in various ways when dealing with properties that do not actually belong to them, but over which they have almost absolute control for good or for evil during a given number of years. If a life-tenant hates his successor, he will not make necessary repairs, much less will he lay out money in improvements. He wishes to get as large an income as possible out of the property during his life, and he thus injures his estate and all the people who live on it.

Very possibly a life-tenant will inveigh against the law of entail from the time he becomes possessed of the estate which has been left in his charge, and will chafe at the restrictions that have prevented him from making the best use of it. He will, however, as he approaches the end of his allotted time, tie up the land again in the same bonds, against which he has struggled all his life, partly moved to do so because as he gets older he dislikes any change, but chiefly because he hates to think that his successor will have more freedom than has been granted to himself during his term of possession.

The different ages of man have hindered land legislation. The young landed proprietor does not care what happens if he is provided with money to gratify his wants; the aged proprietor is weary of contending, and only asks for peace and rest; the middle-aged owner in many cases does not find the weight of entail absolutely a distressful burden to bear, and makes loans, quite regardless of the future. In all these three cases the interested parties look at the question from a personal and not from a national standpoint. I do not suppose that any change will give us a system of land tenure perfect and suitable for all times, but I think that if there was less restriction on the actions of the proprietors of the soil, the congestion that at present exists might be relieved.

The late Prime Minister said, with reference to agricultural depression: 'If it were possible to insure a large application of capital to the land, many of the effects of depression might be averted.' Any suggestions I make are with the object of saving landowners' annual expenditure, some of which would no doubt find its way to the land. Life-tenants, who have personal debts due to banks covered by insurance, for which they have to pay 5 per cent., and which they might get through their trustees for 3½, cannot be satisfied when they realise that they are paying 1½ per cent. more than they would do if they had absolute control over their property, or if trustees had much more liberty than at present. Most life-tenants have debts covered by insurance, this being in many cases absolutely the only security on which they can raise money. Banks or insurance companies advance the sum required, and charge 5 per cent. for it. Surely if trustees have money available, or can raise it at 3½ per cent., it is ridiculous to make a life-tenant pay 5 per cent. If the security is good enough

for insurance companies and banks, it is equally good for the trustees of an estate, the life-tenant of which requires the money. Suppose the case of a man who is life-tenant of a large estate bringing in a rental of 20,000*l.* a year : his daughter marries, and he wishes to give her 20,000*l.* ; he insures his life for that amount, and borrows the sum. He pays 1,000*l.* a year interest, when he might get it through the trustees for 700*l.*, and in twenty-five years he has paid 11,685*l.* more than he need have done, because the 300*l.* saved annually and invested at 3½ per cent. would bring in that sum.

There are many cases of life-tenants who are paying sums much larger than I mention, and who have paid them for a much longer period of time. This has by degrees involved them and their estates in financial ruin, and their tenants have suffered with them.

The distress occasioned has permeated all through the various strata of the population interested in agriculture. If landowners could be relieved it would benefit tenants, and if farmers were in better circumstances labourers could agitate for higher wages. The owners of land, and agriculturists generally, must realise that they will get no help outside, and that they must find some means of relieving themselves without resorting to the pockets of others. Let the labourer who has the vote believe that if the landowner were allowed more elasticity in dealing with his affairs there would be less distress, he would soon try the experiment of giving him a freer hand, and encouraging him to invest money in the land.

Trust money at the present time invested in securities brings in hardly 2½ per cent. net, and trust money invested in land twenty years ago yields less. Payments which from long course of time and custom have become almost legal obligations are with difficulty met. Mr. Joseph Arch, in a recent article, says he does not regret the blight that has fallen on agriculture if it can only make a root and branch affair of the fungus growth of feudalism and class privilege. The only class privilege landowners possess in England at the present time is that which has always been accorded since the beginning of the world by those who have little to those who have rather more of this world's goods. Of feudalism, Dr. Johnson said :—

Laws are formed by the manners and exigencies of particular times, and it is but accidental that they last longer than their causes ; the limitation of feudal succession to the male arose from the obligation of the tenant to attend his chief in war. As times and opinions are always changing, I know not whether it be not usurpation to prescribe rules to posterity, by presuming to judge of what we cannot know ; and I know not whether I fully approve either your design or your father's, to limit that succession which descended to you unlimited. If we are to leave *sartum tectum*¹ to posterity, what we have without any merit of our own received from our ancestors, should not choice and free-will be kept unviolated ? Is land to be treated with more reverence than liberty ?

¹ The technical term in Roman Law for a building in good repair.

Fungus is poisonous from the commencement of its growth; the limitation of feudal succession, or, as we call it now, the law of settlement, was, on the contrary, eminently suited to the feudal times, and was even an absolute necessity. Nothing, however, compels a man now to tie up his property.

If anyone does so, it is his voluntary action and pride is his only incentive. The law permits property in securities to be tied up in trust, and there are people who urge that real-estate must be treated in the same way; but in the latter case the majority of our population live on trust property, and our most important industry is dependent on the action of those who control it; the Government, therefore, ought to take care that none should suffer by the hand of a dead man, who cannot realise the needs of a succeeding generation.

The Settled Estates Act has given the tenant for life power to sell and to invest the money in securities. It would be reasonable to suppose that a tenant for life is in the same position as a man who inherits trust property in securities, but, partly in consequence of restrictions placed upon the actions of landowners for generations, and partly from the difficulty of disposing of land, investors prefer to place their money in shares that can easily be realised. Land has been, consequently, in most cases, unsaleable, and the Settled Estates Act has thus far been inoperative to any great extent.

Those owners who have been able to sell under the Act have derived great benefit from its provisions; and the distribution of land has been an advantage to the nation. Before that Act, to quote from the *Unseen Foundations of Society*, 'land was suffering from bad laws, or bad customs, which are often more powerful than bad laws, and they strike at the true wages fund of the country.' Such laws prevented a life-tenant parting with a rood of land, whatever price he was offered for it, and prohibited him making any improvements, except by loans, unless he had surplus income which he was willing to lay out on property that did not belong to him. Mr. Gladstone says of such loans: 'To mortgages for improvements I am not very favourable. The whole thing is insidious; it is like a foe who develops his real aspect when he gets inside the house.' As, however, the law of trust is recognised as a national custom, borrowing on the security of the land is inevitable. In the present condition of agriculture it might be advisable to relax, if possible, the restrictions placed on life-tenants, and enable them, on getting permission from the court, to oblige trustees to advance money for permanent improvements, even if they were forced to borrow it. It is a choice of evils, but would be preferable to dealing with a financial middleman. Trustees might also be authorised to take over the personal debts of a life-tenant, to raise money at the lowest rate of interest to pay them off on condition that the life-

tenant covered them by insurance. If the security of all insurance companies is not considered good, the country should have insurance companies specially designated for such transactions, who comply with certain regulations as to the investment of their capital. If life-tenancy is a recognised custom, life-tenants ought to have the opportunity of borrowing money at a reasonable rate of interest. This question is one so inextricably woven up with sentiment and tradition, that it is essential to consider them as factors in dealing with it. Landowners would be more likely to apply capital, if they had the opportunity, to the land they and their family have been associated with for centuries than others who bought it as an investment for money; and for this reason it would be apparently advisable, if possible, without endangering the interest of the taxpayer or the successors in tail, to relieve the present owners in lieu of setting up others in their place.

Many remedies have been suggested to alleviate the present distress. Lord Winchilsea has made an earnest endeavour to enlist all the agricultural intelligence by inviting landowner, tenant, and labourer to unite against the common foe. They would despoil the Church of her tithe; they would reduce the dividends of railway companies by lowering rates; they would make the consumer pay more for his daily bread; and they would ask to be relieved of rates and land tax—in other words, they would throw down the gauntlet to every non-agriculturist in the United Kingdom.

If the National Agricultural Union can induce agriculturists to moderate their views, and to make one demand at a time, it might assist them to get some consideration from the general public, but for the moment no one can do anything for them. If the farmer is in pecuniary difficulties, no one will or can help him but the owner of the land he hires; if the owner cannot assist him, owing to pecuniary embarrassment, then the cultivator's only chance is to grind down the labourer, and thus make both ends meet by paying lower wages.

When the employer of labour in any industry is affluent, those working under him are generally contented and happy; if not, they strike to improve their position. How can the agricultural labourer be expected to strike for higher wages if he sees that the estate on which he is living is out of repair, and that the owner is bound down by the iron hand of mortgage. He gives himself up to the inevitable, because he knows that he cannot reduce production by working short time, nor force his employer to give a fair share of net profit when there is little, if any, profit. It is difficult to imagine that an English landowner, if a free man, would not willingly do anything to ameliorate the condition of the agricultural labourer; but landowners, who are mostly life-tenants, are not free—they are tied down by the red-tapism of trust which meets them at every turn,

giving a blow to any little scheme they may have hatched for the benefit of those living on their land. The origin of trust was to protect property from being squandered by spendthrifts; it has, however, become a bar in the way of those who wish to improve their property; they cannot pass without paying a toll to the financiers and lawyers, who virtually control their actions.

Reformers who want to aid the labourer must first free the landowner from restraint. They rail at the landlord, who is merely a puppet, drawing a salary during his life out of an estate which in no sense belongs to him. He naturally, in most instances, takes as much as he can. If not, it is because he wishes to be popular, or has been brought up with a stern sense of duty to his neighbour.

The English life-tenant, though not so bad as the enthusiastic advocates of reform would wish the outside world to imagine, is in no way different from the rest of his species. Pride is his ruling passion, and he would starve sooner than tamper with the law of primogeniture. He may therefore adopt a plan to enable trustees to make loans for improvements, or to empower them to raise money on the security of the estate and advance it to life-tenants if fully covered by insurance. Such a scheme would postpone what he considers the evil day, when absolute ownership of land or the Napoleonic law is enrolled in the statute-book of the country.

Legislation ought, if possible, to give the life-tenant who is public-spirited, enterprising, and unselfish, every opportunity to apply capital to the development of the land, instead of, as it has done in the past, only protecting property from the squandering propensities of a succeeding generation.

VERNON.

A NATURALIST'S VIEW OF THE FUR- SEAL QUESTION

THERE can be no doubt that among the more highly organised animals of the present day species are rapidly decreasing in number. Where are our quaggas, our white rhinoceroses, our sea-cows, our dodos, and our great-auks? Gone, gone for ever, never to be seen again in life by us or by our descendants, and known only by miserable stuffed specimens and dry bones in our museums. The bisons, both of Europe and North America, will shortly share the same fate. The passenger-pigeon, formerly met with in millions in the forests of Western America, is now an extremely rare bird; and the Carolina parakeet, once spread all over the Southern States, is at present to be found only in a few isolated swamps. Even the giraffe, familiar to visitors to our Zoological Gardens for the past fifty years, can no longer be obtained for love or money; and unless Mr. Rhodes can 'square the Mahdi' (as he has promised to do) it seems that the children of the present generation will never know what a living giraffe is like. Gloomy thoughts attack even the most cheerful naturalist as he ponders over these things, and thinks of the coming time when there will be no mammals left upon the earth but rats and rabbits, and no birds to speak of except the domestic fowl and the all-pervading sparrow. Such being the case, it is obvious that when a controversy arises which involves the existence of a species of animal, the naturalist is sure to support the view that the continued existence of that animal is the most important part of the question. It matters little to mankind whether one nation or another shall gain a diplomatic victory. It matters much that an animal, especially if it be of economic importance, should not be wiped out of the category of living beings.

Let us, therefore, consider shortly the history of the fur-seal of the Northern Pacific, which is now engaging the attention of the seven arbitrators at Paris, and see whether the British or American proposals on this subject are more likely to conduce to the preserva-

tion of this most useful animal. The excellent monograph of Mr. Henry W. Elliott and the writings of many other observers, not to speak of the eight Blue-books lately presented to Parliament, contain a mass of information upon the fur-seal and its habits such as has been rarely, if ever, got together on a similar subject. It is difficult to compress so much interesting matter into a few paragraphs.

The seals, walruses, and sea-lions constitute a very distinct group of the order Carnivora of naturalists, distinguished from the terrestrial carnivores mainly by the structure of their limbs, which are modified for use in the water, though there are also slight differences in their dentition. The animals of this group are all essentially aquatic: they spend the greater part of their life in the water, swimming and diving with great facility, and feeding mainly on fishes and other marine animals. On land they progress with difficulty, but they appear always to come ashore for the purpose of breeding and bringing forth their young. Putting aside the walrus, which represents by itself one of the three principal families into which the 'pinnipeds,' or 'fin-footed carnivores,' are usually divided, there remain two very distinct groups, which are often both spoken of as 'seals.' These are, first, the true seals, distinguished by having no external ears, and by their hind limbs being serviceable for progression in the water only; and the eared seals (also called sea-lions and sea-bears), which have small external ears, and use their limbs also for locomotion on land. The general form and external appearance of the latter group are now well known to the public from the recent introduction of sea-lions into the zoological gardens of Europe. A specimen of the Patagonian sea-lion was first obtained by the Zoological Society of London in 1866. Since that date numerous specimens of the Californian sea-lion have been brought from the western coast of America, and nearly all the principal zoological gardens of Europe have been supplied with specimens of these most interesting animals.

It is to the same genus of aquatic carnivorous mammals, but not to either of the species above mentioned, that the Alaskan fur-seal, the subject of the present great international controversy, belongs. The genus has been well named *Otaria*, from its external ears, and comprehends some nine or ten different species, which are distributed over various parts of the Pacific and Antarctic Oceans, but do not extend into the Atlantic. Some of these eared seals are what are called 'hair-seals,' being covered with the stiff close hairs common to all the members of the family; others, which the hunters and traders call 'fur-seals,' in addition to their hairy covering, possess an exceedingly fine and dense under-fur. The skins of the members of this second group (the fur-seals), when properly dressed and deprived of

the longer hairs, supply the well-known 'seal-skins' of commerce, so much valued for ladies' 'seal-skin jackets.'

In former days South Africa, Australia, and South America all supplied seal-skins for the market, derived either from the shores of the continents themselves, or from the adjoining islands, to which the fur-seals resorted for the purpose of breeding and bringing up their young. But the Antarctic fur-seal trade is now practically extinct, owing to the indiscriminate slaughter of these animals, which commenced at the end of the last century, and was continued until the reduction in their numbers rendered the trade altogether unprofitable. In a single year it is said that three hundred thousand seal-skins were taken from the South Shetland Islands, and upwards of three millions are stated to have been carried off from the Island of Mas-à-fuero, near Juan Fernandez, in the short space of seven years. In fact, the breeding-places, or 'rookeries,' as they are called, of the fur-seals in the Antarctic Seas have been entirely destroyed. The myriads of seals which formerly resorted to them have been either entirely swept away, or reduced to a few individuals, 'which seek the land in scattered bands, and rush to the sea on the approach of man.' There can be little question, we see, of the fate that will overtake these defenceless animals in other parts of the world unless effective regulations are instituted for their protection.

Although, therefore, a few lots of seal-skins may still be received from the South Seas, the fur-seal of the North Pacific (*Otaria ursina*) is, in fact, the only source of the present supply of 'fur-seal skins' that can be relied upon. At the present epoch only two remaining breeding-places of this animal exist. These are the Pribilof Islands in Behring's Sea, within the territory of Alaska (ceded by Russia to the United States in 1867), and the Commander Islands in the south-west corner of the same sea, which still remain under Russian jurisdiction. Two great herds of fur-seals resort to these islands respectively during the summer months for the purpose of breeding and rearing their young. After this is over the seals of the Pribilof group migrate south to the coast of California, whilst those of the Commander Islands pass along the line of the Kurile Islands to the shores of Japan, to spend the winter in more hospitable climes. It will be thus evident that the four nations of America, Great Britain, Russia, and Japan are those which are mostly interested in the Fur Seal question.

The Alaskan seal-herd being at the present moment the subject of special interest, I will shortly describe the extraordinary habits of these animals, which have been carefully studied of late years. The breeding-places, or 'rookeries,' situated on the two bare islands, St. Paul and St. George, of the Pribilof group, having been vacant all the winter, are first occupied by the adult male seals or 'bulls,' from

five or six to twenty years of age, and weighing from 400 to 700 pounds, which arrive in the latter part of April or during the first few days of May, the time being partly dependent on the melting of the ice round the islands. Each bull takes up a special position on a rock or other eminence, as near as possible to the water, and fights many sanguinary battles with his rivals for the most advantageous post. Towards the end of May the cows begin to appear in the adjacent waters, and continue to arrive during the following month and the first half of July. The one object of the bulls, like that of certain Eastern potentates, is to have as many wives as possible. The average number of cows obtained by each bull is from fifteen to twenty-five, or even more, and in some cases it is said that as many as forty cows have been seen gathered together in one harem. Severe conflicts are constantly taking place amongst the bulls for the possession of the cows, and grievous wounds are inflicted.

Mr. Elliott describes these battles as follows :—

The fighting between the old males for the cows is mostly—or, rather, entirely—done with the mouth. The opponents seize one another with their teeth, and then, clenching their jaws, nothing but the sheer strength of the one and the other tugging to escape can shake them loose, and that effort invariably leaves an ugly wound, the sharp canines tearing out deep gutters in the skin and furrows in the blubber, or shredding the flippers into ribbon-strips.

The bulls usually approach each other with comically averted heads, just as though they were ashamed of the rumpus which they are determined to precipitate. When they get near enough to reach one another they enter upon the repetition of many feints or passes before either one or the other takes the initiative by gripping. The heads are darted out and back as quick as a flash; their hoarse roaring and shrill piping whistle never cease, while their fat bodies writhe and swell with exertion and rage; furious lights gleam in their eyes; their hair flies off into the air, and their blood streams down. All this combined makes a picture so fierce and so strange that, from its unexpected position and its novelty, this is one of the most extraordinary brutal contests man can witness.

As, moreover, besides continually fighting, the bull never leaves his station during the three months of the breeding season, or takes any food whatever during that period, it may be imagined that he has rather a bad time of it, and departs from the island lean and miserable after his long fast. But next year, after his migration to the south, where abundance of food is found, he returns to his station thickly enveloped in blubber and as strong and vigorous as ever.

The female fur-seal, which is only about one-fifth of the size of the adult male, brings forth her single young one shortly after landing on the rookery, where she is jealously guarded by the bull to whom she belongs. After a few days' nursing she goes off to seek food, leaving her pup on the rookery, and, according to the testimony of experienced observers, often wanders a long distance in search of

sustenance. It is said that nursing females have been taken as much as a hundred miles and over from the breeding islands. The pups, as has been already stated, are born on the breeding-grounds in the months of June and July, and for the first six or eight weeks of their life do not enter the water. After this period they gather together in groups called 'pods,' and work their way gradually down to the beach, where they learn to swim, and pass an amphibious life until their departure south, about the middle of November.

The ways of the adult males, females, and young have now been shortly described, but there remains a fourth and most important class to be spoken of. This is that of the 'bachelors' or non-breeding male seals, ranging in age from one to six years, after which they pass into the class of 'bulls.' The bachelors arrive at their home in the Pribilof Islands soon after the adult bulls, and endeavour to land upon the rookeries, but are always driven off by the old males, and are obliged to establish themselves in separate communities. Here they pass their time sleeping, wandering about, and making occasional trips into the sea, never missing to pay their attentions to a stray female, if an opportunity affords itself. It is this phenomenon of the entire separation of the younger males from the breeding bulls that gives the much-desired occasion for obtaining the pelts of the fur-seal without seriously interfering with the breeding herd. During the 'killing season,' as it is called, which lasts about four months in the year, a certain number of bachelor seals are driven every day away from the rookery a short distance inland, to grounds specially set apart for the purpose. Here the 'killable' seals are carefully selected, those of three and four years of age being preferred, as having the best fur, while the remainder are allowed to return into the water and to rejoin their companions in the rookery. In this manner, since 1870, when the Pribilof Islands were first leased by the United States Government to the Alaska Commercial Company, one hundred thousand seal-skins were taken annually during the months of June, July, September and October, up to 1890, when the quantity was reduced on account of the falling off in the numbers of the herd. That this reduction of numbers was an undoubted fact is admitted by both the British and American Commissioners in their joint report. It is likewise admitted by both parties that the diminution was the result of 'excessive killing by man,' but, as will be presently seen, the Commissioners of the respective governments are quite at variance as to what sort of 'killing by man' has caused the diminution.

When the breeding season is entirely over, and the pups are grown up and able to swim, the whole herd leaves the Pribilof Islands. The bulls after entering the ocean remain in the waters south of the

Aleutian Islands, but the remainder of the herd—cows, bachelors, and pups—pass on eastward and appear off the coast of California about the close of the year. Thence they turn northwards along the coast of British Columbia in a long irregular body, returning to their breeding quarters, through the eastern openings of the Aleutian Islands, in the following May and June. It is during their progress northwards along the coast that what the American Commissioners term ‘the pelagic sealing’—which in their opinion has caused such havoc in the numbers of the fur-seals—takes place. From a remote epoch the native Indians along the coast have been accustomed to spear a few seals from their canoes, and thus to procure a certain number of skins for the market. Of late years, however, American and Canadian schooners have taken up the same trade, using vessels with crews of from twenty to twenty-five men, and provided with small boats for hunting. Formerly these vessels were manned almost exclusively by Indian crews, who adhered to the use of the spear. Of late years, however, since the trade has become more profitable and attained larger dimensions, the spear has been superseded by fire-arms. It is of course very difficult to ascertain the exact number of seals obtained by the ‘pelagic sealers’; but, according to the American Commissioners, the number has been gradually advancing during the past ten years, so that in 1891 it amounted to at least sixty thousand. The vice of ‘pelagic’ sealing does not, however, depend only upon the numbers captured. If there were no other reasons to the contrary, it would be quite as fair that the ‘pelagic’ sealers should catch sixty thousand seals in the open Pacific, as that the American officials should slaughter the same number in the Pribilof Islands. But in the former case there is, of course, no possibility of making a selection of age or sex. The ‘pelagic’ hunter kills every seal he can come across, whether male, female, or young. According to the American Commissioners, ‘at least eighty per cent. of the seals thus taken are females.’ Worse than this, according to the same authorities, they are principally females heavy with young. Thus for every seal of this kind taken two lives are sacrificed. Moreover, as the seal, if shot dead, sinks quickly below the surface, many of the bodies are altogether lost, and another considerable element of wastefulness is thus attached to ‘pelagic’ sealing.

Now, let me ask, what owner of a deer forest in Scotland would consent to his hinds being killed, especially during the breeding season? Is it not likewise on a grouse moor absolutely forbidden to shoot grey hens at any time? In these, and in numerous other instances which might be mentioned, the sanctity of female life is universally recognised. On the other hand, the fur-seal being polygamous, males may be killed to a large extent without fear of injury

to the herd, for, although nearly equal numbers of both sexes appear to be born, one adult male is sufficient for twenty or thirty females. But the selection of males from females, and especially of males of the age required to make the best skins, can only be effected on land, where the assembling together of the younger male fur-seals on particular spots presents the necessary opportunity. I think, therefore, that if the fur-seal is to be preserved for the use of posterity, every true naturalist will agree with the American Commissioners that 'pelagic' sealing ought to be altogether suppressed—in the first place because it necessarily involves the destruction of female life; and in the second place because of its wastefulness through the frequent failure to recover seals shot at sea. It may be very true, and probably is, as contended by the English Commissioners, that the Americans, of late years, have worked their seals rather hard, and have unduly reduced the number of males. But this is a matter for the Americans themselves to regulate, and, looking to the great value of the fur-sealeries, they will no doubt reduce the quantity of skins taken, if necessary. It is hardly likely that they will 'kill the goose that lays the golden eggs.'

But in order to attain this desirable object our American friends will have to come to terms with other nations. Without going into the diplomatic question of what rights passed to the United States by the cession of Alaska, I have sufficient confidence in the common sense of the arbitrators now sitting at Paris to believe that they will never give in to the argument that Behring's Sea is a *mare clausum*, and that America, by the cession of Alaska, has acquired the right to keep all other nations out of it. This is a position that can hardly be maintained in the face of the British evidence to the contrary. The absolute prohibition of 'pelagic' sealing which is demanded by the Americans, and which ought to be carried out in order to ensure the continued existence of the fur-seals, can only be obtained by mutual arrangement among the parties interested. The fur-seal of Alaska (practically now the only remaining member of the group of fur-seals) should be declared to be, to all intents and purposes, a domestic animal, and its capture absolutely prohibited except in its home on the Pribilof Islands. Looking to the great value of the privilege thus obtained, America might well consent to pay to Great Britain and her colonists some compensation for the loss of the right of 'pelagic' sealing; the amount of this compensation would be fairly based upon the number of fur-seals annually killed on the Pribiloff Islands. The 'royalty' thus levied would no doubt increase the price of seal-skin jackets. But seal-skin jackets are not a necessary luxury, and an additional pound added to their cost would not be of material consequence to the ladies who wear them. As a naturalist, therefore, I think that the fur-seal should be considered in the light of a domestic animal, and that all 'pelagic sealing' should be stopped,

while the owners of the sealerics should at the same time pay to the other nations interested a reasonable compensation for the valuable privileges thus obtained.

P. L. SCLATER.

P.S.—Since this article was written I have been able to consult the ‘Appendix’ to the ‘United States Case’ on the Behring’s Sea Arbitration Question, which for some reason has not been reprinted in the series of blue-books presented to Parliament, although it contains the documents and evidence on which the ‘Case’ is based. I find, with great satisfaction that some of the most distinguished zoologists of Europe who have been consulted on the subject (M. A. Milne-Edwards of Paris, Dr. G. Hartlaub of Bremen, Dr. R. Collett of Christiania, Professor Lilljeborg of Stockholm, Dr. A. T. von Middendorf of Dorpat, Count T. Salvadori of Turin, and Dr. Giglioli of Florence) agree nearly with me in the views put forward in this paper.—P. L. S.

• THE CRAVING FOR FICTION

It is not altogether easy to examine the psychical and mental forces which prevail to give fiction the immense preference it possesses over other forms of literature, and to estimate its effect on social and intellectual growth, without seeming to assume the superior airs of a lecturer to a Young Men's Christian Association. But, in truth, the subject is so remarkable in some of its features as to deserve philosophic consideration of the origin and results of the appetite for romance.

Hedonism, then—the doctrine of Aristippus, which sets pleasure as the right aim of existence—seems to be the spirit ruling the readers of books: pleasure, that is, not of a grossly material kind, for the disciples are often as free from the thrall of the senses as from the discipline of strenuous research; but pleasure *quand même*, not the less so because directed and controlled by culture and knowledge, for there is no pleasure less liable to pall than reading, no pastime more sure to satisfy.

It is so difficult for us to imagine a world without books that we are apt to forget that it is only within the last three or four centuries that the materials for reading have come within reach of the majority of Europeans. In 1340, when Richard of Bury penned that sentence which has since found sympathetic echo in so many minds, there were no printed books—no books, that is, in our understanding of the term.

These are masters (he said) who instruct us without chastisement, without anger, without fee; if you repair to them they are not asleep; if you would consult them they do not hide themselves; if you blunder they complain not; if you betray ignorance they laugh not.

How would good Richard, poring over manuscripts limited in number and difficult of access, have esteemed our lot in these days? The difficulty now is not to get books, but to decide on a choice from the overwhelming multitude that pour from the press. It is hardly possible for the most voracious bookworm to devour more than 150 books in the space of a year; one who achieved that number might accomplish about 9,000 in the course of his life. Probably nobody ever did so, and it would, after all, be an insignificant fraction of contempo-

rary publications, for about 20,000 separate works are annually added to the shelves of the British Museum—more than twice as many as any man could possibly peruse in a lifetime—amounting in a normal life period of seventy years to the prodigious total of 1,400,000 books. And this leaves wholly out of account the vastly greater mass of journalistic literature which consumes part of everybody's time and attention.

Seeing, then, that almost every reader is not only free to select for himself, but actually under obligation to do so, it is not without interest to inquire what, in the majority of cases, is the nature of that selection, and to trace, if possible, the influence under which people make it.

The returns of every free library prove how enormously the demand for fiction preponderates over that for any other kind of literature.

The annual report for 1891 of the committee managing the free libraries of Birmingham shows that during the course of that year 855,096 volumes were asked for and issued. These were divided into twelve classes: (1) theology and moral philosophy; (2) history, biography, voyages, and travels; (3) law, politics, and commerce; (4) arts, sciences, and natural history; (5) poetry and drama; (6) magazines and periodicals, those of a special character being classed under the subject to which they belong; (7) prose fiction; (8) miscellaneous, including dictionaries and cyclopædias; (9) patents; (10) juvenile books; (11) embossed books for the blind; (12) music. Now, of the 855,096 volumes inquired for, no less than 519,595 were novels and magazines, leaving 335,501 for the other ten classes of literature.

This is the more remarkable when the composition of the Birmingham libraries is analysed. It might be supposed that fiction is more in request because the committee have more of that class on stock than of others. But this is not so. Out of a total of 169,230 volumes on their shelves only 31,996 are classified as prose fiction and magazines. It appears then that, although the committee have provided fiction and magazines only in the proportion of about one to five of other books, literature of that class is in demand in the proportion of five to every three of other classes. There is this additional fact to be remembered: that whereas many books are only required for purposes of reference, novels are read from beginning to end.

Such is the evidence of the public appetite for reading in a community like Birmingham, a great industrial centre, where, of course, works on technical subjects must be in pretty general demand. But the results are still more remarkable if the returns of libraries in districts not so exclusively industrial are examined. The table showing the number of volumes issued during the same year, 1891,

from the lending department of the Battersea free libraries shows that out of 178,261 volumes lent no fewer than 146,515 were novels, four-fifths of the whole—four novels to every single work in all the other classes.

It would be easy to multiply proofs of the preference shown by readers for imaginary narrative over all other kinds of books, but it is unnecessary; one has only to run over the contents of the nearest railway bookstall to find assurance that those persons best acquainted by experience with the statistics of supply and demand are convinced of the futility of providing much else for the recreation of travellers.

Now, there is not the slightest intention of suggesting that all this is wrong and deplorable—to sit in ashes and cast dust on our beards because a depraved public finds more solace in imaginary love stories than in works upon political economy or moral philosophy. It would be dishonest in one who has read all Miss Broughton's novels (and hopes to read many more) and only half of Shakespeare's plays, who pounces on all that comes from the pen of Mr. Andrew Lang, yet has never penetrated far into *Paradise Lost*, to hint that there is much amiss in the fact revealed by the returns of free libraries, that (leaving newspapers out of account) out of every four persons engaged in reading at this moment three are reading novels, or, at all events, five out of eight. If this contributes to the general contentment, be it far from the philanthropist to interfere. If people prefer to read of the imaginary acts and conversations, not of an immoral tendency, of characters who never had existence, no objection need be raised on moral grounds. Dr. John Brown, in a foot note to that masterpiece of pathos *Rab and his Friends*, tells a story of a countryman who was asked to explain why his dog looked so grave. 'Oh, sir,' he replied, 'life is full of sairiousness to him: he can just never get enough o' fechtin'.' Life is 'sairious' enough to everybody, and it is not to be regretted if the majority prefer fiction to 'fechtin'.' So let folk have all the mental relaxation that can be afforded them: society will be all the brighter and happier for it.

But there is no harm in speculating *why* it is that most people are entertained by narratives of what never took place rather than by history or biography, and whether this remarkable characteristic of modern civilisation is really conducive to genuine recreation or, like certain indolent habits, interferes with it.

That a preference for fictitious narrative is contrary to natural human instinct is an assumption that may be supported by known facts. Man is essentially an inquisitive animal.

Man's craving (says Mr. E. Tylor) to know the causes at work in each event he witnesses, the reason why each state of things he surveys is such as it is and no other, is no product of high civilisation, but a characteristic of his race down to the lowest stages. Among rude savages it is already an intellectual appetite

whose satisfaction claims many of the moments not engrossed in war or sport, food or sleep.

It is true that among primitive races this craving has to be put off with myths. People of whose origin no authentic record has been preserved are fain to invent fables to stand in its place. Thus in the eighth and ninth centuries the Scots were puzzled to account for their own name. Why, they wondered, should a people known as Scots inhabit a country known to them as Alba and to the Romans as Caledonia? Presently some learned man invented an eponymous legend to the effect that they were descended from a daughter of Pharaoh of Egypt, a princess whom, to suit the exigency of the case, he named Scotta. This naïve myth was eagerly grasped at, believed, and stood in place of history till, quite recently, ethnologists produced something more substantial. Even Milton, intellectually head and shoulders above his generation, could not bring himself to cast aside the fabled origin of Britain from Brutus.

Those old and inborn names of successive kings, never any to have bin real persons, or don in their lives at least som part of what so long hath bin remember'd, cannot be thought without too strict an incredulity.

He shrank from the feeling that, if he were to lose hold of the tradition, incapable as it was of proof, there would be nothing to which thoughts of the origin of his country might attach themselves. He preferred to believe what might not be true, rather than be left without anything to believe. But can it be doubted that, had he possessed the sources of information accessible at this day, a man of his mental fibre would not have sought delight in the truth rather than the tradition?

It would be natural, then, to expect that inasmuch as discovery and diligent comparison of records have prevailed to clear away the ancient myths which stood our ancestors in stead of history, that considering we possess a veritable narrative of much that they burned to know, and had to go to their graves without finding out, it would be in the study and extension of those subjects that much of our reading would be employed. But it is not so. At most, people like their history as they do their bread-and-butter—in thin slices. Perhaps it is the fault of historians, but there can be no doubt they are not in it with the novelists. Many sharp things have been said about them. Prosper Mérimée bluntly confessed that he hated all history except the anecdotes. Fielding, writing at a time when novels commanded only a small fraction of the interest which is taken in them now, declared that nothing was true in history except the names and dates, whereas in fiction everything was true except the names and dates. That is to mean, I suppose, that the master of romance is able to impress the imagination with a true picture of human character, whereas the historian, cramped by a sense of the

necessity of recording actual events, presents his characters as if they were automata. He is apt to fit his personages to the incident, instead of being able, like the novelist, to invent or mould any incident to bring out the points in his characters. It is, in fact, the difference between science and art, between photography and painting. The object of the historian, as a scientist, is to produce an impression, colourless perhaps (for colour is subjective, and every historian professes to be impartial), but crammed with as many confirmatory details as possible. His intention should be, not to please, but to inform, and he aims at the scrupulous fidelity of a photographic plate. Every one knows the depressing effect of an exhibition of photographs. But the framer of romance enjoys an immeasurable advantage over the historian. His canvas is full of glowing tints, and just as it is lawful—nay, indispensable—for a landscape painter to suppress some details, preserving only those which contribute to a brilliant and pleasing impression of the scene, leaving out a telegraph post here and placing a suitable group of figures there, bringing into bright relief the space where he desires attention should be concentrated, and spreading convenient gloom over whole tracts of canvas, so the skilful novelist knows how to keep his reader's attention by condensing tedious negotiations, skipping uneventful periods, enhancing merit, and making infamy more intense. One exclaims, 'How lifelike!' because vivid contrast of character and brisk action constantly bring to mind familiar traits and experience, whereas a dispassionate critic would pronounce it unlike real life, for there the action is oftener tardy and the motives ambiguous or obscure.

The result of all this is that, although we are all ready to smile at the credence yielded by savages to their myths, few of us are unwilling, and none are ashamed, to devote an enormous proportion of our time to reading what we don't believe, and are not intended to believe.

When the Queen of the Fairies persuaded Thomas of Ercildoune to mount and ride with her, she brought him to the parting of three roads—the stony, thorny track of righteousness, the broad and easy way of self-pleasing, and a third path along which she beckoned him.

Oh, see ye not that bonnie road
That winds about the fernie brae?
That is the road to fair Elfland,
Where thou and I this night maun gae.

That is the road down which so many of us wander under the enchanter's spell, whereas it may be we should find surer enjoyment in bending our steps elsewhere.

But it may be said that we are no longer inquisitive, like our forefathers, on the subject of history, because the broad facts of it have been drubbed into most of us at school. Everything has been

explained; our curiosity is stimulated by no enigmas in that field; we need not invent myths, neither need we trouble ourselves to know what everybody knows or can know if he likes.

But how about the secrets of natural science, many of which are secrets no longer? and why are we so different in regard to them from men in a less advanced state of society?

Take as an example that topic which, in our climate, crops up more incessantly in conversation than any other—the weather. In Eastern lands a man, meeting his friend of a morning, observes that ‘God is great,’ a proposition which, in that old-fashioned society, no one is disposed to dispute. But among ourselves it is ‘It’s a fine day,’ or ‘Cold this morning,’ that comes most readily to the lips; yet few people concern themselves with speculating why it is fine, or cold, or wet, or dry, or realise how immensely the daily interest of life is contributed to by observation of natural phenomena and acquaintance with their cause. It was otherwise in primitive times: all over the habitable globe men used to, and in some places do still, invent elaborate theories to account for fine weather and for foul; baffled in the endeavour to do so by natural causes, they imagined rain gods, sun gods, thunder gods, frost gods, supplicated them and propitiated them with costly or bloody sacrifices. But now that science has unravelled a great part of the mystery the majority of men are wholly indifferent to the cause of weather. Lord Rosebery dwelt not long ago on the amazing cheapness of literature, and observed that one could buy the whole of *Pickwick* for 4*d.*; it is a vast privilege, but surely it is still more remarkable that for 2*s.* 6*d.* one can buy Scott’s *Elementary Meteorology*, containing the solution of that problem of the weather which hitherto through all the ages has been the most perplexing and engrossing of enigmas to mankind. ‘The wind bloweth where it listeth, but no man knoweth whence it cometh or whither it goeth’—a saying most true in the ears of those who heard it, but now that we can gather knowledge from a single octavo volume, enabling us to say exactly whence the wind cometh and precisely whither it bloweth, no one seems to care much about the matter.

It is the same with other branches of natural science. No one but he who has experienced it can realise how vastly a man’s horizon is extended, how his resources of keen enjoyment are multiplied by an elementary knowledge of geology or botany. It is, I believe, in the country where people of leisure are most apt to fall victims to the painful affliction of ennui, but it is hardly possible to lay the finger on a part of the map where the lover of plants will not find occupation, or the amateur geologist something on which to exercise his faculties.

Then how greatly the resources of one loitering in a town are extended by acquaintance with the different orders of architecture and their modifications. Yet there are tens of thousands of visitors

to London who are content to be unable to define the difference between Westminster Abbey and St. Paul's Cathedral.

It has been said by those who have had experience of it that no one understands the thrill of genuine enjoyment who has never voluntarily followed an intellectual pursuit: it is equally true that no one can receive all the pleasure afforded by natural scenery until he has learned in some degree to interpret its history; neither can any one enter into the spirit of a town without comprehending on what principles it has been built. And if this be the truth, then it is in the exercise of these natural faculties of observation and inquiry that a man will most surely find delight, and most surely sacrifice it by lulling them to sleep.

Granted that familiarity with the adventures of Guy Mannering, Redgauntlet, and Dirk Hatterick adds zest to a tour on the shores of Solway, not the less is enjoyment ensured by an acquaintance with the New Red Sandstone and the Silurian beds.

Sir John Lubbock has wisely spoken:—

Those who have not tried for themselves can hardly imagine how much science adds to the interest and variety of life. It is altogether a mistake to regard it as dry, difficult, or prosaic; much of it is as easy as it is interesting. In endless aspects science is as wonderful and interesting as a fairy tale.

This source of endless interest and gratification lies open to every reader in countless admirable handbooks on every possible branch of natural knowledge.

For a time—but one cannot go on drenching his faculties and dulling the edge of his inborn appetite for knowledge with continual draughts of sweet but innutritious matter without a loss of natural power. After a time the mind recoils from effort, and the reader only

loves to hear

A soft pulsation in the easy ear,
To turn the page, and let the senses drink
A lay which will not trouble him to think.

There are many busy workers following out the clues of truth—more in this age, perhaps, than in any previous one—but there are also many possessed of the priceless boon of leisure who might contribute aid to the work, and thereby earn for themselves unexpected enjoyment, but stand aside, absolutely indifferent, and prefer to occupy their minds with the fictitious predicaments of persons who never existed.

Any one who is in the habit of telling stories to amuse children must have observed how often the question is put to him, 'Is it a true story?' and have noticed how the little countenance falls and the interest flags if he is unable to answer in the affirmative. The story loses half its interest unless the child can believe that it really

took place. Perhaps it is a sign that the world is growing old that so many people are indifferent to the truth of a narrative and prefer fiction. Men of science have pricked so many fallacies that we are oppressed with the weight of sound information, and exclaim with Festus, the hero of Bailey's neglected drama—

Night brings us stars, as sorrow shows us truths :
Though many, yet they help not ; bright, they light not ;
They are too late to serve us ; and sad things
Are aye too true. We never see the stars
Till we can see nought but them. So with truth.

But there is one purpose of fiction which may be traced to the earliest times of which we have any record, and endures to this day. Moral philosophers, recognising the human appetite, which can be allayed only by story-telling, took advantage of it to convey wholesome teaching.

Aesop's fables are an early example of this system : being somewhat threadbare after 3,000 years of use, we are apt to overlook the extraordinary knowledge of human nature condensed into these elementary stories. The cock that found a jewel, but preferred a barleycorn ; the goose that laid the golden egg ; the dog that dropped the bone he was carrying because in his own reflection he fancied he saw another dog carrying a bigger bone, all these are everlasting illustrations of the motives of human action. Imagine how the sage kept his audience in rapt attention when these old tales were new. Travellers describe how professional story-tellers in the East have so much power of gesture and facial expression that they hold the attention even of those listeners who cannot understand the language.

Many of the lessons taught by the Founder of Christianity were conveyed in the form of fiction. Some of the parables may have had foundation in facts, but probably most of them were merely illustrations of various types of character.

Mrs. Jameson tells us how, when she was young, she entertained no more doubt of the substantial existence of Dives and Lazarus, of the good Samaritan, and of the wise and foolish virgins than she did of that of Herod and John the Baptist. She relates how, in later life, she scandalised a good old woman by trying to explain to her the nature of a parable, and that the story of the prodigal son was not a fact.

We may be quite sure that, in order to arrest the interest of his hearers, our Lord neglected none of the arts of romance ; observe in the story of Dives and Lazarus the clothing of purple and fine linen, the daily sumptuous fare, the dogs licking the beggar's sores—all so many details contributing to the vividness of the scene, which it is certain lost nothing in the telling.

English novelists maintain the tradition of the salutary offices of

the story-teller to this day. If it is not along the steep and difficult way of spiritual wisdom that they lead us, neither is it the flowery paths of profligacy, and the traveller in quest of 'fair Elfland' is not allured by poisonous flowers and fruits, such as in certain other lands are made the ordinary garniture of romance. We have passed through the riotings of the Restoration, and witnessed the frowsy and crapulous irregularities of the early Georges without losing all the sternness of decorum bequeathed by our Puritan sires. The limits set to English writers of the nineteenth century are drawn so as to shut out the chief stock in trade of modern French novelists—analysis of illicit love. An experienced priest once said that of the confessions he had received (and they were very many) ninety-nine hundredths referred to infringements of the seventh commandment, and the same may assuredly be said of French novels.² English novel-writers, on the other hand, have managed to produce, within the limits prescribed to them, a mass of literature wherein, while there is doubtless much that is of dubious worth, it is the rare exception to find the sin that most easily besets men alluded to otherwise than as a deplorable calamity. The unhappy consequences of that and of other sins—murder, theft, falsehood—are generally so strongly insisted on as to deepen the aversion with which it is the intention they should be regarded. Nor is it only the seven deadly sins which are thus presented; the minor frailties of human nature are systematically treated as to appear odious—selfishness, vanity, avarice, bigotry, backbiting—so that in fact a high moral ideal is kept before the novel-reader as constantly as it is from the pulpits of our churches; more effectually too, it may be added, for as a nation we have fewer imperfections as writers than as orators.

This much, then, must be set to the credit of our story-tellers: that they consistently enlist the sympathies of their listeners on the side of virtue, and in the interest of our social code it is well that it is so. It is disquieting to imagine the dangerous effect upon manners which a book, written in English with the witchery displayed by the Abbé Prévost in *Manon Lescaut*, might have. As a work of art that romance is consummate; the reader is plunged into a state of tender enthusiasm for a couple of characters whose conduct in real life would ensure their exclusion from all society now held to be respectable.

Again, how deftly some novelists use a weapon which formal preachers seem to disdain. Satire—in its more humane form sarcasm—is by no means a monopoly of the comic papers. If a foible deserves to be exposed or an extravagance shamed out of existence, there is no

² There is, of course, a limited class of French romance written down to the requirements of young unmarried ladies; but, seeing that French girls of the upper classes are brought up far more strictly than those of our own country, these books are generally the reverse of seductive.

surer or more merciful way of doing it than by the object lessons of characters in fiction. Never was kindlier moralist than Mr. Walter Besant, but those who have followed the fortunes of the *Monks of Thelema* must have shivered at the castigation bestowed on extravagant philanthropy in the person of Alan Dunlop, and on the affectation of the school of higher culture in that of Paul Rondelet. This is a weapon, however, which must be used with much forbearance and skill, for the public is sensitive and evinces quick jealousy of a novel with a moral.

The intellectual attitude of the modern novel-reader is highly complex; his delight is to read what he does not believe, and knows he is not intended to believe, and yet he is not contented if it is incredible. Sir Walter Scott does not take us very deep into the question when he pronounces that 'the mythology of one period passes into the romance of the next, and that into nursery tales of subsequent ages,' for, as has been shown, myths originate in an attempt to account for unknown causes of visible phenomena or an existing state of things, and romance will not satisfy the succeeding age if it offends *scepsis scientifica*—a robust form of incredulity which withholds belief to assigned causes (even in fiction) when these are at variance with the known nature of things.

The myths of barbarous or semi-civilised people may be roughly divided into three grades; and to illustrate these one of each may be selected from those fables constantly invented to explain obscure natural phenomena.

First comes the kind consisting of simple assertion, without pretending to excite admiration, fear, or any other emotion, intended merely to gratify curiosity. Such was the story told by the Algonquin Indians to Father Le Jeune, a Jesuit missionary of the seventeenth century.

I asked them what caused eclipse of the moon and the sun; they replied that the moon was eclipsed and appeared dark because she took her child into her arms, which obscured her brightness. 'If the moon has a child,' I said, 'she is married, or has been so.' 'Certainly,' they answered; 'the sun is her husband, who marches all day, and she all the night, and when he is eclipsed it is because he has taken the child into his arms.' 'But,' I argued, 'neither sun nor moon has arms.' 'Oh, *you have no imagination*,' they rejoined; 'they hold their bows always bent before their faces, that is why you can't see their arms.' 'And what do they intend to shoot at?' I asked. 'Ah, how can we tell?' said they.

Next in order comes the narrative myth, in which the listener is intended not only to receive instruction on matters exciting his curiosity, but to be interested in the incidents of the story. The mediæval Slavonic legend of the mysterious advance of the plague is a vivid instance in point. Mr. Tylor has given a translation of a greatly condensed version, in the original of which the interest would be intensified by minute details of scenery, features, and language.

There sat a Russian under a larch tree, and the sunshine glared like fire. He saw something coming from afar; he looked again: it was the Pest Maiden, huge of stature, all shrouded in linen, striding towards him. He would have fled in terror, but the form grasped him with her long outstretched hand. 'Knowest thou the Pest?' she said; 'I am she. Take me on thy shoulders and carry me through all Russia; miss no village, no town, for I must visit all. But fear not for thyself; thou shalt be safe amid the dying.' Clinging with her long hands, she clambered on the peasant's back. He stepped onward, saw the form above him as he went, but felt no burden. First he bore her to the towns. They found there joyous dance and song; but the form waved her linen shroud, and joy and mirth were gone. As the wretched man looked round he saw mourning, he heard the tolling of bells; there came funeral processions; the graves could not hold the dead. He passed on, and coming near each village heard the shriek of the dying, saw all faces white in the desolate houses. But high on the hill stands his own hamlet; his wife, his little children are there, and the aged parents. His heart bleeds as he draws near. With strong gripe he holds the maiden fast and plunges with her beneath the waves. He sank; she rose again, but she quailed before a heart so fearless and fled far away to the forest and the mountain.

Now in this story a long advance has been made in one respect from the primitive nature myths towards the spirit of the modern novel. Sympathy is aroused on behalf of the hero; one feels impatient to know whether he rose again as well as the Pest Maiden, and lived to rejoin his family in the village which he had saved, and the unsatisfactory feature in the narrative is that we are left in doubt on that point. But in another respect this legend predicates a less abstract art than those fables which, though here placed in a third group, are often, in point of time, found in earlier stages of human development than the others. In myths of this third class there are many connected with the daily spectacle of sunrise and sunset. Some of them are elaborate and beautiful, implying a high degree of sensibility both in the teller and his hearers; but sometimes the incidents recorded are such as could not have taken place more than once, and therefore can never have been accepted as literally true even by simple and easily satisfied intellects. People might believe that the stir, the hues, the balmy odours of morning were caused each day by Tithonus leaving the embraces of Aurora, for that might be repeated daily throughout eternity; but the North American legend of the Red Swan, which Longfellow has woven into his poem of *Hiawatha*, though purporting to explain the displays of sunset, can never have been accepted as anything but figurative, for it involves the death of some of the characters in it. Those who listened to the Russian myth of the Pest Maiden very likely believed it, for it explained an exceptional occurrence, and professed nothing except what happened on a single occasion. But in the story of the Red Swan we trace evidence of something akin to the mental condition of modern novel-readers, who prefer amusement to exact information. Only the novel-reader, while willing to dispense with a faithful explanation, will not put up with an incredible narrative.

The truth about the popularity of novels is that most people, being discontented with their environment, find relief in contemplating an ideal society where tedium is unknown and disappointment is generally circumvented; and, on the other hand, there is afforded to those who are moderately virtuous and prosperously at ease the pleasure of contrast in narratives of crime, hardship, or disaster, without the responsibility of relieving or the exertion of sharing these conditions. The hedonist who is not so well off as he feels he ought to be tickles his imagination with the power and pleasure derived from wealth by the Count of Monte Cristo. The man who finds himself unable to derive much exhilaration in the conversation of his own valet takes much enjoyment in reading the quaint sentences in which Sancho Panza or Sam Weller framed their philosophy. Has a woman been denied the gift of beauty? she is free to identify herself for the time with the fortunes of Di Vernon or Tess of the D'Urbervilles. Is a man tied to the colourless routine of a counting-house? what a stirring playground is open to him in the never-flagging adventures of Dumas's *Trois Mousquetaires*. And for all of us it is delightful to trace the action of life-like characters exposed to the same temptations, predicaments, losses, and apprehensions which it has been our own lot to encounter.

For all such harmless illusion we cannot but be grateful to those who provide such abundant entertainment to wile the journey through life. They stand, each at the door of his wayside tavern, beckoning us aside from the dust and fatigue of travelling, and we can easily choose those who are sure to bring us among amusing and instructive people.

But it is not safe to tarry too long with this phantom company, or we shall find ourselves out of tune with real men and women; unbraced for the stern difficulties, the dark perplexity which, at one time or another, we all have to encounter.

The dilemmas of real life are never so artistically arranged as they are in a novel or a drama; the living characters move awkwardly enough sometimes; they fail to satisfy our critical sense, made excessively fastidious by the perfect adjustment of parts in fiction. One is often in doubt whether living characters are good or bad; but it is easy to decide between Cinderella and her sisters, or the three daughters of King Lear. The novelist keeps the seamy side of the character of his hero or heroine carefully out of view; those who feed their judgment chiefly on romance are prone to forget how truly speaks the nameless lord in *All's Well that Ends Well*: 'The web of our life is of a mingled yarn, good and ill together; our virtues would be proud if our faults whipped them not, and our crimes would despair if they were not cherished by our virtues.'

The fact is that, minutely as novelists affect to paint character, there is a great deal that must not even be sketched in. It is part

only of a few of real lives that endure being put on the canvas at all; over the rest a discreet veil must be drawn.

It is all very well, then, to be moved to tenderness by the misfortunes of Effie Deans, and to glow sympathetically over the devotion of Jeanie; but how many an Effie Deans there is who earns nothing but reproach, condemnation, and avoidance because no friendly hand has intervened to keep out of sight her unlovely or ungraceful attributes. Many a lass may have borne a part not less noble, not less worthy of admiration than Jeanie Deans, but has failed of her meed of praise because she squinted, or dropped her *h*'s, or picked her teeth with a hairpin.

Reading a good novel is rather like paying a visit to a friend who is much richer than yourself: everything in his house is so luxurious and well arranged; his wife and children lay themselves out to find amusement for you; his servants are all on their best behaviour; so that when you return home you are apt to be offended if things are not so faultlessly adjusted in your own establishment.

It requires a conscious mental effort to remember that the most impressive characters in romance never had actual existence, but have been trimmed and furbished and posed into artistic perfection, with which frail and awkward human beings can never successfully compete. Even railway directors—a most material and humdrum class of men—bow before the sway of the unreal, and are so possessed of the actuality of Old Mortality as to advertise excursions, not to Craginethan on the Clyde, but to Tillietudlem.³ Not less astute in this than the priests of Buddha, who exhibit hair, bones, and feathers as veritable relics of the 550 fabulous births of Guatama, each in the form of a different animal.

In fact, to enjoy fiction thoroughly one must throw himself so completely into the action of the plot as to believe, for the nonce, in the reality of the characters. 'Harp and carp,' said the Queen of Elfland to Thomas the Rhymer.

'Harp and carp, Sir Thomas,' she said,
'Harp and carp along wi' me,
And if ye dare to kiss my lips
Sure of your body I will be.'

'Betide me weal, betide me woe,
That weird shall never daunt me,
Syn he has kissed her rosy lips
All underneath the Eildon tree.

And then the spell was complete.

And when it is seen how potent is the spell—how many and many a mind is incessantly lulled by the perusal of skilfully woven romance,

³ There is actually a station on the Caledonian Railway of this name, and the North British route from Edinburgh to Carlisle and the South is called the Waverley.

how fiction is read by some people to the exclusion of every other form of literature except the daily papers—is it unreasonable to feel some apprehension lest the mental faculties become enervated and the intellect hampered when the realities of life come to be dealt with? The lesson of fiction is that life is nothing without love and marriage: it brings people to the threshold, where real anxiety and trial begins, and leaves them there. But real life is not accomplished with the end of its love passages.

It is little to a man's credit that he should act heroically when he is in love, for then, despite himself, he takes more thought for another than for himself.

You love: no higher shall you go,
For this is true as Gospel text;
Not noble *then* is never so
Either in this world or the next.

But to equip him for the real wear and tear of life his mind should be stored with examples of those who have encountered constant vexation, and have triumphed over disappointment, perplexity, failure, and even disaster. It is well for him to read the Waverley Novels, but it is far better to read Lockhart's *Life of Scott*, for that marvellous biography brings him acquainted with a life led as nobly in foul weather as in fair; of overwhelming losses surmounted by a stout spirit; and a kindly nature unsoured by disappointment or distrust.

One grudges to observe the amount of time spent on sentimental love-stories, while such lives as those of the great artists Michelangelo and Benvenuto Cellini go unread. There is nothing in fiction more absorbing than the lives of these two men. Each of them, as a boy, had to encounter that most formidable of all external obstacles—an angry father armed with a rod; in vain were repeated floggings to dissuade each of them from entering upon that career upon which each was destined to throw immortal lustre. Rivalries, jealousies, oppression, conflict form a series of vicissitudes with which it may profit a man better to store the memory than with the rogueries of Roderick Random or the dilemmas of David Copperfield.

Thousands of persons are familiar with the spiritual fumbings of Robert Elsmere, but comparatively few have followed the wondrous story of the Italian Renaissance—a movement only second to Christianity in its influence on modern life and thought, an era which Paul Bourget (himself a novelist) has epitomised in a single masterly sentence:—

Again, let it be said that if novel-reading is the surest as it is the

Cette minute de floraison unique où la créature humaine semble avoir été si complète, entre le moyen âge, qui fut le règne de la force trop forte, et notre siècle, où la culture confine sans cesse à la maladie.

easiest means of intellectual recreation, there is no cause to interfere with or discourage it ; but the true hedonist—he whose avowed aim is pleasure—will find it to his profit to consider whether he is getting good value for the time spent in it, whether he is not neglecting other sources of delight not less sure and more enduring. If he applies to novels an infallible test of the value of any book—is it worth reading notebook and pencil in hand?—he will be surprised how few, how very few works of fiction stand the proof. That this test is infallible rests on the well-known fact that pleasure consists not in the present, which is fleeting, but in anticipation and retrospect. Memory is treacherous and requires refreshing, and, unless the recollection of what is read is ensured by notes, reading is a task as fruitless as that of the daughters of Danaus ; it serves to spend our limited capital in time without enriching the ever-diminishing store of future.

Perhaps it will be expected that, after deprecating excessive devotion to fiction—after suggesting that the human intellect has passed out of that stage in which it may worthily be much occupied with myth—I should point out some other course that may be steered with more profit through the sea of literature. The attempt to do so has been the task of abler hands, but of all those who conned the lists published a few years ago of the ‘hundred best books’ how many conformed to the instructions, and with what result ?

If any young person of leisure were so much at a loss as to ask advice as to what he should read, mine should be exceedingly simple : *Read anything* bearing on a definite object. Let him take up any imaginable subject to which he feels attracted, be it the precession of the equinoxes or postage stamps, the Athenian drama or London street cries ; let him follow it from book to book, and unconsciously his knowledge, not of that subject only but of many subjects, will be increased, for the departments of the realm of knowledge are divided by no *octroi*. He may abandon the first object of his pursuit for another ; it does not matter, one subject leads to another : he will have acquired the habit of acquisition ; he will have gained that conviction of the pricelessness of time which makes it intolerable for a man to lie abed of a morning. Treasure turns up in the most unlikely places. A book of legal decisions is perhaps the last mine one would explore for amusement ; but John Burton has told how a student consulting the index of such a volume came upon a piece of fun of the first water. Observing the words, ‘Best, Mr. Justice, his great mind,’ he turned up the reference, prepared to admire an instance of magnanimity on the bench, and found the passage, ‘Mr. Justice Best said he had a great mind to commit the witness for perjury.’

But, to show that no disrespect is intended to our clever writers

of fiction as guides to the higher pleasure, these observations may be brought to a close by reference to an early example of that very class of literature in which the same lesson is more dexterously conveyed—namely, the fable of the dying husbandman who bade his sons dig in the vineyard for a hidden treasure. They did so—most diligently, and, as they thought, in vain; but in after seasons the reward came in the tenfold produce of the vines.

HERBERT MAXWELL.

PROTECTION AND THE EMPIRE

FOR several generations it has been the habit of writers and speakers to talk of the 'inevitable separation' of England and the American Colonies. Lord Macaulay lent the phrase the support of his great reputation, and the idea it puts forward—the paradox that Union is Weakness—has hitherto gone almost unchallenged. There has seldom been a more fatuous piece of criticism. To realise this we have only to consider the extraordinary combination of blunders and misfortunes that was needed to bring the great catastrophe about. The 'inevitable' separation required a King obstinate as only an Englishman can be, but unfortunately with the wrong idea in his head; it required a ministry without an equal for imbecility and ignorance; it required the death of the foremost living general on our side the water, and the appearance of a genius for war and statesmanship on the other; it required a war conducted with an incapacity unparalleled even among English wars; it required, finally, a cruel and insolent disregard of the feelings of the colonists, and a total ignorance of the gravity of the question throughout the length and breadth of England.

So little was the separation a natural impulse, in the sense that the unifications of Germany and Italy were natural, that even when peace was concluded, the federation nearly went to pieces half a dozen times in the seven years that preceded the election of the first President. What is there that is 'inevitable' in an event of this kind? The question is worth asking, because when the British Empire is thought of, the separation of the American Colonies lies at the back of every man's mind. We talk and write of customs unions, an Imperial franchise, an Imperial Council, and other splendid visions, but the discussion seems a good deal tinged with unreality; and when all the facts are counted up, and all our rhetoric is exhausted, the great fact of the American secession remains to mock our logic and throw cold water on our rhetoric. 'Granted,' says even a hopeful Imperialist, 'granted that the conditions are entirely altered, even reversed; all that great difference between then and now has not brought us much nearer to our colonies, or them to us: there must be something else that made for separation then, and that makes for it still.' There is; there are several things both tangible

and intangible; and first of all, when we orate of things Imperial, an Englishman feels that all this talk about constructive measures is rather hollow. It is not the way that Englishmen go to work. To conquer, to fight, to quarrel (more especially with each other), and above all to govern, these things are all in the Englishman's part; they seem to come by nature. But to construct plans of government on paper seems to him idle work. He has a very low opinion of logic, and a profound reverence for facts. Add to these the scantiest possible gift of exposition, and you have the type of a man of action and compromise, but a hopeless subject for paper schemes of any sort. This is one of the intangible obstacles to our union; a second is that with the qualities that make up the Englishman go also the defects. With the virtues that have made Englishmen spread over half the world goes this defect—that from the family upwards we are the least cohesive of modern races. Yet one more intangible drawback: in so far as we are a sentimental nation our sentiments do not, like the sentiments of other nations, run with our interests.

The one tangible drawback to our union is that the constitutions granted to the self-governing colonies were all drawn up with a view of furthering their ends as independent states. The deed was done in the heyday of the blatant Liberalism of the past, in a frame of mind which Englishmen can now hardly realise: but it was done; and the results are before us. When this is said we have summed up the worst that can be said against the chances of the Empire, and the worst is very bad indeed. Let us go back to the American Colonies and see whether from the blunders of the past we can extract some grain of good counsel to help us in the future.

When we have patiently weighed the angry eloquence employed on both sides at the time, and examined the results of the Secession in the light of later experience, it becomes increasingly plain that the kernel of the matter was never reached at all. England was too ignorant, and the colonies too heated to allow of it. The contest was argued out on abstract questions like the Prerogative of the Crown and the Constitutional rights of the subject—questions on which an adjustment of views was hardly possible. And in this strictly limited sense, viz. that the men in power were too incapable to apply the proper remedies, there is no harm in admitting the separation to have been inevitable. But it is precisely this form of the admission that furnishes us with the most hopeful suggestion for the solution of our present difficulties. We are now all agreed that a Government has no higher function than to secure the happiness of the governed. If this admission had been made by our great-grandfathers, they would immediately have found themselves face to face with the only question that was worth asking or answering then, and with the only question that is worth asking or answering now, *What are our mutual interests, and how can they be secured?*

Of course the first comment that occurs to any one who has ever given any attention to the question of defence and attack is that all the colonies live in a fool's paradise, guarded for them by the British Navy. Hurl down the Union Jack and in six months its place may have been taken by the Tricolour, by the Stars and Stripes, by some eagle or other, or by the flags of China or Japan, according to who is first in the race. But to many a colonial the fool's paradise is so real that these obvious reflections carry no weight whatever. On the question of how far the colonies can stand alone his attitude of mind is too often that against which the gods strive in vain. So if we were to present a scheme of Federation with no sanction but that of the threatened withdrawal of our protection, and it were to fall to the ground (as it certainly would), we should have the melancholy satisfaction of being able to say, 'I told you so,' but that would be a very small consolation for a vast expansion of the colonial interests of France and Germany. Of course the attitude of some of our colonies could hardly be more unfriendly to England if they were actually foreign dependencies; and this is, perhaps, natural when we consider that they are mortgaged to England, lock, stock, and barrel. But nothing is gained (or rather, as the example of the American Colonies has shown, everything may be lost) by emphasising contentious points. As nothing is worth considering except our mutual interests, let us consider them. It is to our interest—is it also to the interest of the colonies?—that the colonies should modify their protective policy, and it is to the interest of the colonies (and also to that of England) that England should modify her Slave Trade policy: yes, Slave Trade, for that is what Free Trade has come to; nothing more or less. When the discussion reaches this point it is usual to close it with two dicta: 'You will never get Free Trade out of the colonies, and you will never get Protection in any form out of England.' The rejoinder to this is: 'We do not want to get Free Trade; we are sick of it ourselves. We want reciprocity; and so, at least, does Canada. As for Protection, it is what every English workman calls for in one form or another.'

The Slave Trade, on which so much of the commerce of England is based, receives from its votaries a measure of adoration that far transcends their moderate allegiance to the Ten Commandments. Sir Thomas Farrer, for instance, has not hesitated to state openly that he looks on the questioning of Free Trade as 'immoral.' It is to be hoped that there are many hundred thousands of Englishmen who are, in Sir Thomas Farrer's sense, immoral profligate men. These profligates—who are, fortunately, voters—were mostly not born at the time of the Corn Law agitation, when England was perhaps half as full as it is now, and when work was so plentiful that a few extra hands from abroad were not noticed: when England, in fact, was where the United States were a few years ago, but where even the

United States are not now. They may therefore be pardoned for not seeing the beauty of an arrangement which forces them into a hateful and hopeless competition with lower types, and which allows foreigners to undersell them and supplant them in every direction. To these slaves of trade the phrase 'Free Trade' has a terrible mocking significance; and if they were not misled by knaves on tubs and elsewhere they would long since have declared (as assuredly they will soon) that their condition, and not the exceptionally favourable one of the peasantry of Ireland, should be the first care of an Imperial Parliament. These men form the bulk of the great party who are sick of the domination of catchwords. What they want the Government to do is to secure the wide range of the Empire for Britons' exclusive use; not to spend the time peddling over the affairs of one tiny corner of it. And through their pressure will, no doubt, come the first move of the rebellion against Slave Trade—the exclusion of foreigners: the rest follows. This will be, and is, already called illiberal and all kinds of other opprobrious names. Let it be: the point is that the electorate mean to have it. They hold (and rightly) that it is the business of an English Government to consider Englishmen in preference to Poles, Italians, or Chinese. Their interest compels them to lift their eyes beyond the narrow circle of the four seas, and to call for an Imperial policy. With the advent of an Imperial policy the Slave Trade falls: without an Imperial policy the Empire falls.

These electors, only half articulate as yet, have found their leaders and spokesmen in that great body of travelled Englishmen of all classes who know the Empire or some part of it outside England. It is not possible to know it all; nor is it necessary—*ex pede Herculem*—and from Australia England may learn an important lesson.

It is the habit of sentimental slave-traders in England to urge all sorts of arguments in favour of pauper immigrants: they are poor and deserve our pity; true they are filthy, but then they are moral, and also highly religious according to their lights; they are hard-working and frugal, and so on. As if our own people were not frugal enough and poor enough (God knows) and hardworking enough, and as cleanly and moral as the conditions of the Slave Trade will allow them to be. Try these arguments on an Australian, applying them to the Chinaman who is the pauper immigrant of the Southern Hemisphere. He will listen to your impassioned exordium with courteous pity, and will then say: 'It may be so: in fact it is so. He is a very good market-gardener; but he is not going to market-garden in Australia.'

The last and direst development of so-called Free Trade has as yet reached only a comparatively small number of Englishmen. But their miseries have been enough to move most of us to the conviction that if this is the goal that the course of (so-called) Free Trade

leads us to, its action on the road cannot be very beneficial. Nor is it. It is the custom of the 'Free' Trade fanatic to say: 'Let all nations give in to the lunacy of Protection: we will not. It behoves England to set the world an example. We are the only nation that really understands the right way of carrying on trade; all others are deluded: they do not even understand their own interest; it is for us to teach them, at whatever cost to ourselves, that the sacred rule of trade is to buy everything in the cheapest market without any reservation whatever. Men are nothing, but trade is sacred.'

It used to be the fashion to talk about the Tory party as the 'insular,' and especially 'the stupid, party;' but surely not even the stupidest and most misrepresented Tory ever reached (even in the appearance he assumed in a Radical's mind) the height of arrogance and insularity attained in the latter-day Radical's position. What! there is not a nation in the world that understands business except the English? Are Austrians, Americans, Frenchmen, Germans, Italians, our own colonists literally incapable of knowing their own interests? A quondam Radical must ask to be excused from taking up a position of this intolerable impertinence.

What all the great Free Traders intended when they first started Free Trade was this:—England leads, and the others will naturally follow; and *when all nations have adopted Free Trade* (as they naturally will when they find that it gives them the cheapest goods) it will be found that nations have so many interests in each other's territory that war will have become impossible. This was a great idea and it had the vogue that great ideas deserve; but it was a great idea struck out from viewing the Continent from England; it omitted to contemplate England from the Continent; and what was most obvious to Continentals was that the result of Free Trade *all round* would be to give England the undisputed command of the markets of the world. Strange to say, the abstract beauty of Free Trade was not attractive enough to enable them to swallow this inevitable conclusion; so they fought our great idea with a greater, viz. *Independence is better than cheap goods*. And since an Imperial policy should have no catchwords, let us define 'better.' It means 'safer and more dignified.' A state that depends on other states for its food can never speak its mind; and if it were not for the really immense power of England she would by now be more than half paralysed. Independence is not cheap: not by any means; it is expensive in exact proportion to its value; but it will be a strange sight indeed if Englishmen, who have cherished independence before all things for a thousand years past, should now refuse to pay in cash the price they have never yet refused when it had to be paid in blood. Twenty-five or even twenty years ago men still wrote and talked of the 'monopoly of England:' nobody speaks of it now, and why? It is gone: limb after limb has been lopped off by Germans or by

Americans. How? By subsidising their own goods they have destroyed our markets, and thrown our men out of employment. All our anxiety, all our efforts after technical education are of no avail against the steady and (we must admit, since it causes them great discomfort in the shape of high prices) the patriotic determination of other peoples to be self-sufficient. Beginning with no higher aim than to be independent of England, they are ending with a triumphant war of aggression, of which it is not hard to see the end if we persist in our refusal to arm ourselves as our enemies are armed. Such is the virtue of Protection and such the weakness of so-called Free Trade.

The land was the first to go, and Englishmen let it be ruined—let the land of England be ruined!—seemed rather pleased that it should be so. ‘At last,’ they said, ‘we see that our true strength lies in our manufactures.’ Well, now our manufactures are threatened in the same way. Are they to go too? Are all our sons to pass through the fire to Moloch? That will hardly be, unless England is permanently bewitched. The cry for Protection grows louder every day, and the cry for Protection is the cry for the conservation of the Empire.

On the other side of the water the first great fact to consider is Canada’s offer of reciprocity, the second is the Imperial tendency of the policy of the Cape, and the third is the curious situation in Australia. Here the exact opposite of ‘Free’ Trade has been generally adopted, and the ‘Free’ Trade party is in a minority, as in the United States. To obtain a modification (however slight) of strict Protection as a return for a modification of our own ‘Free’ Trade policy is the first step towards a closer union in the interest of both countries. And here we are met by another ‘you will never get,’ which (it may as well be at once admitted) is impregnable. ‘You will never get Free Trade out of the labourers of Melbourne and Adelaide’ is an undeniably sound position, but it is not (as is too often assumed) the last word on the question. It is such a sound position that it seems hardly worth while to make it. ‘You will never get’ a man to vote the bread out of his own mouth is hardly a more valuable contribution to a discussion than ‘you will never’ break the Bank of England or ‘you will never’ get B to come before A in the alphabet would be. Of course you will not; and seeing the tangle that ‘Free’ Trade has got us into, there is no reason why we should lament the labourers’ determination to stand by Protection—especially as we are struggling to get Protection ourselves.

But there are limits to the applicability of any doctrine. The weak point of our own ‘Free’ Trade position, of course, was that it assumed that all parties would, so to speak, ‘play fair,’ and that is exactly what they have not done. They have learned our methods, adopted the results of our hard-won experience, and (having established their own manufactories) have (very naturally and properly from their

point of view) proceeded to shut out our products. For this the money has been found by the consumer, who has cheerfully paid the extra prices for the pleasure of dealing a blow at us. And very heavy blows they have been: much severer blows than the loss of a regiment or a few ironclads in an open war would be. It is tolerably plain that on these terms 'Free' Trade does not pay: Protectionists, as the attacking party, will always be in the most favourable position.

What, then, is the limit to the applicability of Protection? The willingness of the people to pay the extra prices; and this divides into two questions: are we to pay any extra prices at all? and are we to pay as much as any given tax? The second of these queries takes us to the root of the Imperial matter, but the first is only another way of putting the query, shall we be patriotic or not? For in paying extra for goods the citizen is conscious of a direct sacrifice made by himself for the sake of his country's independence. It is undoubtedly a form of patriotism, and it would be well if Englishmen had more of it. This patriotism is not expressed in the form of devotion to graceful or stirring abstractions, as is the German's or the Frenchman's, but it is none the less a strong and, in a measure, a disinterested feeling, and leads to great things. Like all strong motive forces it also leads to some very bad things—rings, corners, and the bleeding of the whole country for the sake of a few capitalists; but that is its last development, and even that is not worse than the Slave Trade. So that if we have no better recommendation for an Imperial policy than that it makes goods cheaper, we shall not succeed in making it popular. The answer will be the same as is the answer of France and Germany to our eulogiums of Free Trade, viz. 'We do not worship cheapness as you do: we think of something else first (surprising though it may seem to you), and that is our country.' And the rebuke would be well deserved. We must accept the principle of Protection (and what a sign of the temporary aberration of the English mind that it should be held a vast concession to agree that we must arm ourselves against our rivals!) and see whether, under it, our interests are not in line with those of Australia, and not antagonistic to them. If they should prove to be antagonistic, there is nothing more to be said.

A very instructive case in point here is the decline of the Victorian tinned meat trade. To this trade the Australian landed interest contributed the meat, and English manufacturers contributed the tinplates. It was an excellent example of the mutual advantages of our union. But the imposition of an import duty on tinplates had this result, that the tinned meat could not be put on the English market at its former price. The trade fell off, the colony lost a considerable revenue, the landed interest was hit, the English consumer got his tinned meat somewhere else, the English manufacturer lost a market, and the Australian manufacturer did not gain one. This

illustration presents the whole case for our continued and closer union, which is so constantly urged by the landed interest of Australia: and the landed interest is the backbone of the country. It used to be the backbone of England until, seduced by the prospect of getting everything as cheap as possible, we allowed 'Free' Trade to destroy it. Hence there is a good deal of hollowness in the land agitation in England. It is pretty clear that English land has come to be, like diamonds, a fine thing to possess, and very gratifying to the vanity, but not a good business. Only a rich man can afford to hold it. If it were confiscated and redistributed in small parcels, there would still be no making a living out of it without Protection; and Protection of the land is the last form that Protection will be allowed to take in England. If circumstances would have permitted (or if they should ever again permit) us to take that moderate course which the Duke of Wellington used to insist on as the essence of strength, we should have endeavoured to preserve both sources of our wealth, the land as well as trade. But in the flush of our luxuriant vigour, conscious of mighty resources, and eager to gain, at any price, the immediate benefits of extended trade, we laid the land open to assaults from which it will hardly recover in a century. If a country possessing in a high degree both sources of wealth has found it so hazardous to sacrifice one of them, how much more must it be unwise for a country like Australia, which has practically only one?

A heavy protective policy in Australia can only be supported by the land. For Australia has at present and can have in the near future no customers for her native manufactures outside her own country. Thus we reach this conclusion: that the populations of the capitals, which really have the most considerable share in the making and unmaking of Ministries, are simply kept by the country party. The country party must wear clothes, for instance, and gets them from England. A mistaken patriotism makes a Ministry say, 'Here is an industry that we can carry on ourselves; so let us impose fifty per cent. on English goods.' This done a few extra handicraftsmen are employed in the towns, and the country folk pay more than half as much again for the necessaries of life. This is all very well for the townspeople, who continue to get their food as cheaply as ever, but it hits the countryman very hard. However, the idea that the land is fair game for any attack seems to have taken such a hold of the Australian mind, that the expression 'the working man' has come to mean simply the man who works with his hands in the towns. When we talk of Australia as the 'paradise of the working man,' we are using no hyperbole if we mean the man who can work at some trade. He will get ten shillings for a day of eight hours, very cheap food, and abundant leisure and holidays in which he can make use of free libraries or seek his pleasure as he pleases.

But if we are considering the man who lives on the land we shall

find that an average wage of five shillings a day is his moderate consolation for a working day of something like sixteen hours and a solitary life with infrequent holidays. This is some distance along the high road to what we should call 'sweating' the country for the benefit of the towns. And this is precisely the opposite course to that which wisdom would dictate. For Australia is not a ready-made country like the United States; she is a land of great promise, but pre-eminently a land which may be made or marred according to the policy of her statesmen. Mining apart, she has been made by the land in the past, and it is to the land that she must look as the chief source of her prosperity in the future. As it is the country party that holds this view the cynical observer will naturally say, 'Nothing like leather,' and pass by on the other side. This he will say not knowing the virtue of Protection, which cannot be established at all without patriotic self-sacrifice on the part of one class of citizens for another. So that when an Australian grumbles at Protection we may be sure that there is some reason for it other than the menace to his personal comfort.

The arguments of the country party take a great deal of point from the comparison (which every Australian delights in) of his own country with the United States. True, Australia is larger by about 30,000 square miles, and has a much greater coast-line, but with these points the advantage of the comparison ceases. The States have thousands of square miles of valuable timber forests and millions of acres of wheat; while a great portion of Central Australia is not only useless in itself, but generates hot winds, which disturb agriculture where it is already established. Then the States have a vast natural internal system of waterways, with mighty lakes and rivers insuring an unfailing water supply and a first-rate climate. On the other hand, the rivers of Australia are few and unmanageable, and navigable for no great distance. Moreover, the States have apparently inexhaustible supplies of coal and iron and oil-wells, which Australia has not as yet disclosed. Even in deposits of precious metals the States are richer, while when we consider the situation of the two countries, the one being only a week from Europe and lying between Europe and Asia, the other being six weeks from Europe with nothing between her and the South Pole, Australia sinks almost into insignificance beside the States as a manufacturing country. Of course all these difficulties *may* be overcome, and Australia, by dint of enterprise and with the help of steam or electricity, *may* eventually take her place as a great manufacturing country, but so far (and we have gone quite far enough to judge) the presumption is all in the other direction. In her present state of development manufactures are not a source of wealth to her, but a burden, a double burden; they draw away men who are badly needed on the land, and employ them on industries which can themselves only be maintained by throwing

additional burdens on the land. You are doing the country no good by forcing the pace in this way, and by throwing all these burdens on the land you are simply killing the goose that lays the golden eggs. Break down the landed interest and you break down the credit of the country.

So far the voice of the country party, and their arguments are hard to gainsay. They do not find frequent or forcible expression, for obvious reasons. The country party is scattered, it is busy and it is not given to orating on tubs; the town party has the opposite characteristics, with the result that its voice is too often mistaken for the voice of the continent. Moreover, as matters stand at present, if the country party opposes increased import duties it must do so simply on the ground that it does not like paying them, which is natural enough, but not a broad enough basis to win the support of what the Americans call 'Mugwumps,' that floating body of opinion which inclines to one side or the other independently of party dictation, and which has virtually decided all recent elections in the States.

But if England were to recognise Protection she would give all this party a reason for asserting itself which it has not at present; and she would furnish a statesmanlike premier with a policy.

There is much in common between the situation of a French premier and an Australian premier. Neither holds his office by a strong majority, and neither has an easy budget or a definite policy; there is very little to distinguish him from his opponent, except that he is in for six months and his opponent is out. The embarrassed premier of France, casting about for a policy, decides, as a rule, on two courses, 'Gird at England, and go for the opera;' the Australian premier piles on the import duties, and floats a loan for public works.

It can hardly be contended that either brace of measures helps the country on much. But to oppose them and offer no alternative is 'unpatriotic'—the very last charge that can honestly be made against an Australian of any party.

Now if the British Exchequer made a serious effort to bring English and Australian interests into line, the country party would be in a very different position. They would be able to say from their places in Parliament: 'We stand here as the champions of Australian greatness. Proud, and justly proud, as we are of our capitals, it is insane to overlook the fact that they are the symbols, and not the sources, of our wealth: the real and abiding strength of our country is the land. It is open to our opponents to say, "You speak as owners of land," and we are not ashamed to say that we do. In the course of the development of every country the great trust of the land will fall into somebody's hands, and it happens to have fallen into ours. But we appeal, and confidently, to the past history of our state to say whether we have not shown our perfect willingness to bear any

reasonable (and even sometimes unreasonable) burdens in order to give the State every chance of gaining a second source of wealth in a manufacturing interest. Is it not now clear to probation that the effort is premature? We have no wish to dislocate existing relations or to disturb vested interests. But we do maintain that future legislation should avowedly be aimed at strengthening agricultural interests, and that afforestation, the building of dams, any measure, in short, that tends to confirm and extend the grip of the country on the land under cultivation, that tends to steady our water supply and modify our climate, will be productive of more real benefit to the country than a further construction of public works.' They should be able to go on to state: 'The Government has now before them a formal proposal from the British Cabinet, which recognises the principle of Protection. We are assured that in admitting the competition of English manufacturers we are striving with Englishmen only, and not with the slave labour of the rabble of Europe.'

'In return for a modification of our policy England engages to secure us the practical command of her markets for our raw produce, with no rivals but her own and other colonial agricultural populations. Is not that a fair exchange? If you argue that this arrangement will tend to destroy our own manufacturing interest, we rejoin that there could be no better proof that that interest is artificial; and if it comes to charges of self-interest, it is at the expense of the country party, mark you, that the manufactories have been founded and kept alive at all.'

There can hardly be a doubt that a policy formed on these lines would add enormously to the wealth and credit of the colonies. It is ill borrowing on the security of mines and public works. Public works cannot be turned into cash, and a mine may give out any day. Of course a new mine may be discovered, but after all what is that but gambling? Australia is already in the market with wheat (although her lands have been a good deal overcropped), meat, fruit, and (with the help of bounties) butter. There is no reason why she should not go on with sugar and tobacco, and every reason to expect that (if she turned her attention to it) she could secure for her really magnificent wines a good share of the English custom now bestowed on France and Germany.

In short, protect the land of the colonies and the manufactures of England. Some day, no doubt, English land will pay again, and colonial manufactures will be able (on their own ground) to beat ours in fair fight. In the meantime we must go for the main chance. That is Imperial policy.

The chances in favour of the adoption of an Imperial policy might be better, but seeing that the question in its present shape is only eight years old they might naturally be a good deal worse. The resistance to it in England comes from two sources: Firstly, the old slave-traders,

who are, in the nature of things, a diminishing party. They are still, however, very influential, and their watchword is, 'Get everything as cheap as possible, no matter at what risks.' It is as well to recognise at once that this leads straight to the extinction of our race, which is the most expensive type existing. The Anglo-Saxon requires more food and drink, more leisure and better conditions, than any other workman. Give him these things and he is unapproachable, he is easily the first and best specimen of the human race. Deprive him of them, force him to work the hours of a German for the pay of an Italian in the conditions of a Polish Jew, and he disappears. 'And so he ought to,' says the slave-trader, with the impassivity of a Sphinx; 'let the best man win,' by which he means 'let the cheapest man win.' In other words; deliver the world over to the Chinese, who is the cheapest man living. On the same principle we should deliver Australia over to the rabbit, as being a cheaper animal than the sheep. But for some reason the Australians have not done this. Perhaps they found that the more expensive animal paid better in the long run. If so, that is rather a valuable object lesson.

The second source of resistance to an Imperial policy of any kind comes from a certain type of modern Radical, with which (to the great regret of those who have watched his interesting career) no less a person than John Burns appears to have identified himself. Speaking at Battersea on the 19th of February, Mr. Burns is reported to have said, as a preface to saying that he meant to vote for Mr. Gladstone: 'The Empire could go to a hotter place than a baker's shop for all he cared. What was the Empire to the electors of Battersea?' Well, that is not hard to answer. The Empire is a series of vast estates which the electors of Battersea, their fathers and grandfathers, have acquired (in company with the other electors of Great Britain and Ireland) at a cost of about fifteen hundred millions sterling, for the express purpose of giving themselves elbow room when (as now) their little islands should have grown too small to hold forty millions of inhabitants. These immense estates were wrested in fair fight from France and Spain, and are our very sufficient reward for a debt which even now is not much less than seven hundred millions. Most assuredly the electors of Battersea would be fools to let the Empire go in exchange for anything that John Burns has to offer them. That would be the dog and his shadow over again with a vengeance.

But this perfectly reasonable view does not commend itself to the Australian townsman. He does not realise that it is just the elector of Battersea and his likes who have conquered, and who still defend the broad lands where he dwells in peace. He sees that he has got his foot on the neck of the country, and he means to keep it there. He can (and does) keep out immigrants, keep up prices and

sweat the country for his benefit ; and it is from him that resistance, tooth and nail, will come to any Imperial policy. There are some losing causes for which we all feel sympathy, but we need not waste pity on extravagant selfishness of this type.

There is no other policy worth putting to English electors ; there is no other that has even a promise of greatness in it. To tamper with the Ten Commandments, to juggle with the franchise, to persuade English electors that a priest-ridden peasant is the most important subject of the Queen, and that being obviously incapable of governing himself, he ought therefore to rule over ten cities—all this may be very clever and wonderful, but, after all, it is not more useful than a display of fireworks. Englishmen the world over, producers and consumers, are in the same boat ; we sink or swim together. Union is strength and not weakness, as the paradox has too long maintained. We can spend our time cutting each other's throats and rifling each other's property to the huge delight of our enemies, or we can take counsel together how to secure our common interests. The first course leads to Effacement, the second to Empire.

WALTER FREWEN LORD.

INDEX TO VOL. XXXIII

The titles of articles are printed in italics

ACT

- A**CTON (Lord), *Noticeable Book*: Tocqueville's 'Souvenirs,' 883-886
 Adler (Chief Rabbi Hermann), *Jewish Wit and Humour*, 457-469
 Afghanistan, military strength of, 732
Agram Mummy, the, 796-802
 Alaska, alleged inclusion of the Behring Sea in, 607-609
 Aldine editions, prices of, 958
Alexandria, a Walk in, 813-829
 Ali (Ameer), *The Rupee and the Ruin of India*, 515-524
America and Australasia, a Britisher's Impressions of, 493-514
 America, North, birds of, 586-605
 American colonies, was their separation from England 'inevitable'? 1062
 Animals, variations of colours in, 684-689
'Architecture, a Profession or an Art'? 65-82
Architecture—a Profession or an Art, 405-415
'Architecture—an Art or Nothing,' 631-634
 Australia, influence of climate on the white population of, 866-869
 — importation of coloured labour into, 869-873

- B**ARRINGTON (Mrs. Russell), her 'Lena's Picture,' noticed, 889-892
 Barry (Charles), *Enlargement of the House of Commons*, 541-544
Becket, Thomas, the Real, 273-292
Paving Sea Question, the, 606-610
 Beane's 'Life Histories of North American Birds,' noticed, 586

CHA

- Bigg (Miss Ada Heather), *What is 'Fashion'?* 235-248
 Bimetallism, 116-119
Bimetallism once more, 619-630
Birds, North American, the Lives and Loves of, 586-605
 Black (Miss Clementina), *The Dislike to Domestic Service*, 454-456
 Blavatsky, Madame, and her book 'Isis Unveiled,' 769-771, 1015-1017
 Blunt (Wilfrid Seawen), *Lord Cromer and the Khedive*, 571-585
Books, Noticeable, 874-904
 — *Rare, and their Prices*, 952-965
 Books, statistics relating to the use of, in an industrial lending library, 694-698
 — hedonism in the reading of, 1047
Breathing, the Art of, 611-618
 Browne (Canon), *An Imperial University for Women*, 857-861
 Buchan's meteorological charts, 677-678
Buddhism, Esoteric, 767-788
 — — *a Reply*, 1015-1027
 Burton Pynsent, picturesque description of, 891

- C**ALIFORNIA, law regarding State loans in, 216
Carour, Count, on the Repeal of the Union, 874-882
 Caxton's books, prices at which sold, 959-960
 Chamberlain (Joseph), *A Bill for the Weakening of Great Britain*, 545-558

CHA

- Channell (Baron), anecdote of, 452
 Charles the Twelfth, *see* Sweden
 Chateaubriand, remarkable prediction of, 4
 Chesney (Sir George), *The Silver Question and India*, 116-126
 Clarke (Father), *Happiness in Hell: a Reply*, 83-92
 — — *See* Mivart (St. George)
Climate; the Influence of, on Race, 862-873
Colonies, Commercial Unity with the, 339-346
Commons, House of, Enlargement of the, 541-544
Cook, Domestic, the Doom of the, 309-319
Correspondence, an Impossible, 966-969
 Courtney (Leonard), *Bimetallism once more*, 619-630
 Creyke (Mrs.), *The Rothamsted Experiments*, 970-980
Crime, the Decrease of, 480-492
 Cromer, Lord, and the Khedive, 571-585

DAUNT (Achilles), his picture of hell, 328

- Davies (Theo. H.), *The Hawaiian Revolution*, 830-835
 Davitt (Michael), *The Priest in Politics*, 139-155
 Death duty on urban landed property, 307
Democracy, False, 4-18
 Diamond, artificial reproduction of the, 678-683
Domestic Cook, the Doom of the, 309-319
 — *Service, a Reformation of*, 127-138
 — — *the Dislike to*, 454-456
 Dowling (Alfred Raymund), *A Walk in Alexandria*, 813-829
 Drayson (Major-General), *The Art of Breathing*, 611-618
Drunkards, Habitual, 1009-1014
 Du Cane (Sir Edmund F.), *The Decrease of Crime*, 480-492
 Duff (Sir M. E. Grant), *Noticeable Book: Mrs. Barrington's 'Lena's Picture'*, 889-892

GUY

- Duras (Duchesse de), her 'Journal,' noticed, 896-899

EASTLAKE (Charles L.), *The Földi-Pezzoli Collection at Milan*, 981-993

- Education, Sham*, 19-35
English Poverty, Six Hundred Years of, 932-951
 Environment, action of, upon organisms, 683-689
 Etruscans, origin of the, 796-798

'FALSTAFF' and the New Italian Opera, 803-812

'Fashion,' what is? 235-248

Federation, an Experiment in, and its Lessons, 203-218

Ferrel's theory of atmospheric currents, 673-674

Fiction, the Craving for, 1046-1061

Forbes (Archibald), *The Inner History of the Waterloo Campaign*, 416-429

Fortescue (Hon. John W.), *The Influence of Climate on Race*, 862-873

France, the Government and the Panama scandal in, 156-163

French Revolution, the Financial Causes of the, 375-390, 652-670

French Revolution, the, a reaction against the Renaissance, 5-6

Fur-Seal Question, a Naturalist's View of the, 1038-1045

GASQUET (Dr.), 330

Gladstone (W. E.) as a demagogue, 10-12

— quotations from his speeches on Irish representation under Home Rule, 190-202

Gospel of Peter, the, 905-926

Grimthorpe (Lord), *'Architecture a Profession or an Art'?* 65-82

— *'Architecture—an Art or Nothing'*, 631-634

— — *See* Jackson (T. G.)

Grouchy (Marshal), conduct of, 423-425

Ground-Rents, the Taxation of, 293-308

Guyot (Yves), *Où allons-nous?* 156-163

HAN

HANSOMS and their Drivers, 470-479

Hart (Ernest), *The Revival of Witchcraft*, 347-368

Hawaiian Revolution, the, 830-835

Heaton (J. Henniker), *Post-office 'Plundering and Blundering,'* 994

Heine (Heinrich), examples of his wit and humour, 465-467

Hell, Happiness in: a Reply, 83-92

— *the Happiness in: a Rejoinder*, 320-338

— — *Last Words on*, 637-651

Helmholtz's theory of aerial waves, 676

Hexameters and pentameters, English, 451-453

Hill (Miss Octavia), *Trained Workers for the Poor*, 36-43

Home Rule Bill, the, 369-374

— *Second Thoughts on*, 559-570

— See Chamberlain (Joseph)

Home Rule Bill, the question of the exclusion or retention of the Irish members, 189-202

Hudson's 'Naturalist in La Plata,' noticed, 886-889

Humphrey (George R.), *The Reading of the Working Classes*, 690-701

Hypnotism at the Hôpital de la Charité, 349-366

INDIA, *the Silver Question and*, 116-126

— *the Rupee and the Ruin of*, 515-524

— *the Invasion of, by Russia*, 727-748

Ireland, repeal of the Union in, see Cavour (Count)

Irving's 'King Lear: a New Tradition,' 44-51

Italian pictures, notices of, 981-993

Italy, history of the opera in, 803-812

JACKSON (T. G.), *Architecture—a Profession or an Art*, 405-415. See Grimthorpe (Lord)

Jephson (Henry), 'Passing the Wit of Man,' 189-202

Jersey (Countess of), *Three Weeks in Samoa*, 52-64, 249-260

Jessopp (Rev. Dr.), *St. William of Norwich*, 749-766

Jewish Wit and Humour, 457-469

MAC

Jews, the, causes of their persecution in England, 750-752

Jex-Blake (Dr. Sophia), *Medical Women in Fiction*, 261-272

KATSCHER (Leopold), *Alfred de Musset*, 525-540

Khedive, Lord Cromer and the, 571-585

Knowles (James), *Aspects of Tennyson: A Personal Reminiscence*, 164-188

Kropotkin (Prince), *Recent Science*, 671-689

LAMBERT (Miss Agnes), *Aspects of Tennyson: the Real Thomas Becket*, 273-292

Land, how to attract Capital to the, 1028-1037

Lapwing, remarkable habit of the, 888

Layard (George Somes), *The Doom of the Domestic Cook*, 309-319

Leeds (Duchess of), *A Contemporary Letter on the Battle of Waterloo*, 430-435

Le Gallienne (Richard), *Noticeable Book: Lord de Tabley's 'Poems,'* 899-904

Lewis (Mrs.), *A Reformation of Domestic Service*, 127-138

Lilly (W. S.), *False Democracy*, 4-18

Loftus (Lord Augustus), *Commercial Unity with the Colonies*, 339-346

Lord (Walter Frewen), *Protection and the Empire*, 1062-1074

Louis the Fifteenth, character of, 377-379

— his conflicts with the Parlements, 653-655

— sumptuousness of his household, 661-662

Lugard (Captain), doings of, in Uganda, 220-228

Lyall (Sir Alfred), *Noticeable Book: Pearson's 'National Life and Character,'* 892-896

Lynching in America, 497-499

McCARTHY (Justin), *The Home Rule Bill*, 369-374

McClure (Mrs.), *The Agram Mummy*, 796-802

MAH

- Mahaffy (Professor), *Sham Education*, 19-35
 Maitland (J. A. Fuller), '*Falstaff*' and *the New Italian Opera*, 803-812
 Manures, experiments with, 970-979
 Martineau (Rev. Dr.), *The Gospel of Peter*, 905-926
 Mascagni's '*Cavalleria Rusticana*,' 808
Maverick, My, 789-795
 Maxwell (Sir Herbert), *The Craving for Fiction*, 1046-1061
 Mazarine Bible, prices at which sold, 955-956
 Meath, the elections in, 139-142
 Meath (Earl of), *A Britisher's Impressions of America and Australasia*, 493-514
Medical Women in Fiction, 261-272
 Meteorology, recent progress in, 671-678
 Mill (John Stuart) on false democracy, 7-8
 Mivart (St. George), *The Happiness in Hell: a Rejoinder*, 320-338
 — *Last Words on the Happiness in Hell*, 637-651
 — — See Clarke (Father)
 Moissan's production of diamond crystals in the laboratory, 678-683
 Morley (John), political doctrines of, 9-10
 Morris (William), poetry of, 100-104
 Müller (Professor Max), *Esoteric Buddhism*, 767-788
 — — a Reply to, 1015-1027
Mummy, the Agram, 796-802
 Murray (R. F.), *An Impossible Correspondence*, 966-969
Musset, Alfred de, 525-540
 Myers (Frederic W. H.), *Modern Poets and the Meaning of Life*, 93-111

NEWMAN, Cardinal, *on the Eternity of Punishment*, 635-636
 New Zealand, history of federation in, 203-218
 — influence of the climate of, on English residents, 863-866
 Norwich, the boy saint of, see William Nulty (Dr.), on the land question, quoted, 152-153

ROG

OSCAR the Second, *The Lion King of Sweden*, 702-724
Où allons-nous? 156-163

PANAMA inquiry, the, and French politics, 156-163
'Passing the Wit of Man,' 189-202
 Paul (Herbert), *Aspects of Tennyson: The Classical Poems*, 436-453
 Pearson's '*National Life and Character*,' noticed, 892-896
 Persico mission, the, 147-148
Peter, the Gospel of, 905-926
Poets, Modern, and the Meaning of Life, 93-111
Poldi-Pezzoli Collection, the, at Milan, 981-993
 Polignac (Prince Camille de), *Ulster and the Confederate States*, 927-931
Poor, Trained Workers for the, 36-43
Post-office 'Plundering and Blundering,' 994-1008
Poverty, English, Six Hundred Years of, 932-951
Priest, the, in Politics, 139-155
 Probyn-Nevins (Rev. W.), *Cardinal Newman on the Eternity of Punishment*, 635-636
Protection and the Empire, 1062-1074
 Prothero (R. E.), *Noticeable Book: The Duchesse de D'ras' 'Journal,'* 896-899
'Psalmorum Codex,' prices at which sold, 956
 Puma, the, 886-887

QUEENSLAND, the coloured labour question in, 869-870

RAILWAY travelling in the United States, 502-506
 Redmond (J. E.), *Second Thoughts on the Home Rule Bill*, 559-570
 Renaissance, the, a return to Pagan absolutism, 5
 Rivers, erratic passage of, through hills, 397-399
 Roberts (W.), *Rare Books and their Prices*, 952-966
 Rogers (Rev. J. Guineers), *Shall Uganda be retained?* 218-234

ROM

Romanes (Professor), *Noticeable Book*:
Hudson's, 'Naturalist in La Plata,'
886-889

Rothamsted Experiments, the, 970-980

Rothschild (Baron Ferdinand), *The Financial Causes of the French Revolution*, 375-390, 652-670

Rupee, the, and the Ruin of India, 515-524

Russell (Edward B.), *Irving's 'King Lear': a New Tradition*, 44-51

Russia, the Invasion of India by, 727-748

SAMOA, *Three Weels in*, 52-64, 249-260

Sand (George), relations of, with Alfred de Musset, 529-534

Science, Recent, 671-689

Sclater (P. L.), *A Naturalist's View of the Fur-Seal Question*, 1038-1045

Seal, the fur, 606-607

Sexton (Thomas), *The Home Rule Bill*, 369-374

Seymour (Sir Michael Culme), *The Behring Sea Question*, 606-610

Shakespeare's plays, prices paid for, 960-961

Siemens's theory of the general circulation of the atmosphere, 675

Silver Question, the, and India, 116-126

Sinnett (A. P.), *Esoteric Buddhism: a Reply*, 1015-1027

Sorabji (Miss Cornelia), *Urmi, a Poisoned Queen*, 112-115

Spider, curious habit of the, 888

Steffen (Gustav F.), *Six Hundred Years of English Poverty*, 932-951

Stout (Sir Robert), *An Experiment in Federation and its Lessons*, 203-218

Sweden, the Lion King of, 702-724

Swinburne (Algernon Charles), *Threnody: Alfred, Lord Tennyson*, 1-3

— *The Union: a Song*, 725-726

— poetry of, 95-100

TABLEY (Lord de), 'Poems' of, noticed, 899-904

Taxation, the, of Ground Rents, 293-308

Tennyson, Alfred, Lord: Threnody, 1-3

WIL

Tennyson, Aspects of:

A Personal Reminiscence, 164-188

The Real Thomas Becket, 273-292

The Classical Poems, 436-453

Tennyson as a Nature Poet, 836-856

Terray (Abbé), financial policy of, 660-661

Terry (Miss) in the character of Cordelia, 48

'Thomas of Monmouth,' discovery of the manuscript of, 766

Tuke (Dr. John Batty), *Habitual Drunkards*, 1009-1014

Times, Signs of the, 4-43

Toequeville's 'Souvenirs,' noticed, 883-886

Townshend (R. B.), *My Maverick*, 789-795

UGANDA, *shall it be retained?* 219-432

Ulster and Home Rule, 554-557

Ulster and the Confederate States, 927-931

Union, the--a Song, 725-726

— *Count Cavour on the Repeal of the*, 874-882

University for Women, an Imperial, 857-861

Urmi, a Poisoned Queen, 112-115

VALLEYS, *Inaccessible*, 391-404

Verdi, operas of, 805-812

Vernon (Lord), *How to attract Capital to the Land*, 1028-1037

WALLACE (Professor Alfred R.), *Inaccessible Valleys*, 391-404

Waterloo Campaign, the Inner History of the, 416-429

— *the Battle of, a Contemporary Letter on*, 430-435

Watts (Theodore), *Aspects of Tennyson: Tennyson as a Nature Poet*, 836-856

Wellington (Duke of), alleged visit of, to Blücher on the eve of Waterloo, 427

Wilkins (W. H.), *Hansoms and their Drivers*, 470-479

WIL

William, Saint, of Norwich, 749-766*Witchcraft, the Revival of*, 347-368Williams (J. Powell), *The Taxation of Ground Rents*, 293-308*Women, an Imperial University for*, 857-861— *Medical, in Fiction*, 261-272Wood (Lady Mary), *Count Cavour on the Repeal of the Union*, 874-882

Wordsworth, poetry of, 105

YOU

Working Classes, the Reading of the, 690-701Worth (John), *The Lives and Loves of North American Birds*, 586-605

YOSEMITE valley, the, 392

Younghusband (Captain), *The Invasion of India by Russia*, 727-748

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